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# NOTES

ON

# AFGHÁNISTÁN AND PART OF BALÚCHISTAN,

## GEOGRAPHICAL, ETHNOGRAPHICAL, AND HISTORICAL,

EXTRACTED FROM THE WRITINGS OF LITTLE KNOWN AFGHÁN AND TÁJZÍK HISTORIANS, GEOGRAPHERS, AND GENEALOGISTS; THE HISTORIES OF THE GHÚRÍS, THE TURK SOVEREIGNS OF THE DIHLÍ KINGDOM, THE MUGHAL SOVEREIGNS OF THE HOUSE OF TÍMÚR, AND OTHER MUHAMMADAN CHRONICLES; AND FROM PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS.

BY

32995

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## SECTION FIRST.

### On the Baluch Tribes of the Derah-jat.

Before giving an account of the different darahs and passes in the Lower Derah-ját, leading into Balúchistán and Afghánistán from Multán, it will be well, perhaps, to say something about the Balúch tribes inhabiting the tracts on the west bank of the Indus within the Panjáb frontier, who have given names to the derah of Ismá'íl Khán, the derah of Fath Khán, and the derah of Ghazí Khán.

The Balúch people are mentioned very early in Muhammadan history. We read of them and the Bráhúís in that valuable and celebrated work, "Masálik wa Mamálik," and in the "Kitáb of Ibn-Haukal," under the names of Koch and Balúch. The terms "Koujes" and "Boloujes," which we find in Ouseley's translation of the latter work, are mis-spellings. Scribes, in writing the letters چ – ڇ – and ڄ, are generally, and with rare exceptions, not at all particular in putting the proper diacritical points, and rarely make a distinction between the two first, even if they do not leave out the points altogether. Some again, instead of putting three points to ڇ, make a daub of them by writing the three without raising the reed from the paper, and make them seem like one point – ڇ –, and then inexperienced persons jump at the conclusion that the letter is *j* instead of *ch*. Hence we have such blunders as "Jinjis" and "Jinghis" for the name of the Chingiz Khán, and "Ujah," "Oujah," "Ootch," and "Outch," for Úchchah and Uchchah, and many other names.

The Koch and Balúch are referred to in the two works mentioned above as nomads, but the Afgháns commonly use the word *kochaey* to signify a nomad in their language, and the former word, in the old Persian, signifies much the same. They are said to inhabit a territory of Irán Zamín, bordering on Sind and Hind. The fact of the Koch being said to possess a language different from the Balúch, renders it probable that the Bráhúís are referred to under the name of Koch, and their language, certainly, is different from the Balúchkí. To enter into this subject further is not necessary here, but a short account of the tribes of the Balúch people who ruled in the tracts hereafter to be described, in the middle of the last century, and previous to the downfall of the Durráni monarchy, may not be out of place, as but little has been hitherto known respecting them.

The following is an extract from the "Sair-ul-Bilád," which will be referred to in another place:—

"The tracts of territory in which this Musalmán people are located is styled, from them, Balúchistán, and extends from the town of Pahár-púr, lying at the foot of the Salt Range, nearly 10 kuroh* north of the derah of Ismá'íl Khán, and included in the

* The kuroh is the third part of a farsakh of 12,000 gaz, each kuroh consisting of 3,000 gaz of 32 angusht or fingers' breadth, or 4,000 gaz of 24 fingers' breadth, equal to six fists, or the hand with the fingers doubled up, each angusht being computed as equal in breadth to six barley corns laid side by side, and each barley corn as equal in breadth to six hairs from the mane of a Turkí horse or the tail of a camel. It varies, however, in different localities, and is, on the average, something less than two miles. In Hindústán, the Panjáb, and the Derah-ját, the kuroh is termed kos, in length 4,000 gaz, as above described. This is also called the gau kos, which means the distance at which the lowing of a cow can be heard at midnight on a calm night.

Some again compute it as equal to 1,000 paces of a woman with a child in her arms and a kúzah or earthen water pot (full of water) on her head. This, however, would be a very short kuroh indeed, even if a woman made strides of a yard at each footstep, instead of about from 24 to 26 inches. This must refer to what is termed in India the kachá kos, equal to half a kuroh or kos.

Mír Sháh Rizá, the late Bádsháh of Káshkár, told the author of the work above mentioned that he reckoned the kos of Hindústán at 1,000 paces of a man who is a good walker, but this kuroh refers more to the distances in his territory and in the parts adjacent, as will be mentioned in their proper place. This, however, is really only half a Dihlí kos, and just equal to the Persian míl.

From Atak to Pes'háwar, Jalál-ábád, and Kábul the term kuroh is used.

The Panjáb kos is rather less than that of Dihlí, it being about 3,600 gaz. In Afghánistán it is not usual to reckon by the kuroh, but by the manzil or stage, and the time occupied between chásht, the middle hour between sunrise and meridian, and the time of afternoon prayers and evening. These manzils are of three descriptions:—1. The manzil or stage of a kárwán, which is equal to a royal manzil, and not less than six or seven kuroh. 2. The manzil of a man on foot, which will be nearly 16 or 17 kuroh. 3. The manzil of a man on horseback, which will be 25 kuroh or rather more.

According to the "A'ín-i-Akbarí, in the time of Sher Sháh (otherwise Farid, son of Hasan, of the Sheré Khel, of the sub-tribe of Súr, descended from Ismá'íl, son of Síání, son of Lúdí, the progenitor of that great division of the Afgháns), the standard kuroh was 60 jaríbs (see page 24), each of 60 gaz-i-Sikandarí or

Derah-ját, to the ocean, a distance of nearly 500 kuroh. This tract of country contains numerous *chúls*, waste land where no water is procurable for irrigation purposes, and much sandy desert, called in their idiom, *thals*.

"That portion of Balúchistán, or the country of the Balúchís, here more particularly referred to, extends from Pahár-púr to beyond Dájal, a distance of over 100 kuroh in length from north to south, and about 30 kuroh in width from east to west, as far as the mountain range of Mihtar Sulímán, also called the Koh-i-Siyah, or Black Range, the residence of the Afghán tribes of Shiráni, Bábar, Lúrni, Kákar, and others.

"These people, the Balúch, call this mountain tract west of the Derah-ját, Roh, and its Afghán people Rohilahs."

This last statement is not exactly correct; the term is applied much more extensively. Muhabbat Khán, an Afghán author and lexicographer, describes Roh as "the large tract of country belonging to, and inhabited by, the Afgháns, the eastern "boundary of which extends to Kashmír, and the western to the River Hírmand, a "distance of two-and-a-half months' journey; and on the north its boundary extends "to Káshkár, and its southern boundary to Balúchistán. It therefore lies between "Irán, Túrán, and Hind; and its people are termed Rohilahs."

The Hírmand was considered, in ancient times, the boundary between Ghúr and Zábulistán, and Sind and Hind; and in the maps contained in the "Masálik wa Mamálik," the Hírmand is called the "Rúd-i-Sind wa Hind," the River of Sind and Hind. When the Arabs invaded the countries east of Khurásán, Hindú sovereigns held sway up to the left or east bank of the Hírmand."

To return to the account of the Balúchís in the Sair-ul-Bilád.

"The tract of territory extending from Pahár-púr to below Dájal, above referred to, contains close upon 100,000 families,—about 500,000 people or more,—and, although each class among them is styled by a different name, to enumerate the whole of them would be tedious,* but they constitute four great tribes."

## 1. *The Marláni.*

"This is a great tribe of the Balúch, who, from ancient times, were the rulers of these parts. Their chief town was called Derah-i-Ghází Khán, that is, the place of residence† of Ghází Khán. The other derahs, giving name to the Derah-ját,—the plural form of the word,—are Derah-i-Ismá'íl, and Derah-i-Fath Khán."

Through ignorance on the part of the illiterate inhabitants, the *izáfat*, the sign of the genitive case in the Persian language, has, in course of time, been dropped, and now we hear them spoken of as "Derah Ghází Khán," "Derah Ismá'íl Khán, and "Derah Fath Khán," which terms are unquestionably incorrect, for, if we merely translate the names into Panjábí, we prove their incorrectness. We cannot say Ghází Khán Derah or Fath Khán Derah, but Ghází Khán *dá* Derah, and Fath Khán *dá* Derah, etc. It is strange, but nevertheless true, that Europeans, and the English in particular, unacquainted with the vernacular, are sure to pick up the vulgar pronunciation of names of places, or to vitiate them according to their own sense of hearing. I submit, therefore, in order to remedy and avoid such lamentable errors, that revenue surveyors and settlement officers should, at all times, obtain the names of places and districts written in the vernacular of such places. There is great need for the correction of names of places and districts in a new map of Afghánistán, as I shall have to point out farther on, and the present seems a favourable time for carrying it out.

"The Derah of Ghází Khán, in former times, was a town of considerable size, but it has greatly declined, and is now a poor and mean place. It was founded by the late Nawwáb, Ghází Khán, Marláni, and, in his day, carried on an extensive trade with Irán, Túrán, and Hindústán. Its heat, in the hot season, is notorious; and it

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Sikandar's gaz. Its author also gives the standard as fixed in Akbar Bádsháh's reign. It is thus divided:—100 tanáb, each of 50 gaz or 400 báns (a bamboo, literally), each of 12½ gaz, or altogether 5,000 gaz.

He also describes the Hindú equivalent of the kuroh, which is called kos, as follows:—8 barley corns divested of their skins (laid side by side) = 1 angusht; 24 angusht = 1 dast (literally, a hand); 4 dasts = 1 dand; 2,000 dands = 1 kos.

* The different tribes at present dwelling in the Lower Derah-ját, and in the mountains to the west, are all mentioned in my account of the passes at page 7.

† The term derah among the Panjáb people, and in the Derah-ját in particular, is the common term for a house or dwelling, and not necessarily a camp or tent, as erroneously supposed by some persons.

produces grapes, pomegranates, apples (very small though), mangoes, dates, and a good deal of grain, both rabí—spring harvest, and kharíf—autumn harvest, indigo, sugar-cane, and rice. Some of the land is irrigated by means of wells, but the people chiefly depend on river irrigation.

"The Marlání tribe used, at the period referred to, to hold sway over the whole country from Mangrothah and Layyá as far as Dájal and Sítpúr; but from the time that enmity and disagreement arose among themselves, Tímúr Sháh, Abdálí, the Durrání sovereign, took the reins of Government out of the hands of the descendants of Ghází Khán, Marlání, and made it over to Mírzá Khán, a Kazil-básh, while the subordinate governors of Mangrothah and Layyá conducted their transactions separately (with the Durrání Court).*

"Ghází Khán's family received about 50,000 rupees yearly by way of a pension, while Mírzá Khán, Kazil-básh, derived revenue from their territory to the extent of close upon 900,000 rupees.†

"The Nawwáb, Ghází Khán, cut a great canal, from the Sind river, at about 10 or 12 kuroh to the north of Derah-i-Ghází Khán, and brought it near to that town. This is called the Kastúrí Nahr or canal, and sometimes the Kathúrí Nahr. It is expended in cultivation about seven or eight kuroh to the southwards of the town; and hundreds of smaller cuts are taken from it, and produce a considerable revenue.

"Mírzá Khán, Kazil-básh, following the Nawwáb's good example, also cut a great canal from the Sind river, about 20 kuroh to the northwards of Derah-i-Ghází Khán, and divided it into two branches; the larger and longer branch, called the Mángá, he carried southwards towards Dájal, and the smaller one, the water of which becomes expended among the lands of the Darwesh villages, is called the Jasrá Canal. On account of the revenue which these canals produced, they called them Lakhí, or producing Lakhs. At the time of the rising of the Sind river, in the hot season, these canals cannot be crossed except by means of bridges or boats."

The Kastúrí and other canals are still in working order, and some have gone to decay, but numerous traces of them, and others of even older date, exist.

"Súrí is the name of a river (the Súrí darah and pass will be found mentioned farther on), which rises in the mountains to the west of the Derah-ját, and in the neighbourhood of Amdán (Amdání now), the cultivators make dykes and store the water of the river, and thereby irrigate a large tract of country from 10 to 12 kuroh in extent.‡

"When the Sind river rises, the country becomes flooded for miles on either side; and travellers from one derah to another have to proceed by way of Wahwá, but that route is exceedingly difficult. The road lies close to the mountains, and water is scarce there.

"The route from Derah-i-Ghází Khán to Kandahár by way of the Kohistán—highlands or mountains—and the nearest way, is well known. It is stated that, during the rule of Ghází Khán, a person set out in search of some of his stray cattle, and entered the mountains to the westward;§ and, by following up the cattle with as much haste as he could, he, in the space of three days, found himself at Kandahár."

## 2. *The Nutkání.*

"The Nutkání, sometimes called Mutkání, but vulgarly so, amount to about 7,000 or 8,000 families (at present they do not amount to more than a quarter of that number). They were subordinate to the Marlánís, the ruling tribe, but, when troubles arose among the Chiefs and principal men of the latter tribe, the Nutkánís submitted, and gave their allegiance to the ruler of Kábul, Tímúr Sháh, Abdálí, and agreed to pay 60,000 rupees as a cess to the Durrání Government.

"Their territory is called Sanghar, which is also the name of a river, which rises in the mountains to the west; and, in time of floods in the hills, rushes down into the plains by three or four channels or outlets. The people raise dykes to save the water, and thereby an extent of country about 18 kuroh long by 7 or 8 broad is irrigated.

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* At this period the southern half of the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah contained about 100,000 Balúch families, who held the sway over those tracts, and who were of another tribe of the Balúch race.

† A few years since, two of the descendants of the Nawwáb Ghází Khán, the Marlání, were living at the Derah of Ghází Khán in comparative penury.

‡ These dykes are still kept up.

§ He was on horseback of course.

"The chief town of the Nutkánís is Mangrothah, also called Mangothah. Masú Khán, the Sardár, or Chief of the tribe, built a fort of burnt brick, consisting of lofty walls and other buildings, on the west side of the town. He receives about one lakh of rupees yearly as the revenue of this place and its dependencies, while the town of Wahwá, a considerable place, also belonging to the Nutkánís, brings in a revenue of a lakh and a half of rupees to the Khánbefore mentioned.

"West of Wahwá lie the mountains of Afghánistán, out of which flows a river, the water of which never fails, and reaches as far as the town of Gharáng*. In time of flood, the waters pass beyond that place, and enter the Sind river above Derah-i-Fath Khán. The people of Wahwá have made numerous cuts from this river in all directions, and have brought the water to their lands, and also into the masjids, dwellings, and gardens, by means of a canal. This river they call the Kálá Pání (a term applied to many streams both in this part and elsewhere) and also the Gangá river. The people are chiefly Balúchís, but there are some Jats among them. The Majítah Afgháns, and others, bring the commodities of the country to the westward to this place to sell, and take back with them piece goods, both white and coloured.

"The territory belonging to the Nutkání tribe, from the village of Makúl to Wahwá, is nearly 40 kuroh long, and, from the Sind river to the hills, 12 kuroh broad, but the water of the Sind does not reach this tract of country.

### 3. *The Kúláchí.*

"To this tribe, consisting of 3,000 or 4,000 families, belong the district of Derah-i-Ismá'íl-Khán.† In former times, they too were the subjects and servants of the Marlánís. At the present time, Ghulám Muhammad Khán, Kúláchí, is subordinate to Mírzá Khán, Kazil-básh, and pays into the latter's treasury 12,000 rupees yearly for his lands. The territory belonging to the Kúláchí tribe is about 20 kuroh long, from north to south, and about 12 kuroh broad, from east to west. The cultivation depends chiefly upon the Kálá Páni, or Wahwá river, for irrigation, but some lands are irrigated from wells.

"The Chief resides in the fort of Gharáng, which is built of sun-burnt bricks. The houses of the town adjoin it on the east side, and under the fort, on the north side, lies the Kálá Páni river, here called the Gharáng Nadí, but its bed is dry, except after heavy rains. The Sind river lies about one kuroh to the east, over which there is an established ferry, and six or seven boats are always available. Travellers to Layyá and Multán cross the Sind here.

### 4. *The Hút.*

"This is a noble tribe of the Balúch, and consists of about 20,000 families, who dwell in the territory of Derah-i-Ismá'íl-Khán. Their portion of it extends from the village of Rang (Rang-púr) to Pahár-púr, a distance of 50 kuroh in length, and from the Sind river to Dámán, 12 kuroh in breadth. The cultivation is much the same as that of the district of Derah-i-Ghází Khán, and the water of the river Gumul‡ which issues from the mountain barrier to the west, is expended in the irrigation of the tract of country held by the Hút tribe.§ The lands also, which the waters of that river reach, are called Gumul.

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* "Gurang" is not correct, neither is "Grang."

† Pottinger makes a great error in naming this tribe, whom he styles "Kolatchees," Brahooeés. They are Balúchís, not Bráhúís.

‡ The Jzob river, also written Jzíob, joins the Gumul before piercing the Koh-i-Mihtar Sulímán or Koh-i-Siyah.

§ A number of the Hút tribe left their old country in Kichh and Mukrán about 874 H. (A.D. 1459), and emigrated to Upper Sind and Multán. This was the year in which Sultán Bahlúl, the Lúdí Afghán of the Pránkí division of the Yasín Khel, and the first of his race who sat on the throne of Dihlí, undertook an unsuccessful expedition against Multán, and had to retire.

Malik Suhráb, a Chief of the Dúdá'í clan of the Húts, left Mukrán, accompanied by his two sons, Ismá'íl Khán and Fath Khán, his family and clan, and reached the Multán province, in which, at that time, Husain the Langáh, whom Tod turns into a "Solanki Rajpoot," ruled as an independent sovereign, having succeeded his father, Ráe Sihrah, who had been ruler of Síwí, and who took the title of Kutb-ud-Dín, on usurping the sovereignty over Multán. The Hút Chief took service with Husain, the Langáh, and he was despatched, with his clan, to Kot Kuhror, east of Multán, and there located, but, when other Balúchís followed him from Mukrán, he was sent, along with them, to the west of the Sind river or Indus, to protect that part of the Langáh territory from the incursions of the Afghán mountaineers. At length, the whole of the district of Derah-i-Ismá'íl-Khán, as at present constituted, was made over to him to manage, and assigned to him and his Balúchís in requital of their military services. Malik Suhráb's sons, Ismá'íl and Fath, gave name to the respective derahs so called.

"As this tribe resided, in times bygone, at the town of Makkalwádh,—the plain country immediately north of Sanghar, on the right bank of the Sind river, is so called,—their country is also called Makkalwádh.* It brings in a revenue of just five lakhs of rupees. The seat of government of this part, that is to say, Makkalwádh, is Derah-i-Ismá'íl Khán, a considerable city, founded by Ismá'íl Khán of the Hút tribe; and the products of Sind and Hind, Irán, and Túrán, are disposed of here. The Sind river, the main stream, flows at the distance of about 3 kuroh from the city, but some channels of it at the distance of half a kuroh and more. South of this city, for a distance of from 6 to 8 kuroh, the land is incapable of cultivation.

"In the year that Tímúr Sháh, Abdálí, came into the Panjáb for the purpose of extirpating the Sikhs, and moved towards Multán, after having overthrown them, he came into the Derah-ját. Nusrat Khán, a descendant of Ismá'íl Khán, was seized by his command, placed in confinement, and taken away with him to Kábul, and the Government was assigned to Kamar-ud-Dín Khán, Kahochah, who farmed it for two and a half lakhs of rupees yearly."

The Derah of Ismá'íl Khán referred to by the writer was swept away by the Indus some years ago. The present Derah, so called, is therefore a modern town.

## On the Passes and Routes Leading from Multán to Kandahár by the Lower Derah-ját.

The routes leading from Multán towards Kandahár, avoiding altogether the Bolán Pass, lie through the mountain tracts forming the western boundary of the Derah-ját, which is our western frontier, and the natural eastern boundary of Afghánistán.

This latter boundary consists of a mighty mountain barrier, containing two ranges, in some parts rising to the height of nearly 12,000 feet, including numerous singularly parallel ridges running almost due north and south. What I refer to here more particularly commence, on the north, from the Ghwalírí Pass, where the river Gumul pierces the two ranges, which begin from that point to run in such a regular manner, as adverted to above. These ranges here commence with two ridges, the western one being the higher. These ridges increase in number as they run southwards, especially those of the easternmost and less elevated range of mountains. A little to the south of the Ghwalírí Pass, and a little to the north of the Takht-i-Sulímán, or Sulímán's Throne, there are no less than seven distinct ridges, not including the highest ridge, in which is the Takht-i-Sulímán, three of which belong to the former, and the rest to the latter range of mountains. It is hereabout that the three rivers or mountain streams pierce these mountains, and form passes, which will be mentioned in another place.

These ridges continue, with variation in their number from four to ten, until, at the point where the Súrí river, forming the pass of that name, in the district of Derah-i-Ghází Khán, pierces the two chains, we have no less than twelve distinct ridges, like battalions (to use a military phrase) in column of companies at quarter distance, or a column of battalions, which increase in height from east to west to the highest range.

The westernmost ridges, which can be plainly distinguished from Multán, a distance of over eighty miles, on a clear day, and the highest of which is snow-capped in winter, are what is commonly known as the range of Mihtar Sulímán, from its highest peak, called the Takht-i-Sulímán, previously referred to, but styled by the Musalmán people of these parts the Koh-i-Siyah, and, by Hindús, Kálá Pahár, or Black Mountains, for such is the colour they assume, while the lower or easternmost range, by reason of their colour, a yellowish red, are styled the Koh-i-Surkh, and Rátá Pahár, but the latter name is not so common as the former, both to Musalmáns and Hindús.

On the western side of the Koh-i-Siyah the country assumes more of the nature of a table land, lying much higher, but other ranges of mountains intervene between the Derah-ját and Kandahár, and need not be referred to in detail here, which branch out from Spín-Ghar or Safed-Koh, but in the direction of south-west.

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In Akbar Bádsháh's time, Dúdá'í, with a brick fort, was included among the mahálls or departments of the district called "Berún-i-Panj-nad"—Extra Panj-nad—belonging to the Súbah of Multán. It was then peopled by Dúdá'í Balúchís, who are said to have been rated as militia to the excessive number, apparently, of 4,000 horse and 30,000 foot.

There are many of the tribe of Hút to be found in Mukrán.

* Not "Mukelwad," nor "Mucklewad." In the most recent maps, this tract appears as "Kolache." The town of Kúláchí lies a little over 26 miles west of Derah-i-Ismá'íl Khán.

The highest peak of the next range west of the Koh-i-Siyah is called Kund by the Afgháns, on the southern slope of which range the river Jzob* rises, and which, flowing north-east, joins the Gumul just before it pierces the Koh-i-Siyah, on its way to join the Sind or Indus, which, however, it fails to meet, the whole of its water being drawn off for irrigation purposes.

On the western slope of the range in which the Jzob takes its rise the Lorá river issues, and flows towards the south-west through the valley of Pushang, anciently called Púshang, but incorrectly styled "Pisheen," and is subsequently lost in the thirsty soil. Other rivers, which need only be slightly alluded to here, rise on the western slopes of other ranges of mountains farther west, some of which fall into the Tarnak, and some are lost in the soil.

After passing the high range bounding the valley of the Jzob to the southward, we come to the extensive elevated plain or table land of Borah, described as exceedingly temperate, well watered, fertile, and carefully cultivated. It belongs, with still more extensive tracts of country, to the great Afghán tribe of Kákar, which name has been written in all sorts of incorrect ways by those who trusted to their ears, and did not know how it was written and pronounced in the original, such as "Caukers," "Cawkers," "Khokas," "Kukads," "Kakads," and the like ridiculous names, and even "Beluch Kowkars"!† The valleys between Borah and the mountains south of the Jzob, and the Koh-i-Siyah or Sulímán range, are held by the Músá Khel Kákars and Isot clan of the Parní tribe, who mostly follow the shepherd's life. The Borah plain is in one of the routes from Multán to Kandahár by the Sanghar and Wahwá passes. Other minor ranges succeed farther south of Borah, extending to the valley of Zawara'h,‡ and the extensive table land of Tal and Chotíálí§, inhabited by the Tor and Spín—Black and White—Tarín Afgháns. More to the south again the two ranges of Koh-i-Siyah and Koh-i-Surkh become much disturbed, as will be mentioned subsequently, and take a bend to the west as far as Dádhar. Between the two ranges, the highest of which forms the northern boundary of Balúchistán towards the east, lies Káhan, to the south of which, by the Nafusk Pass, lies the route by Sháh-púr to Shikár-púr and Sakhar.

The southernmost tribe in the district of Derah-i-Ismá'íl Khán are the Ushtaránís,‖ the descendants of the son of a celebrated Sayyid named Muhammad-i-Gísú-Daráz, or Muhammad of the Long Locks, who married a wife out of the tribe of Shiráni, and, like some other Sayyids, settled among them. He had three other wives—one a Shiráni, and two of other tribes—from whom are descended the tribes of Honaey, Wardag, and Mashwární. The Ushtaránís are therefore of Sayyid descent on the father's side, but have been erroneously supposed, by some native authors unacquainted with their pedigree, to belong to the great tribe of Núháni, who, through substituting *l* for *n*, which is done by some Afghán tribes, are often styled Lúhánís and Lúhárnís (with the peculiar Pus'hto rún=*rn*), and, being nomads, come, along with some other tribes, under the name of Powandah¶.

Muhammad-i-Gísú Daráz was a native of Ush, near Baghdád, and this accounts apparently for his son's name, which was not given because his descendants were "camel-drivers," as some erroneously suppose. The Pus'hto term for a camel is úk'h and ús'h, with the peculiar Afghán ښ and not with 'Arabic ش with which the name of the tribe is written.

They occupy lands both in and out of the hills, in the district of Derah-i-Ismá'íl Khán, immediately north of the sub-district of Sanghar, but they are only a portion of the tribe of that name, which dwell farther to the west. This portion of them, on account of a feud with some of the Kákar clans, through whose country they had to pass with their flocks and herds in the hot season, in going to their kishlák or summer station, sold their flocks and herds, and took to farming many years ago. Their chief

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* It is also written jzíob ; both ways are correct.

† In one of the official routes of the Quartermaster-General's Department.

‡ Zawara'h, in Pus'hto, the feminine form of Zor, is an adjective signifying low, depressed, slanting, sloping, etc.

§ Some Afghán tribes use *ts* for *ch*, and *vice versâ*, and consequently the name of this district and place is also written Tsotiálí.

‖ Turned into "Oosteranees" in a local report.

¶ A recent traveller, who chanced to proceed on a journey into a part of Afghánistán and make a short stay there, during which he and his companions were prisoners all but in name for greater part of the time, came back laden with Afghán lore, or at least it was thought so (and many may believe so still), and among his discoveries he found out a tribe, apparently, called "Provindiah" Afgháns, but he evidently did not know the Persian and Pus'hto. There is no tribe of "Provindiah" nor "Povindiah." See under پوندہ and کوچي in my "Pus'hto Dictionary," new edition of 1867, pp. 1106 and 1153.

villages are Urmúk, Mangul, Samozí, and Kúey Bahárah, all of which are in the plains east of the mountains, and another, of the same name as the last, is in the mountains. I merely refer to the Ushtaránís here as being the most southern tribe in the district of Derah-i-Ismá'íl Khán near the mountains.

West of them are the Z'marís, and beyond them again the Isot Parnís,* both Afghán tribes. The latter are generally, but erroneously, supposed to be Kákars, one of the three most numerous tribes of the Afgháns, who occupy an extensive tract of country, chiefly table land, more than 180 miles in length, running N.E. and S.W., and about 100 miles in breadth. The Shiránís, another very powerful tribe of Afgháns, who dwell about the Takht or Throne of Mihtar Sulimán, one of the earliest seats of the Afgháns, bound the Kákars to the north.

I now come to the different passes.

The Kaurah pass, 5½ miles north of the Wahwá pass, formed by the bed of the river which gives name to the darah, separates the two districts of Derah-i-Ismá'íl, and Derah-i-Ghází Khán, and the Ushtaránís from the Kihtráns. It is, however, included in the district of Derah-i-Ismá'íl Khán. I shall have to notice the passes and routes through the two ranges of the Koh-i-Siyah and Koh-i-Surkh, belonging to the last-named district, when I come to the routes taken by Bábar Bádsháh and others.

It may be well to remark here that a darah or darrah, both modes of spelling being correct, signifies an opening, more or less broad, between two mountains, or ranges of mountains, through which a stream generally flows, and through which opening, in the river's bed, or at its side, a way lies. Or a darah may be well compared to a leaf, the river and its feeders being its skeleton.

A small portion of the Afghán clan of Kihtrán† occupy the lands at the foot of the mountains immediately south of the Ushtaránís, and have charge of the passes of Wahwá, erroneously styled Vehowah, Hájá, and Litárah. The large village of Wahwá, lying close to the hill skirts, is their chief place. A river called the Gang, Gangá, Kálá Páni, and Gharáng Nadí, and also the Wahwá river, which rises in the table land west of the Koh-i-Siyah, runs through the mountains, and forms the pass. The water from this river never fails, but, after heavy rains in the hills, it overflows, and sometimes causes great destruction to cultivation and dwellings.

The highest ridge of the Koh-i-Surkh running north and south, through which the Wahwá river cuts its way, is called, hereabouts, the Nílgah ridge, and the next ridge,

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* The Isots are an offshoot of the great tribe of Parní (*vul.* "Punnee"), which formerly held great part of Síwí or Síwístán.

The Parní tribe have almost disappeared from their old seats, and are to be found settled in considerable numbers in Southern India and other parts of the peninsula. They have from time to time made a considerable figure in Indian history. Just prior to the downfall of the house of Bábar, one of the celebrated free-lances of that period, Dá'úd Khán, was a Parní. He was remarkable for his generosity and liberality. It became a proverb at last; and a man who engaged in any affair of a doubtful nature flattered himself that, if he did not succeed, and the worst came to the worst, he could at least have recourse to Dá'úd Khán. The proverb is,

"Agar banne to banne; nahín to Dá'úd Khán, Paní,"

which may be rendered,

"If it answers, well and good; if not, there is (still) Dá'úd Khán, Paní, to go to."

Persons unable to pronounce the peculiar Pus'hto *rn*, pronounce Parní as above.

Elphinstone, whose account of the Afghán tribes is generally so correct, has made the terrible error of turning the Parnís into a Kákar clan. He says, Vol. II., p. 198, "it will be proper to mention *the Cauker clan* of Punnee," but Parnís are not Kákars, they were only their neighbours. Kákar, Nághar, Dáwí, and Parní were the four sons of Dání, son of Ghúrghusht, and the progenitors of the tribes of those names. Kákar had no less than 24 sons, including six adopted, who were the progenitors of as many tribes, and many sub-tribes have descended from some of them. Parní, on the other hand, had 18 sons, giving name to as many tribes, from some of which sprung other sub-tribes, and from them again other clans. They dwelt about Mandáhí, and there some of them still dwell. I shall give a detailed account of all the Afghán tribes in my History of them.

As early as Akbar's time the Parnís, who had become exceedingly numerous, had apparently begun to emigrate, and we find some of them, the Sáfi clan, located in Panjhír. Here is another example showing how travellers write names of places, and upon which, to them unknown, blunders they found their theories. The word is written "Punchshír or Panjshír" and supposed by one author to mean "five lions." In Persian *sher* signifies a lion, but *shír* means milk. Another writer and traveller says, "Punjshir is supposed to have reference to the tradition concerning the five sons of Pandu, an ancient monarch of fabulous renown."

Panjhír is an ancient place, and is mentioned in the "Masálik wa Mamálik," which was written before the year 1000 A.D., as containing about 10,000 inhabitants. The Sáfi Afgháns are still very numerous on the banks of the river of Kábul and parts adjacent. In the "A'ín-i-Akbarí" they are said to have had to furnish no less than 35,000 foot to the militia, but this must be an error. I think we may read 300 horse and 5,000 foot instead.

† I shall refer to the Kihtráns again farther on.

to the east of the preceding, is called the Bhaghah. There is a lofty peak of the Koh-i-Siyah, to the west of these, rising to the height of nearly 7,700 feet. It is called the Tirih Peak.

Lower down, another river, rising beyond the Koh-i-Siyah, the Barkúe, cuts its way through that range south of the peak, flows northward between the Koh-i-Siyah and the Koh-i-Surkh, and, on the west side of the Bhaghah ridge, joins the Wahwá river. The darah and pass is also called Barkúe.

The Kihtráns are the last of the Afgháns in the Derah-ját, all the rest being Balúchís, but the Afgháns, including the main portion of the Kihtrán clan, farther south, are located all along the western side of the Koh-i-Siyah or Black Range until it bends to the west.

A little farther to the south of the Wahwá darah and pass, about four or five miles, is the small darah and pass of Liríah, so called after a stream which rises in the Koh-i-Surkh and flows through it. It is also held by the Kihtráns.

The next two darahs and passes to the south, the Bhatí and Khánwah darahs, are held by the Khasrání Balúchís. The first-named darah lies about six miles south of the Liríah darah, and is not very important. The chief place, called after the clan, lies some 18 miles up the darah. There is a small river running through it, the banks of which are shaded with trees. A force from the Panjáb irregular troops entered this pass just before the commencement of the hot season of 1853, marched into the valley, and chastised this turbulent and thievish clan, but the success gained over them was not very marked or decisive.

Four and a half miles farther south is the Khánwah (the *n* is nasal) darah and pass, but it does not extend much beyond the Koh-i-Surkh, or first range, and is of no great importance. It contains good water. Some of the Khasránís dwell close up to the slopes of the Koh-i-Siyah, and a few graze their flocks on parts of its western face.

The country of the Isot clan of Parní commences some few miles from the Khasrání bounds, on the western slopes of the Koh-i-Siyah, towards the north and north-east, and the 'Isá Khel of the Kákar tribe dwell contiguous to them on the south-west. South, the Khasránís are bounded by the Bozdárs, and on the east, in the plains, by the Nutkánís, previously referred to, as having been, in former years, a numerous and powerful tribe.

Next comes the Sanghar darah and pass, which may be said to be the most important in the whole of the Southern or Lower Derah-ját. It is broad and large, practicable for man and beast. It is, in fact, the high and direct road from Multán, and the parts adjacent, to Kandahár, by Chotiálí, Dogh, and Tal, and to Ghaznín and Kábul by Borah. In former years these routes used to be frequented by traders from Kandahár, Ghaznín, and Kábul, who paid a transit duty at the rate of about three rupees for each laden camel.*

It is held by the Bozdár Balúch clan, who dwell entirely within the hills, are tolerably powerful in point of numbers, and very turbulent, or at least have been; probably their latest chastisement, in 1857, may have worked good in them. They were then pursued by a body of troops up the Sanghar pass as far as Tunk, an opening between the ranges of the Koh-i-Siyah and Koh-i-Surkh, and about 12 miles north of the Sanghar pass proper, that is to say, the southernmost of the three, the Lúndí and Drúg, which have now to be mentioned, being the other two.

The Sanghar river, giving name to the darah and pass, rises beyond the Koh-i-Siyah, or Black Range, in Afghánistán, in the country of the Kákars, near the northern boundary of the Kihtrán territory. Two other rivers, its feeders, also rise in the Koh-i-Siyah—the Drúg and Lúndí—in the darahs of which there are likewise passes, which, whe est of tKoh-i-Siyah, converge on the routes by Chotiálí and Borah.†

The Drúg river pierces the Koh-i-Siyah 26 miles north of the point at which the Sanghar river cuts through it. It receives several smaller tributaries, and joins the Sanghar river and pass about 10 miles from the eastern skirt of the hills and entrance to the pass from the Derah-ját side.

The Lúndí river flows about 12 miles farther south, and south of the peak of that name rising to the height of about 8,000 feet, and joins the Sanghar river six miles

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* As late as Díwán Sáwan Mal's time, a number of Afghán traders used to come this way, and returned with goods of Indian and European manufacture, but the lawless conduct of the Bozdárs, and their immediate neighbours on the west, has long since put a stop to the traffic.

† Some one probably heard Afgháns talking about this part, in doing which they had to use the name in an inflected form, and called it Borey, the *h* would be changed into *ey*, and hence this place and tract of country have been incorrectly called "Bori" and "Boree" for Borey, the inflected form, whereas Borah is correct. It is a walled town of considerable size.

higher up the Sanghar darah. It receives a feeder from the right hand about two miles above this point.

The united rivers furnish an unfailing supply of good water, which is saved for irrigation purposes by means of dykes, and fertilizes a large tract of country. The Drúg river is the boundary between the Khasránís and Bozdárs.

A sub-division of the Bozdár clan, the Gulámání Bozdárs, occupy some of the highest slopes of the Koh-i-Siyah, both on the eastern and also on the western side, adjoining the Afghán country, but they are few in number. The Sihárni and Súwární sub-divisions of the Bozdárs cultivate lands along the banks of the Sanghar river, on the east side of the Black Range. This last-mentioned range is generally uninhabited.

Forage is abundant along the whole route. It occupies a caravan of traders about three hours, from the time of entering the last defile through the Black Range, to overcome all its difficulties, and emerge on the western slope. Beyond again hills begin to rise, at a distance of about 14 miles farther to the west, but they are comparatively low, and the difficulties of the road are by no means great. About 10 or 12 miles still farther west again, and just 25 miles from the ridge of the Koh-i-Siyah, and running almost parallel to it, are hills still loftier. These bound the Kihtrán country on the west. Beyond them lie the districts of Chotíálí and Borah, which are separated from each other by another ridge of hills running almost due west towards a still higher range of mountains, which it joins, and which, with several breaks in the chain, runs down in a south-westerly direction from Spín Ghár to Dádhar. The lower portion of this latter range is called the Jzobah mountains, in which is the Jzobah* (not "Joba") peak, and on their eastern slopes the River Jzob rises. North of the ridge above mentioned, running due west to the Jzobah mountains, is the district of Borah, and south is Chotíálí.

Immediately adjoining the Bozdárs, west of the highest range, are the Lúrnís, a sub-tribe of the great tribe of Míánah, of the Sharkhabún division, while the Ja'fir Afgháns, a small and weak sub-tribe also of the Míánahs, adjoin the Bozdárs to the north of the Lúrnís.† Their chief village is Dágh. The Bozdárs are bounded on the east, in the plains, by the Nutkánís, already mentioned as having been, not very long ago, the ruling tribe; on the south, in the hills, by the Laghárís, and, in the plains, by the Lúnds.

Díwán Sáwan Mal sent a force against them during the time he ruled over the Multán province, which included the Lower Derah-ját, and they defeated it. The Díwán then determined to move against them in person. He made a forced march one night from Derah-i-Ghází Khán to Amdání, a distance of about 30 miles, and, having halted for a few hours, instead of entering the Sanghar pass, moved to the west, entered the Mahúey pass, up which he proceeded for a few miles, then turned north, and, passing between one of the parallel ridges, so remarkable in the Koh-i-Surkh in particular, which passages are called "thoks" by the Balúchís, came suddenly upon the Bozdárs, who were completely surprised. He remained in their country for three days, during which time he burnt several of their villages, and committed great devastation. He, however, neglected to secure his withdrawal, and the Bozdárs and their allies, the Khasránís, succeeded in occupying the defiles by which his force had to retire; and, in that narrow defile in the Sanghar pass known as the Khán-Band Tangí, or defile, commencing at the point where the Drúg river joins the combined Sanghar and Lúndí, a few miles from its entrance, he was attacked, and his force had to retreat with considerable loss, leaving their booty and effects in the hands of the Bozdárs and their allies, and fled, in great disorder, through the Sanghar pass.

When a body of troops from the Panjáb irregular force, previously alluded to, marched to chastise the same tribe in March, 1857, it moved from Tonsá, entered the Sanghar pass, and encamped at a distance of about five miles from its entrance, at a small village called Dachí kí Kachchhí,‡ and, on making a *reconnaissance* in front, found the Khán-Band Tangí occupied. On the following morning early, the troops

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* Which is also written Jzíobah.

† There are a number of Afghán tribes and clans hereabouts, in this south-western portion of Afghánistán, of whom people generally know little or nothing, because we have come less into contact with them than any others; and as the Kákars are the most numerous tribe in this direction, and their name best known, any smaller tribe, about whose descent nothing is known, is, at once, set down as a "Khakad," or a "Kowker Baloch." There is a clan of the Parnís called Khajzak, and the pass of that name is called after them. They were descended from Khajzak, son of Parní, and located in that part. Under the name of "Kujjukzyes," they also have been turned into "Kakurs."

‡ Kachchhí signifies low-lying ground capable of cultivation, near a hill stream.

advanced, and, on approaching the defile, the heights were crowned on either flank, and the Bozdárs, numbering nearly 2,000 men, were, after two hours' resistance, forced back, with some loss on either side, and, at length, they abandoned their strong position. By midday the defile was forced, and the troops encamped in the open tract to the westward of it, near a place called Haran-Kot, or Harand-Kot, but which, in the Indian Atlas map, appears as "Hurunbore," and near the point where the Lúndí joins the Sanghar river. Here the country is open as far west as the ridge lying next the main ridge of the Koh-i-Siyah, or Black Range. After this the troops marched up the valley of the Sanghar river, without any opposition from, or signs of, the Bozdárs, as far as Bhartí, where the Bozdárs had considerable cultivation. Parties were sent out from their camp to destroy the villages and crops; and, after remaining two days, the force marched up the thok or valley of the small river Daulí-wálah, which, rising between the highest ridge of the Koh-i-Siyah and the first parallel ridge from it, on the eastern side, flows from north to south for about six miles, and falls into the Sanghar river. This second ridge is called Bhaghah by the Bozdárs, and the thok leads up to the point where the Lúndí river pierces the second ridge in question, a distance altogether of just 12 miles, after which the Lúndí flows westward through the open country previously noticed, and joins the Sanghar near Harand-Kot. After this the Bozdárs made their submission, and the force returned by the same route as it had come, and the expedition ended, which, from the 6th of March, when the force entered the Sanghar pass, to the 23rd, when it again emerged from it, occupied 18 days.

The next darah south of that of Sanghar is Mahúey, so called after a small river which rises in the Koh-i-Surkh or Red Range, about 12 miles to the southward of Harand-Kot of the Bozdárs. The darah leads into that of Sanghar by one of the thoks or openings between the parallel ridges of the mountains, and is practicable for laden camels and other beasts of burden. Here too forage is plentiful, and the water is good and never failing, but, about eight miles from its source, the water becomes bitter, and is only fit for irrigation purposes. There are, however, some wells of good water near the entrance to the pass, which is also held by the Bozdárs.

The next darah, nine miles to the south, is called the Shorí darah and pass. The river of that name rises on the eastern slope of one of the parallel ridges of the Koh-i-Siyah or Black Range, at about 20 miles, as the crow flies, from the mouth of the pass on the east. It winds its way among the long parallel ridges of the Koh-i-Surkh or Red Mountains, which here are five in number, and remarkably regular. The darah contains an unfailing supply of good water up to nearly its entrance into the plains of the Derah-ját, and forage is also plentiful.

The Lúnd clan of Balúchís are located in the plains immediately east of these two passes, but the country between the plains and the Black Range is, with the exception of that between the range just named and the Red Range, wholly uninhabited. Between the two ranges, but widely dispersed, the Jalálání Bozdárs dwell in a few small villages or kotlahs, and cultivate their kachchhís, down almost as far as the Widor darah, the boundary between the Bozdárs and the Lágháris. To their west again, beyond the Black Range, the Lúrní Míánahs dwell—not the "Kuteerans," as the Kihtráns are styled by some of the local authorities—in walled villages.

The darahs of Mahúey and Shorí are of no great importance. They lead one into the other through the thoks in the Koh-i-Surkh, and the first-named into the Sanghar darah, but access to them is difficult, and only practicable to men on foot. They were wont to be used by the Bozdárs in their raids into the district of Derah-i-Ghází Khán.

As we proceed south we reach the lands of the Khosah Balúchís, a tolerably powerful clan, and acknowledged to be the bravest among them, but they are divided among themselves by feuds and quarrels. Like all other border tribes, whether Afghán or Balúch, they are addicted—or, at least, used to be—to harrying their neighbours when opportunity offers. They hold a cluster of small darahs, but there are none of them of much importance, and few extend farther than the Koh-i-Surkh, and only lead into the larger darahs of the Bozdárs already noticed. The former are the darahs of Matí Kalerí, Súrí (this darah is much longer than the others, the river, rising in the Koh-i-Surkh, contains a never-failing supply of good water to near the mouth of the pass), Rehkarn, Ghází, Satá'í, Behlab, Kahbí, Ghámán, Sufaidú, Kárú, Súr, and Ráey, each of which contains a small stream or a spring, but the streams of the greater number are either dry throughout the hot seasons, or are expended in irrigation before reaching the mouths of the darahs. The stream in the Kárú darah is bitter, and impregnated with sulphur or some other mineral. These darahs are

inhabited by a few Khosahs towards the lower or eastern parts, but all the intervening space, to the skirt of the Black Range, a distance of about 20 miles, is totally uninhabited, except by a few Bozdárs, near the highest range, as before mentioned. The Súrí darah communicates with those of Shorí and Mahúey, which lead into the Sanghar darah, and there are mountain paths leading to and fro to the others, but they are difficult to thread, even for men on foot. Forage is plentiful in most places. The majority of the Khosah clan dwell in the plains of the Derah-ját.

Next in rotation is the Widor darah and pass. The river of that name, incorrectly called the "Nuddore Nullah" in the Indian Atlas Map, which runs through it, rises on the eastern slope of the highest part of the main ridge of the Koh-i-Siyah, under the prominent peak of Súronk or Súrong, which rises to the height of nearly 8,000 feet. The river receives two feeders of some importance, rising in the same range farther to the south, and some others of lesser consequence from the Koh-i-Surkh, lower down.

The Widor river is the boundary between the Bozdárs and the Laghárís, presently to be noticed, and the Laghárí village of Widor lies six miles east of the entrance to the pass, which, however, lies within the bounds of the village of Belah. A small section of the Khosahs, to the number of less than one hundred persons, cultivate the lands, and dwell near the entrance of the pass, but the Laghárís, who live a nomadic life, dwell above them, to the west, up to the Koh-i-Siyah.

The water of the Widor river is good and unfailing up to the mouth of the pass, when it becomes expended for purposes of irrigation, but there are also springs of good water. Forage can be obtained in plenty.

The Dalánah darah and pass comes next in rotation, near the entrance to which is the Khosah village of that name, as well as the villages of Zai and Sab-kúah, not "Sooktoba." Water is obtained from wells, or rather pits, dug in the bed of the river, the water of which never reaches the Derah-ját, except after heavy floods of rain in the mountains. There are a few date trees in this darah, which are looked upon as rarities, although plenty are to be found in the Derah-ját itself.

It is about 21 miles from Dalánah village to the main ridge of the Koh-i-Siyah, and a route through the darah, which is very difficult, about two thirds of the way thither, falls into the route through the darah of Widor. The route through this darah is practicable for beasts of burden as far as the main ridge of the Koh-i-Siyah, but the defile in it, which leads into the Kihtrán country, is so narrow that a laden animal can scarcely pass. A little engineering would, no doubt, soon render it practicable.

There are numerous shísham trees (*Dalbergia sisu*) near the hamlet of Hadíání, called after the nomad section of the Laghárí tribe.

Parallel to the Dalánah darah, beyond the Koh-i-Siyah, dwell the Kihtrán Afgháns, with whom the Khosahs are on good terms. They occupy a considerable tract of country, and are seldom seen in the district of Derah-i-Ghází Khán. The people of the same name and blood, dwelling in the northern part of the district, are now quite separated and distinct from them.

South of the Khosahs are the Laghárís, another powerful Balúch tribe, as far as numbers are concerned, who dwell partly in the mountains and partly in the Derah-ját.* Widor, Chhotí-i-Bálá (Higher Chhotí), Chhotí-i-Pá'ín (Lower Chhotí), and Sakhí Sarwar, the proper name of which is Nigáhah. Sakhí Sarwar, signifying Sakhí the Saint or spiritual guide, is applied to it because the shrine of this reputed saint lies close by it, on a spur of the hills.

The Laghárís hold the Sakhí Sarwar, and Chhotí darahs and passes, but Widor, their chief village, is about six miles from the entrance to the Widor pass.

The remarkable formation of the two ranges—the Koh-i-Siyah and Koh-i-Surkh—from this point becomes much changed and disturbed. The numerous parallel ridges of the Koh-i-Surkh, which run in the shape of gigantic waves on a sandy beach, or lines of infantry in columns, become broken, and much less in breadth, and, in their place, a series of elevated plateaux or swells, covered with pebbles, intervene between the now single ridge bounding the Derah-ját on the east.

The main ridge of the Koh-i-Surkh again appears some miles farther south, and, still lower down, several others, while a large parallel ridge, of considerable elevation, and some 10 or 12 miles in length, is thrown forward a few miles into the plains in front of Lower Chhotí, distant about 10 miles. Swells of the same description (consisting of stones and pebbles, and a peculiar yellowish red clay,† which, for its

* This is the tribe which abducted a live Deputy Commissioner from the district, and carried him off to the hills, where they detained him as a hostage for some days.

† This same colour is seen in the same range at the Nafusk and Sartáf passes farther west.

hardness, might be almost taken for stone), as already mentioned, but less in elevation, to the north of this ridge, are thrown out for nearly 12 miles into the plains towards the Sind or Indus. These disturbances occur again some 12 miles to the south-east of this ridge, and then the hills gradually disappear.

South of the Widor pass seven miles is the Sakhí Sarwar pass, so called after the Muhammadan Pír or saint above mentioned. He was a Sayyid, that is to say, a descendant from 'Ali and the daughter of Muhammad; hence he is also styled Sultán, a title like Sháh applied to Sayyids, not that he was the possessor of sovereign power, a conclusion by some rashly arrived at.* Sultán Sakhí, the Sarwar, or spiritual guide, was named Ahmad. He was the son of Sayyid Zain-ul-'Abidain, and was born at Sháh-Kot,† about 650 H., and died about 690 H.—A.D., 1291. His tomb is situated on a spur of the Koh-i-Surkh, jutting out into the plains of the Derah-ját. Below it, to the north, is the bed of a mountain torrent rising in the same range, but it is always dry except after heavy falls of rain in the mountains. The dwellings which, in course of time, have sprung up around the tomb, form a considerable town, the number of inhabitants being about 2,500 souls, including 1,650 who are attendants at the saint's shrine, among whom are a great number of the Jat tribe of Khokhar, which, once very numerous and powerful, made a great figure in the Panjáb territories, and held possession of the province of Láhor. They have often been, and are still, confounded with and mistaken for the Ghakhars, between whom and them no connection ever existed, and who are a totally different people.

The place is supplied with water from a tank or reservoir, built about two centuries since, and by water, more or less black in colour and fetid in smell, from wells, as the pits or holes dug in the bed of the river, a few miles west of the town, are termed; but water, whatever its quality, is deficient in quantity here.

For an account of the town and shrine of Sakhí Sarwar, and its annual *melá* or fair, see my paper in the "Bengal Asiatic Journal" for 1855.

The route by the Sakhí Sarwar pass, which, beyond the Koh-i-Siyah, joins the Sanghar route, already described, is one of the routes to Kandahár by Chotíálí, Tal, and Pushang, and, among other things brought down from Kandahár and Kwatah by Pushang and the Sakhí Sarwar, Sanghar, and Harand passes into the Derah-ját by the caravans of traders, were very fine oxen for the Sikh artillery. In the reign of Akbar Bádsháh couriers are said to have been in the constant habit of reaching Multán from Kandahár, by this route, in six days, and mangoes used to be conveyed to that city from Multán in the same period of time. On one occasion Mukarrab Khán, a member of the Sadozí or royal tribe of the Afgháns, reached Kandahár from Multán, on a riding camel, very easily in eight days.

The defile begins about four miles west of the town of Sakhí Sarwar, where there occurs a considerable descent into the valley of the Sirí river, which runs through a tolerably well wooded plateau lying at the eastern base of the main ridge of the Koh-i-Siyah, and the first stage to Sirí, a now ruined kotlah or walled village of the Khosahs, is reached after a march of about 13 miles. The bed of the Mithawan, another stream, joins that of the Sirí from the north-west, in both of which the water is good, but fails soon after they reach the Koh-i-Surkh, and before their beds unite, consequently these rivers cannot strictly be said to join their streams, except after heavy rains in the mountains.

The road or path then ascends gradually for nearly five miles to a break in the Koh-i-Siyah, in a zigzag direction, when a plateau is reached, which extends for about another five miles, and then the road again descends for some distance to the west, down the slopes of the range to Rukní‡, in the Kihtrán country. Here the routes by Sanghar and the other passes join, and from this halting place the next stage is Durázú-Kot, the residence of the Kihtrán Chief, distant just 17 miles.

I was told by Jamál Khán, the Laghárí Chief, in April 1853, when at Sakhí Sarwar, that, at the distance of a day's journey, through rather a difficult country, he possessed a tract of table land of some extent, well wooded, and containing a fine sheet of water; and that he usually retired thither with his family in the hot season, and greatly extolled its beauty and salubrity. This is evidently the tract of land on the Sirí river just referred to.

Farther south are three other streams containing good water, which, in time of floods, join the Mithawan, but, on other occasions, their waters are lost in the Koh-i-

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* A most amusing specimen of such an error may be found in my "Account of Suwát," in the "Bengal Asiatic Journal" for 1862, page 19.

† In the parganah of Multán, near Kotlah Najábat, about 14 miles south of the city.

‡ This name is doubtful; I think it should be Barkhar or Barkhan.

Surkh, the intervening space between which, from the easternmost point of that range to the higher (and only ridge here) of the Koh-i-Siyah, does not exceed 10 or 11 miles.

Two miles farther south we come to the Kúrah darah and river, which forms the boundary between the Laghárís and their southern neighbours, the Gúrchánís. The river, or rather two small streams rising on the eastern slopes of the Koh-i-Siyah, after running apart for about six miles, unite and form the Kúrah, soon after which the water fails.

Before passing into the Gúrchání boundary it will be well to give some account of the Kihtrán Afgháns.

All sorts of mistakes have been made respecting this powerful and not very quarrelsome clan, and in various official reports they have been turned into "Balochees," like their Afghán brothers, the so-called "Khakads," "Khakas," and "Kowkers." Kihtrán was one of the two sons of Shkúrn, son of Míánah, therefore the Kihtráns are a sub-tribe of the Míánahs, and, consequently, belong to the Sharkhabún division of the Afghán people. They occupy a strip of territory conformable with the bend of the Koh-i-Siyah towards the Indus, about 30 miles in width, and about 60 from north-east to south-west, commencing from the parallel of the Súrí darah and pass of the Lunds to the frontier of the Marí territory, and which forms the most southern boundary of the Afghán tribes on the south-east. The Koh-i-Siyah, which afterwards runs westwards towards Dádhar, constitutes the southern boundary of Síwístán. The Kihtráns are consequently bounded on the north by the Músá Khel clan of the Kákars, on the west side of the Koh-i-Siyah, and by the Bozdárs on the east side, south by the Marís, east by the Laghárís and Gúrchánís, in succession from north to south, and west by the Lúrní Míánahs, Parnís, Kákars, and others, in succession from north to south. There would be some difficulty to find any "Jadran range" separating the "Kuteerans," as they have been styled in a local report,* "from the Candahar plain," because the range does not lie in this direction, and also because several ranges of mountains, many tracts of country, and several Afghán tribes, intervene between them and the "Candahar plain," which is small in point of area, and lies more than 250 miles, as the crow flies, from the western limits of the Kihtrán country.

The Koh-i-Siyah here averages about nine miles in breadth from east to west, including the highest ridge, which is from one and a half to three or four miles in width, out of which the highest peaks shoot up. The western slopes are included in the Kihtrán country; and, as on the eastern side, there is plenty of land capable of cultivation on these slopes, watered by numerous small streams, which the Kihtráns take due advantage of. They are skilful cultivators, and raise immense quantities of grain, which the Balúch tribes, the Lúrnís, and Kákars, near them, are glad to purchase from them. There would be no deficiency in the matter of supplies for an army marching through their country. They carry on a brisk trade in cattle with the district of Derah-i-Ghází Khán, and bring down bullocks, camels, sheep, and goats. The Sakhí Sarwar or Nigáhah pass is the route they chiefly take.

The Kihtráns are on friendly terms with the Khosahs, with whom the Chief is connected by marriage, and with the Laghárís, their nearest neighbours to the east, but are at feud with the Bozdárs and Marís, and the Lúrní Afgháns. Such of the Kihtráns as I have seen, and they were not very commonly met with at Derah-i-Gházi Khán, were square built, sturdy men, of middle height, with reddish hair and beards, and fresh-looking, healthy countenances, and often with grey eyes, and as different in appearance from the Balúchís of this part as day from night.

After this digression I come to the Gúrchánís and their *locale*. Their chief villages are Lál-garh, Chútú, Thal-i-Wazír, and Pitáfí. They hold several minor darahs, commencing from that of Chhotí of the Laghárís, as far south as the important darah and pass of Cháchar.

About six miles south of the Kúrah darah, already referred to as separating the Laghárí country from that of the Gúrchánís, and passing by the dry beds of two mountain torrents, is the darah of Khasúrah, so called from the river of that name. It contains a never-failing stream of good water, rising on the eastern slopes of the Koh-i-Siyah, at the foot of a mountain of that range, called the Jingár mountain. North of it, about two miles distant respectively, are two other small rivers, also rising on the eastern slopes of the same range, which contain, for some miles, a constant

* In the official "Report of the Candahar Mission" of 1857 they are styled "Kathryans," and "Kathryan Beloochees."

supply of water, called the Kúmbír and the Gúrandání, and another, about the same distance south, called the Kálah Khasúrah—between which, and about three miles from the entrance to those darahs, lies the hamlet of Mauz-garh—also containing a good supply of water, but they too are lost in the Koh-i-Surkh.

Káfilahs of traders used to come from the Kihtrán country by the valley of the Khasúrah river, through a break in the higher range, called the Gúrandání mountain, giving name to one of the small streams just referred to, but the route has been abandoned for some time past.

I have already mentioned that south of Sakhí Sarwar the two ranges become considerably disturbed, and the Koh-i-Surkh vastly changed. At this point, however, the latter range begins to assume the form of parallel ridges again, but less in length, generally, and greater in number, and this continues as far southward as the Zangí darah, when other great changes take place. The Koh-i-Siyah, which ran in one great ridge from the parallel of the Widor darah, now becomes heaped together, and we have no less than five, one on the west side of the main ridge, and three on the east, making five ridges in all. Subsequently these ridges again begin to be disturbed, and others are thrown out to the right and left, those to the northwards being the highest, and, at last, form a circle, and enclose within that circle an elevated plain about 33 miles long from north to south, and rather less in breadth from east to west. This plain contains an area of nearly 1,000 square miles, several rivers rise in it, and it is, altogether, the best watered tract in these parts. It is called the Plain of Shúm or Shúm Plain.

This rich tract, which might easily be brought into a high state of cultivation, and support a great number of people, was very lately, as I believe it is even now, totally uninhabited, and the gúr-khar or wild ass, and other game, revel in its rich grass and luxuriant cover undisturbed. The banks of its streams are also covered with trees and shrubs of various kinds.

It belongs to a branch of the Búghtí Balúchís, and they used, in former years, to cultivate it partially, but the Shúmbánís, as that branch is styled, have been long since compelled, through the incursions of that lawless and more powerful tribe, the Marís, to abandon it, and seek security in the mountains. The Búghtís too, who have also a bad name for lawlessness, have, in a great measure, been broken up by Jacobábád politics from first to last. A large number of them, to the amount of about 12,000, have been settled at and around Lárkhánah, in Upper Sind. The remains of the tribe, who still dwell in their old seats, are pretty strong in point of numbers.

South of the Khasúrah darah and river, at a distance of little over a mile, we reach the small darah of Suwágrí, and four miles still farther southwards, the Ghátí darah, containing the dry beds of torrents, which after heavy rains come down from the Koh-i-Siyah. These torrent beds are used by men on foot to pass to and fro between the plains and the Drágul mountain ridge, the northernmost of those thrown off from the Koh-i-Siyah, between which and the main ridge, the Kálah Khasúrah rises on the northern end, and near it, but in the contrary direction, the Gúrgandáwí tributary of the Káhá rises, and flows southwards. The Drágul peak rises to the height of 5,400 feet.

Four miles south of the Ghátí darah is the darah and pass of Káhá, which is less used as a route than the Cháchar darah and pass, lower down, on account of the road by the bed of the Káhá river being rough and very stony.

The Káhá darah and pass, sometimes called, but erroneously so, the Kúho darah, from a tributary of the Káhá river, and also known as the Harand pass, takes its name from the Káhá river, which rises a long way within the Afghán territory to the north, runs through the Kihtrán country, and drains a considerable tract. It flows from north to south, and, on reaching the south-western face of the northernmost of the five ridges of the disturbed part of the Koh-i-Siyah, receives two tributaries from the north-east. The first, which is called the Mataní Kund, is the most considerable. *Kund*, in Sanskrit, signifies a spring, a pool, or basin of water. The stream rises on the western side of a ridge, north of the main ridge of the Koh-i-Siyah, at the point where the Káhá pierces the range, and where it makes a bend to the west, bounds the Shúm plain on the north, and begins to encircle it. The second tributary rises between the Mataní Kund ridge and the main ridge of the Koh-i-Siyah. A third comes from the north-east, from the southern part of Síwístán, the same that is crossed in the route from the Derah-ját to Pushang by Chotíálí, and called the Kúh and Kúho, which must not be confounded with the Káhá, of which it is only a tributary. A fourth tributary of the Káhá river comes from the west. It rises on the slopes of the Koh-i-Siyah bounding the Shúm plain on that side, and is called the

Phailáwar river. The Káhá thus increased flows about four miles farther towards the south, and then makes an abrupt bend to the north-west, and, flowing for two and a half miles in that direction, receives another stream from the north, rising between the second and third ridges of the Koh-i-Siyah, and another small stream from the south, rising on the northern slopes of the fifth and southernmost ridge of the same range.

The Káhá continues to thread its way in the same direction between the southernmost ridges of the range, receives the Gargandáo river, rising between the second ridge and the Drágul or third ridge, and then runs between the Drágul and Marí ridges. After clearing their immediate vicinity, it enters the now very much depressed Koh-i-Surkh and the Derah-ját four miles west of the fort of Harand, at which point of exit the waters are drawn off in canals and conveyed, by way of Harand, as far east as Dájal, a distance of 16 miles, and used by the Gúrchánís and Lunds for the irrigation of their lands, a considerable tract of country. The Káhá and its tributaries is, without exception, the most considerable river of south-eastern Afghánistán, and from the Derah-i-Ismá'íl Khán down to the sea.

A little farther south are two other small darahs and streams, the first and largest of which is the Khalgarí, which contains plenty of grass and good water, near its sources on the eastern slope of the Marí ridge of the Koh-i-Siyah, called the Chirchandí Kund. The darah is somewhat stony, but men on foot use it in going to and fro between the Marí ridge and Harand. The other darah and stream is called Mírlar. Its water soon fails, but, when the floods come, after heavy rains in the hills, then the waters of both this and the Khalgarí reach the bed of the Káhá river.

The entrance to the Cháchar darah and pass lies two and a half miles to the southward of the Káhá darah. The Cháchar river rises in that part of the Koh-i-Siyah, forming the southern boundary of the Shúm plain, flows about 23 miles in a north-easterly direction, and then, on the eastern side of the plain, receives, from the west, the Kalchar river and its small tributaries, rising a little to the east of the eastern slopes of the Koh-i-Siyah, which bounds the Shúm plain on the west. This latter ridge forms the Marí boundary in this direction, and lies about 12 miles east of Káhan. The Cháchar river afterwards receives the little river Latlúr from the north, and then, turning towards the south-western point of a spur from the south-westernmost of the five ridges of the Koh-i-Siyah, is thrust aside to the westward of it. Here the hills rise in some places abruptly from the river bed. Afterwards the river runs between the said spur and the ridge, and turns and bends beneath its south-eastern slopes, receives a few minor rivulets from the south and west, and enters among the numerous low parallel ridges of the Koh-i-Surkh—which, from the point where the Khasúrah river enters the plains, begins to assume a number of small parallel ridges even more numerous than they were farther north—where the waters begin to fail, and soon after are lost, and only reach the Derah-ját after heavy falls of rain in the mountains. The water is pretty good, but there is a mineral spring in the pass. The low hills of the Koh-i-Surkh, between it and the Káhá Pass, are inhabited by the Dúrkání section of the Gúrchánís, who feed their numerous flocks of fat-tail sheep on the rich grass of their hills.

The stages by this route are as follow:—1. Harand to Múní, about 13 miles, water not particularly good. 2. Tobah, 11 miles, water very good. 3. Gond, 12 miles, water indifferent. 4. Katar Pahár, the boundary of the Gúrchání country, 15 miles, good water. 5. The next stage, a long one, leads to the Marí capital, over the Koh-i-Siyah bounding the Shúm plain on the west, distant about 23 miles from the last stage.

Caravans of traders used formerly to frequent this route, and come from various parts of Afghánistán and Balúchistán, as being the nearest road into the Panjáb, and from thence farther east, but it has been abandoned for some time on account of its being infested by the Marís, and traders have chosen a longer, but safer, route by Upper Sind.

Another list of stages has been given, but I cannot vouch for its accuracy, as the computations of some of the distances give greater lengths than are likely, because Káhan is only distant from Harand, as the crow flies, 72 miles. The stages referred to are as follow:—1. Tobah, 18 miles (I make it 16); Bush ke Bet, 22 miles (I make it 19); Gídarpúr (?) 19 miles; Kálá Páni (Katar Pahár?), 25 miles; Káhan, 16 miles; just 100 miles, but this latter route may follow the windings of the river more than the other route given above, which Kaurah Khán, the Khosah Chief, famous in the last Panjáb campaign before the annexation of that territory, and our ally, furnished me with in 1853.

After the Gúrchánís come the Drishak Balúchís, but they dwell wholly in the plains. Their chief towns and villages are Asaní, Bágh, Rájanpúr, and Fázilpúr. They have the Gúrchánís to their west in the hills, and the Búghtís still farther to the south of the Gúrchánís, and in the Derah-ját their southern neighbours are the Mazáris, also a Balúch tribe.

As we proceed farther southward, the dreariness of this inhospitable region increases, and the country for many miles, both inside and outside the hills, is a howling wilderness, where the gúr-khar or wild ass roams uninterrupted and unmolested. The only exceptions are near the rivers' beds, where grass is plentiful in the hills, and a narrow belt of cultivation extending some 12 miles along the west bank of the Indus.

The first darah and pass, south of that of Cháchar, about nine miles, and the last within the Gúrchání limits, is that of Fajrú, through which there is a route leading into the great route by Harand to Chotíálí and Tal. It is very sandy, but, on the south side, a few trees relieve the dreary landscape. Water is to be found in the upper part of the darah, but it soon fails, and the bed of the river, which rises in the Koh-i-Surkh, the lowest range, is dry, except after floods of rain in the hills.

The next darah and pass is Baghárí, five miles south of Fajrú, and three miles farther on in the same direction is the darah and pass of Jaházgí, erroneously styled "Cheghdee" in some maps. These darahs are so called from the streams, bearing those names, rising in the Koh-i-Surkh, and only contain water for a mile or two from their sources. The hills, however, afford good pasturage, and good shelter, for some distance on either side. The Bihishtú mountain, farther west, as well as this part of the Koh-i-Surkh, is inhabited by the Lishárí section of the Gúrchánís, who here feed numerous flocks.

Both these darahs contain routes which lead into the great one from Harand to Chotíálí by the Káhá and Cháchar passes, but they are difficult and heavy on account of the sandy nature of the rivers' beds, and are of little consequence. They were used formerly by plundering parties in their incursions into the plains. The nearest inhabited place in British territory is Fathpúr, distant about 12 miles from the skirt of the hills. It belongs to the Drig Balúchís.

Next in rotation comes the Thok darah and pass, about five miles south of Jaházgí. The aspect of the country is bare and inhospitable, and the dreariness is only relieved, here and there, by a few stunted trees and shrubs. The stream giving name to the darah rises beyond the Koh-i-Surkh, in part of the disturbed portion of the Koh-i-Siyah, previously referred to, and the bed of another, rising still farther north, joins it, but except after heavy rains their beds are dry a few miles below their sources. Water is therefore scarce, and when procurable often bitter. A stream of good water, called the Kúnar Kund, is to be found about a mile from the entrance of the pass, which rises in one of the detached mountains of the Koh-i-Surkh.

The route by this darah to the Shúm plain is good for horsemen, and is used by the hill tribes. About 15 miles W.N.W. is a village of the Gúrchánís called Múní and Múrní, inhabited by about 300 people, mostly shepherds. There is no cultivation between the mountains and the Indus nearer than the village of Gámú, distant 19 miles from the former, inhabited by Drig Balúchís, numbering about 500 souls.

A few of the principal stages of the route through this darah into the Afghán country by Chotíálí and Tal, are:—1. Makárí, 12 miles, where there are a number of shady trees, but the water is bitter. 2. Pharah Phat, 17 miles, with good water, and some shady trees. 3. Phálah Wágh, about the same distance as the last stage, water good, and a few trees. 4. Lassú, 12 miles, water indifferent. 5. Bákí, or Bárí Khán—which is also called Barkhar,* I believe—in the Kihtrán country, distant about 19 miles. 6. A long march of 30 miles to Kaholo, where water is good and abundant, and some shady trees are to be found.

Five miles farther south-west from the Thok darah is that of Chák. The pass, however, is of little importance. Sand and rocks appear to be the chief variations in

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* This is probably Barkhán or Barkhar, the chief place of the Kihtrán tribe, but there is a good deal of discrepancy with respect to these two names. I think the first is correct.

It is stated that the late Nawwáb, Sádik Muhammad Khán of Baháulpúr, in order to punish an inroad of the Bráhúís, established an outpost at Barkhán, during the time he held possession of the Derah-i-Ghází Khán district, but it was withdrawn after having been kept there a year. It is also said that, at the distance of a short day's journey from thence, there is a pass, through which lies a direct road to Ghaznín and Kábul, but that it has been closed for many years by rolling stones and rocks into it, and filling it up for some distance. This route was formerly followed by káfilahs of traders, who came from Kábul direct to Derah-i-Ghází Khán, and the whole road is said to be practicable for artillery, and that another branches off from it leading direct to Kandahár. This last-named road refers, doubtless, to those mentioned farther on.

the landscape in this part of the Derah-ját. Through this darah a route leads to the Kot, or fort and village of Islám Khán, the head-quarters of the Búghtí tribe of Balúchís, which lies to the west, parallel to the Súrí darah and pass, farther to the south-west, and the last pass in these hills in the Derah-ját. The nearest inhabited place within the British border, the village of Kádirah, belonging to the Mazárí tribe of Balúchís, is some miles distant.

As we proceed farther southwards from the parallel of Mithan-kot, the breadth of the belt of cultivation along the Indus gradually decreases, until at the village of Rúján it does not extend more than about two or three miles from the Indus banks.

Less than two miles south-west of the Chák darah is the Shorí darah and pass, called, sometimes, the Gandrúsí darah. The Shorí river, after which the darah and pass is named, rises in the Shúm plain on the west side of that portion of the Koh-i-Siyah forming the east boundary of that plain. It drains a portion of it, but its waters fail soon after penetrating the Koh-i-Siyah and entering the Koh-i Surkh. The darah also contains some warm mineral springs, and a few trees here and there. The route by this pass leads into that by Harand to Chotiálí by the Cháchar pass, but it is very difficult. It is distant about 15 miles from the village of Hasan Sháh de Kotlah, in our territory, which is inhabited by a few Sayyids, but, of late years, with peace and quietness, the cultivation may have increased towards the west.

About three miles still farther southwards is the Mughal darah and pass, in which good water is obtainable, but this, like the Ispringí darah and pass, also containing good water, which lies rather less than a mile farther south, is of no great importance. These passes were used, in former times, by the hill robbers in their raids into the plains; and, as already mentioned, for several miles in breadth, the country at the foot of the lower range of mountains, and for a considerable distance within, is totally uninhabited, and generally wanting in water. These obstacles have tended to restrain the Marís and Búghtís from making raids in large bands upon our border, perhaps more so than the few weak posts scattered along the frontier. Small parties, however, have been known to pass the frontier posts unseen, and to penetrate within a short distance of Mithan-kot on the Indus, and carry off cattle successfully.

In this part of the Derah-ját dwell the Mazárí Balúchís, who, in proportion to other tribes of the same people, are pretty numerous. There are about 800 Súla'í Mazárís located at Kashmúr, the most northern village of Upper Sind, as at present constituted. The Mazárís are bounded north by the Drishaks, south by the Bráhúís, and west by the Búghtís, to the west of whom again are the Marís.

The next darah and pass in succession is that of Tahání, not "Tozanee," distant rather more than two miles from the Ispringí darah. It is called Tahání from the stream rising on the eastern slope of Mount Gandhárí, distant nine miles from the mouth of the pass, which is the most southern detached ridge of the Koh-i-Siyah, other ridges from which, from this point, turn abruptly to the west and then to the north, completely encircling the Shúm plain, and meet the other ridges of the range bounding the plain on the north, as already referred to. The bed of the Tahání stream, except near its source, is generally dry. Water is plentiful, but it is bad. There are other smaller streams more to the south containing water of the same description. Tahání can scarcely be termed a valley correctly, because the ground is much broken, and the hills consist of a number of peaks and ridges from the higher range, which are often of considerable height. The pass was used in former times by the Kihtráns, Marís, and Búghtís, in their raids on the plains. The route winds along the stony banks of the river bed when full, and in its bed when dry. Like the routes mentioned above, it joins the Harand route into Afghánistán by Chotiálí, and that by Harand to Káhan and Dádhar, but it is difficult and tedious, being very sandy. The nearest village to this pass in British territory is Badlí of the Mazárís, distant 22 miles.

As we continue our course southwards, the two ranges, the Koh-i-Siyah and Koh-i-Surkh, become much more broken, and the latter, or lower range, is not so well defined as hitherto, and of considerable less elevation than before.

Farther south, distant 11 miles, is the Zangí darah and pass, so called from a stream, sometimes called the Kalgharí, which takes its rise on the eastern slopes of that detached and curiously shaped ridge of the Koh-i-Siyah, in appearance like a great petrified centipede, or other crawling creature, called Mount Gandhárí, which ridge, forms, so to speak, the pivot on which both ranges, still greatly disturbed, turn westward towards Dádhar, where they, along with the Tobah range, merge into that

of Hálah which runs down to the sea.* Some writers very erroneously suppose that "a large offset of the Hala range extends eastward, forming the mountains held by "the Murree tribe of Kahun, and joining the Suliman range about Hurrund and "Dajel," but the facts are wholly contrary, as actual survey shows.

The two ranges proceed thus, as I have described, but somewhat less distinct, and of lesser altitude, for nearly 100 miles, until they merge with the Tobah and Hálah ranges. The offshoots from, and continuation of, the Koh-i-Siyah, form the southern boundary of Afghánistán in this direction, the southernmost district, as at present constituted, being Síwístán or Síbístan, of which Síwí or Síbí, once a considerable and important place, is the chief town, but it has gone to great decay.

The offshoots from, or continuation of, the Koh-i-Surkh form the northern boundary of Kachchhí or Kachchh-Gandáwah or Gandábah. In the space between these two ranges, forming, so to speak, a long irregular valley, lies Káhan and the Marí country. The celebrated Nafusk and Sartáf passes lie in the Koh-i-Surkh, and whoever has seen the late Dr. Kirk's coloured drawings of the scenery of these places will notice how appropriate is the name of surkh, signifying red, really a yellowish red, applied to the range. This colour is as distinctly apparent in the *débris* washed from it into the plains of the Derah-ját, about Sakhí Sarwar and Widor and farther north, as at Sartáf and Nafusk.

To return to the Zangí pass, however, a considerable change here takes place in both ranges, which turn abruptly west, as just above related, with the exception of a number of small ridges from the Koh-i-Siyah, which extend as far south as the Súrí darah and pass, where they finally terminate. The Koh-i-Surkh also becomes greatly altered, and from this point—the Zangí darah—it consists of elevated bluffs and long undulating swells, partly covered with pebbles, which gradually become less and lower, until, a little below Kashmúr, they disappear altogether in the dreary plains of Sind.

The western portion of the Zangí darah really consists, in all, of three darahs. The Zangí or Kalgharí river, as already mentioned, rises on the east side of Mount Gandhárí, flows from north to south for a few miles, receiving several small streams from the ravines in the sides of that mountain ridge, including the Chahailí rivulet from the west, and then, after passing on for some miles farther, the bed of the combined streams is called the Sat, and the defile through which it pierces, the Sat pass, the mouth of which lies about six miles north-west from the mouth of the Zangí pass. Alum and yellow ochre abound in many places within the Zangí pass and its branches; indeed the whole range teems with the latter to a greater or less degree, and partly accounts for its peculiar colour.

The Sat pass is strong and difficult, and the Mazárís are said to have often retired thither when hard pressed by enemies.

At this point, near the mouth of the Sat pass, lies another river bed, that of the Hindrainí, which stream rises to the east of and parallel to the Zangí or Kalgharí, and opens into it, while to the west another river rises, the Nathal, flowing from west to east, between the ridges where the Koh-i-Siyah, with the exception of the few fragments reaching about eight miles further south to the Súrí pass, terminates. The Nathal receives a number of small rivulets from the ravines on the southern face of Mount Gandhárí, which towers to the height of about 4,000 feet. The defile in which the bed of these mountain streams lies is called the Ráni pass, where good water is to be found, and where the bed of another stream, called the Chaugah, from the west, joins the beds of the others, about two miles before the Ráni pass opens into the Zangí darah. These three defiles, the Sat, Kalgharí, and Ráni, having opened out on the Zangí pass, at a distance of about seven miles from its entrance on the Derah-ját side, some other smaller rivulets, including the Kalárí from the south-west, also join the bed of the combined streams farther to the east. It must be understood that, except near their sources, the beds of these rivers are dry for greater part of the year, but, after heavy falls of rain or snow on the higher mountains, they sometimes rush down with considerable violence.

There are two routes through the Zangí pass by which Mount Gandhárí and the Shúm plain can be reached. One is by following the bed of the Zangí and that of the

* Abú-l-Fazl, in the A'ín-i-Akbarí, says, referring to the Sarkár of Thathah, that the northern mountains separate into four branches, and that one goes on towards Kandahár, and another stretches towards the sea as far as the town of Koh-Bár. "This," he says, "is named Rám-gar, and terminates with Síwístán, and that "part they call Lakhhí. Another branch runs from Sihwán to Síwí, and is styled Kihtar, and a fourth, the "extremity of which reaches Kachchh, is called Kárah." This passage, however, is not very clear.

Chahailí; the other by the bed of the Nathal, and by the Rání pass. Water is procured from wells, so called, or rather pits, dug in the beds of the streams, and from springs.

The route leading by this pass to Káhan is steep and difficult in some places, but improves as the traveller proceeds towards Káhan, distant eight stages. They are as follow:—1. To Thák, 10 miles, water abundant at that watering place, where there are a few wild olive and other trees. 2. Nathal, about 11 miles; water and a few trees. 3. Barbar, 12 miles; water and trees. 4. Thárí, about 12 miles; water and a few trees. 5. Marú, about the same distance; some water is procurable. 6. Pátur, on the banks of the Súrí river. This, in Messrs. J. and C. Walker's map, is styled the "Illiassee river," but such a name appears to be totally unknown in those parts. The distance is 13 miles, and there are trees and plenty of water. 7. Kálá Páni,* distant 11 miles; water and a few trees. 8. Káhan, 13 miles.

A ridge from the Koh-i-Siyah, running nearly east and west, and the last of any considerable elevation farther south, abuts on the east side of the Zangí darah and pass, and on the northern side of the same ridge the Rání pass joins the Zangí darah. On the southern slopes of this same ridge several streams rise, one of which, the Kalárí, joins the bed of the Zangí river, while the others, the principal of which, the Chúrzání and Núrání streams, after receiving a number of smaller ones, before entering the Derah-ját, join in two beds, and enter the plains a little way north of the frontier post of Bhúndowálí, and five miles to the south of the Zangí darah. Like most of the others, these river beds only contain water near the sources of the streams, although water may sometimes be found in their beds by digging, and only reach the plains after heavy floods.

Three miles still farther south is the darah and pass of Jíhárí, in which are a few stunted trees, and water is procurable. It is so called from the stream bearing that name, but its bed is generally dry. It receives some smaller streams rising on the southern slopes of the ridge mentioned above, but their beds are dry, except near their sources. There is a place eight miles from the entrance to this darah called Súrí dá Kahír, where good water is obtainable.

The Jíhárí pass also leads into the Káhan route, just described, but it is sandy in many places, and in others mountainous and stony. There is a frontier post near the skirt of the hills, about midway between this and the entrance to the Zangí pass.

The next and last darah and pass, about 12 miles lower down than the Jíhárí darah, before the mountains finally merge into the plains of Kachchhí or Kachchh-Gandábah, is that of Súrí, which pass leads to the Búghtí head-quarters or Derah,† and Káhan the chief town of the Marís, by Siríá, Húran, and the Mandú Kund, at which places, in the bed of the Súrí river, presently to be noticed, water is to be found.

The darah is so called from the Súrí river, which rises on the east side of the southern portion of the Koh-i-Siyah, encircling the Shúm plain on the south, and here called the Dubb mountains. It receives several feeders from the Shúm plain. First it receives the Basháfí river from the north; a little lower down, the Baghorání, also from the north; and still lower down, the Jhán-wálah. Just before emerging from the Shúm plain, the south-western portion of which these rivers drain, the Súrí receives the Dúbar from the north-east. After penetrating the Koh-i-Siyah, it receives a considerable feeder from the west, called the Gújirú, which rises on the south side of the Koh-i-Siyah, and runs almost parallel to the Súrí river, on the southern side of the range, while the Súrí runs on the northern side. At this same point it receives another feeder from the east, the Jangwání river, which rises between the ridges of Mount Gandhárí and another ridge of the Koh-i-Siyah bounding the Shúm plain on the south-east. Six miles still farther south, the Súrí receives

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* This is the same stage as is mentioned at page 15.

† Derah is the same word precisely as that in the Derah of Ghází Khán and the Derah of Ismá'íl Khán, already explained, but modern travellers, in their uncertainty as to the right spelling of proper names of persons and places, being generally unacquainted with or unable to read the original, and their plunging and floundering in consequence, this name has hitherto appeared as "Deyra," "Dheera," and "Deyrah." It is quite time that a uniform and correct—not a *fantastic* system based upon any one's *theories*, but on the vernacular forms of writing such names—should be adopted for the spelling of proper names. The systems hitherto followed, and the various ways in which names of persons, as well as places, have been written, is looked upon as ridiculous by educated natives of Afghánistán, as in the matter of "Quetta" for Kwatah, "Khelat" (persisting in writing it with kh when it contains no such letter) for Kal'at and Kal'át, "Maimené" for Maimanah, and such like fantastic ways.

Derah is situated in a fertile plain, which supplied abundant support to the cattle of General Sir C. J. Napier's force in the campaign against Bíjar Khán in 1845. The General ordered the fort of Derah to be destroyed. To the north of it, in the mountains, part of the Koh-i-Surkh, was Bíjar Khán's stronghold of Trakí.

the Andaríwár (?) from the north-east, which rises on the south slopes of Mount Gandhárí. After flowing onwards a little farther, it leaves the higher mountains altogether, and the water begins to fail, until, at about 30 miles from the eastern mouth of the pass, the bed of the Súrí becomes quite dry. Five miles more to the south, on the west side, is the bed of the Kajúrí river, and still lower down, in the same direction, the Bíjar de Rúd—Bíjar's river, near which is the spring or kund of Mandú—Mandú Kund, a halting place, where, as its name implies, good water is obtainable. The bed of the Súrí then takes a south-easterly course, and is joined by the beds (for they contain no water except near their sources) of some smaller streams from the west and east. About six miles south-east, below the Mandú Kund, is the halting place of Kabrudání, where there is water; and, about three miles lower down, the bed of the Kalárí from the west, and about a mile still lower, the bed of the Búrand, join the Súrí from the south-west. On the opposite side, it receives the bed of the Sunt river, which rises on the southern side of the ridges of the Koh-i-Siyah. The Sunt receives, higher up, the small rivers Belchú and Bárgí from the north-west, both of which rise on the sides of the same ridges, but a little farther to the east, and run nearly parallel to the Sunt darah and pass.

A little to the north of this point, where the bed of the Sunt joins the bed of the Súrí, the latter begins to wind its way among the small low ridges detached from the Koh-i-Siyah. From the mouth of the Sunt darah and pass, the bed of the Súrí runs in the direction of south-east for about seven miles, then nearly due south for about the same distance, and, near the halting place of Siriá, finally leaves the last stray ridges of the Koh-i-Siyah, which, at this point, terminates.

At the place where the Sunt pass and river bed debouches on the bed of the Súrí river, the latter receives the beds of several smaller hill streams, and the principal ones on the east side are, the Tugon, at the point of junction of which with the Súrí bed is the Tegah watering place, and, lower down, another called Húran. Still lower down are the halting places of Júgodah and Siriá, the latter being little over four miles from the eastern entrance of the Súrí pass, on either side of which, north and south, are two bluffs from the Koh-i-Surkh, the one to the north called Siriá dá Pusht, or the Siriá Hill, and that on the south Násir dá Pusht, or Násir's Hill. These are the most southern hills of that range, which range here likewise terminates.

These hills of the Koh-i-Surkh, which belong to the Mazárí tribe, are uninhabited for some distance round, and farther west, towards Káhan and Dádhar. They are of the usual yellowish red limestone, bleak and barren, and without signs of shrubs or trees, except along the beds of the mountain streams; in fact, all around is a dreary wilderness.

To return to the Súrí darah and pass, the road winds along the banks of the river and sometimes in its bed. Like all similar routes, it is heavy and steep in several places, but is practicable for camels, bullocks, and horses, but not for wheeled carriages; and, upon the whole, it is the best road south of the Sakhí Sarwar pass.

The Mazárí village of Sháh-wálí is nine miles from the mouth of the Súrí Pass, which is the natural boundary between the Derah-ját and Upper Sind. A line drawn from the pass to Sháh-wálí formed the boundary in the plains. Kot Islám Khán, the principal place belonging to the Búghtís, lies about 20 miles west of the Súrí pass.

Seven smaller mountain streams rise in the southernmost ridges of the Koh-i-Surkh before they finally terminate, but their water is lost in the sands of the Upper Sind border. The largest of these is the Kamur.

The Marí tribe of Balúchís are powerful in point of numbers. Their country has been already referred to. They are bounded by the Parní and Kihtrán Afgháns on the north, and on the south, east, and west by tribes of their own nationality.

In 1857, the Marís made a raid upon British territory; and, in the winter of 1858, they were punished for it by the Khán of Kal'át-i-Násir, their Balúch suzerain, under pressure from the political agent at his court. The Marís fled to the fastnesses in the Koh-i-Siyah, Káhan was dismantled, and they had to submit, and to give hostages for their future better behaviour. They have been pretty quiet ever since.

In former times, Síwístán and Kachchh-Gandábah were in a very flourishing condition. In the month of Zí-Ka'dah, 921 H. (January, 1515, A.D.), Sháh Beg Khán, the Arghún, who then held Kandahár, came into Sind from Síwí, which he had annexed because a dependency of that territory. He entered the townships (*karyah*, a large village or township, with its lands) of Káhan and of Bághbánán, and a thousand camels were taken from the wells alone. This shows the prosperity and fertility of those places at the period in question. Since that time, considerable changes in the bed of the Indus, in all probability, affected these parts. I shall return to this subject in my account

of the lost river of the Indian desert, and changes in the Panjáb rivers. The towns of Bághbánán—the (two) Bághs—at the time of Sháh Beg's inroad, were the boundary of Sind in that quarter.

The town of Síwí, the capital of Síwístán, once an important place, with a fort of some strength, lies at the skirt of a range of hills, and the stones of which it was built, it is said, were "all round (boulders), and, however so much one may dig and excavate "round about the place, only such stones are to be found."

The stream which flowed below Síwí in those days was impregnated with sulphur, and its water was extremely pernicious to health. In the time of Akbar, Bádsháh, we are told that the garrison had to be relieved yearly in consequence. Some time after, but in the same reign, a great flood came, and probably some volcanic action was at work at the same time, and the spring, the source of the stream, disappeared, and the baneful effects of the water were removed. The changed stream, at that time, used to flow a distance of 50 kuroh, to the district of Sarwáh, and was used for irrigation purposes, but a small portion of it found its way into Lake Manchhúr, the "Munchur" of our maps.

Subsequent to Sháh Beg Khán's time, in the reign of Jálál-ud-Dín, Muhammad Akbar, Bádsháh, the town of Síwí and its dependencies formed one of the maháls or departments of the Sarkár of Bakhhar; and its Afghán population had to furnish (as militia, when called upon) 500 horse and 1,500 foot, and paid 13 lakhs and 81,930 dáms (40 dáms to the rupee) of revenue in money. Bághbánán formed another Mahál in the Sarkár of Síwístán (Siwastán, of which Sihwán in Sind was the chief town), as did also Káhan and Pátar. Bághbánán paid 19 lakhs, and 80,152 dáms of revenue, in money; Káhan 20 lakhs, and 8,884; and Pátar 16 lakhs, and 40,764 dáms.

The territories of Dog, Pushang, and Shál, and Mastang and its dependencies, were included in the eastern division of the Kandahár province. Dog, at which place there was a fort of unburnt brick, paid 9 tománs (the *tomán* was then equal to a little more than $33\frac{1}{2}$ rupees—$33\frac{65}{120}$) in money, 1,900 kharwárs of grain, 12,000 sheep, and 15 horses; and the Tarín and Kákar inhabitants had to furnish 500 horse and 1,000 foot as militia.

At Shál, also known as Kwatah in recent times, there was a fort of unburnt brick, and it and its territory were assessed at four and a half tománs in cash, 940 sheep, and 780 kharwárs of grain. The Kásí Afgháns and Balúchís, therein dwelling, had to furnish 1,000 horse and 1,000 foot as a militia contingent when required.

At Pushang (which, with Dog, will be referred to presently in the account of the Sháhzádah Dárá-Shukoh's expedition to Kandahár) there had been a fort of unburnt brick of old. Its lands were assessed at 33 tománs in money, 3,200 sheep, and 500 kharwárs of grain, and the Kásí Afgháns and Balúchís had to furnish 1,500 horse and 1,500 foot as militia.

The town of Mastang and its dependencies paid 10 tománs and 8,000 dínárs, and 470 kharwárs of grain, and the Kásí Afgháns and Balúchís furnished 200 horse and 500 foot. There was a fort of unburnt brick at Mastang.

## Expedition of the Shahzadah Muhammad-i-Dara-Shukoh, Son of the Shah-i-Jahan, Badshah-i-Ghazí, against Kandahar.

The Persians having invested Kandahár in 1059 H.*—A.D. 1649,—Sháh-i-Jahán despatched his third son, Aurangzeb-i-'Alamgír, along with the Wazír, Sa'd-ullah Khán, as his mentor and guide, at the head of a large army to relieve it, but, by the time the army had reached Ghaznín from Kábul, Kandahár had fallen. They marched, however, to invest it, in 1061,—A.D. 1651,—and continued before the place for a period of four months. They defeated a Persian force sent from Hirát to create a diversion, but, the cold season being about to set in, the investment had to be abandoned.

In the following year, 1062 H.—A.D. 1652,—after vast preparations had been made, the Sháhzádah Aurangzeb, and the Wazír, again moved against Kandahár by way of Kábul; and Sháh-i-Jahán himself proceeded to Kábul to render aid if required. An inroad of the Uzbaks, however, into the Kábul province, caused the siege to be

* The year 1059 H. began on the 4th January 1649;
" 1060 H. " " 24th December 1649;
" 1061 H. " " 14th " 1650;
" 1062 H. " " 3rd " 1651; and
" 1063 H. " " 21st November 1652.

abandoned, and Aurangzeb and his army recalled, "when the fall of Kandahár," so they say, "could be reckoned on for certain within a very few days," but certainly several assaults were delivered without success.*

As soon as the movement of the army before Kandahár become known to the Uzbak invaders, they decamped; and Sháh-i-Jahán was greatly grieved and mortified to think that he had ordered the siege to be raised. I know of no history, except the "Táríkh-i-Kandahár," otherwise the "Latá'if-ul-Akhbár," of Rashíd Khán, from which the following account is taken, and who was present in Dárá-Shukoh's camp, which mentions the fact of the recall of Aurangzeb and his army, and the reason of it. On the contrary, other writers state that all the efforts of Aurangzeb and his troops were of no avail, and that the near approach of winter was the cause of the siege being finally abandoned.

"At last, the Sháhzádah, Muhammad-i-Dárá-Shukoh, the eldest and favourite son of Sháh-i-Jahán, noticing his father's grief and chagrin—for Kandahár was looked upon as one of the keys of India—offered to make another attempt to recapture it. His offer was accepted, and Dárá-Shukoh was made Súbahdár of the province of Kábul, and also of Multán, so that their resources might be at his disposal. The death of Sháh 'Abbás, the Persian monarch, about the same time, gave hopes of success, as it was expected and hoped that great disorders would arise in Persia in consequence.

"Dárá-Shukoh left Kábul and repaired to Láhor to make his preparations during the cold season. Two great battering guns were cast there, the ball required for one of which weighed 1 *man* and 5 *sers*=90 lbs. English. This gun was named Fath-i-Mubarák—the auspicious victory—and on it was inscribed—

'The artillerymen of Sháh-i-Jahán are wreaking destruction on Kandahár.'

The other gun was called the Kishwar-Kushác—the Country Conqueror, or Opener—and carried a ball of 32 *sers*=64 lbs. A third large gun was brought to Láhor from Delhi, named Kala'h-Kushác—the Fortress Opener or Taker.†

"On the 24th of Rabí'-ul-Awwal, 1063 H.—11th February 1653, A.D.,—Dárá-Shukoh began his march, and the great guns were put on board vessels at Láhor, and sent down the Ráwí to Multán, after twenty days had been expended in removing them from the arsenal within the citadel of Láhor to the vessels.

"The distance from Multán by the route to be taken was 160 jaríb kos [about 300 miles]."‡

The forces and armament provided for this expedition, which are not given in the "Táríkh-i-Kandahár," according to another author were as follow:—

Ten heavy siege guns, together with thirty others of smaller calibre (another work says they included four heavy guns, as the eye-witness from whom this account is taken confirms. A third author states that there were seven guns and mortars, but he does not mention others of less power, which Dárá-Shukoh certainly had with him); 30,000 iron shot, great and small; 1,500 *mans* (60,000 lbs.) of lead; 5,000 *mans* (200,000 lbs.) of gunpowder; 5,000 artillerymen, for working the guns and rockets; 10,000 musketeers (armed with matchlocks); 6,000 pioneers, sappers, and axemen; 500 pakhális (water skins of large size, carried on bullocks and attended by a man); 3,000 ahdís (independent cavaliers);§ 60 war elephants, selected for their size and strength; and 70,000 cavalry; in all, 104,000 men; and a great number of birinjáris (a class of men who follow camps with grain) were also taken to carry corn for the army.

To return to the account of Rashíd Khán:—

"On the 24th of the following month, Rabí'-us-Sání (12th of March), Dárá-Shukoh crossed the Chináb from Multán to the opposite bank, where he halted four days to make his final arrangements for the march of the camp followers (which must have nearly doubled his force in point of numbers). While there encamped the heavy guns arrived

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* They remained before it on this occasion, according to the "Mir'át-i-Jahán-Numá, two months and eight days.

† There was a fourth sent by Shál and Dádhar, named Maryam, according to what is said at page 25.

‡ The kos of Sháh-i-Jahán's reign is said to have been 1,500 gaz, each of 24 fingers' breadth. For difference in the length of the kuroh and kos, *see* note (*), page 1.

The distance from Sakhhar to Kandahár by Dádhar, the route taken by the army of the Indus in 1838, was 398 miles and 3 furlongs. Dárá-Shukoh reached Kandahár in about 33 marches, but some were very short, especially the latter ones.

§ A portion of a *corps d'élite*, called Ahdís, or independent cavalry, who rode their own horses, and received very high pay. They also served in detached appointments, and officers for other branches of the army were often selected from them. They numbered about 7,000 in Sháh-i-Jahán's time.

from Láhor; and it was determined that they should be conveyed to Kandahár from thence by way of Dádhar and Shál (Kwatah), escorted by 1,000 pioneers, some elephants, and a body of troops."

This appears to have been determined more on account of the uncertainty of information regarding the practicability of the route by the Sanghar pass than anything else; and, as it afterwards turned out, a more unfortunate arrangement could not have possibly been made, as will be presently seen.

"The army having crossed the Sind river on the 3rd of Jamádí-ul-Awwal (towards the end of March 1653 A.D.), encamped at 'Alam Khán, about 25 miles north of Derah-i-Ghází Khán; and, in two more marches, the Sanghar pass was reached.

"The Persians* had posts at Dogí† and Chotiálí; and, on reaching the Sanghar pass, a body of 700 picked horsemen, under Jahángír Beg, was sent forward with directions to keep well in advance of the army, and, if possible, surprise the Persian posts, while the Zamíndárs (the Afghán headmen) of those places were requested to afford him aid, and send him information respecting the Persians and their movements to enable him to capture them. Jahángír Beg, likewise, was directed to move on whenever the zamíndárs should request him to do so.

"Before commencing his march through the Sanghar pass, Dárá-Shukoh gave directions respecting the order of the march. A large portion of the entire army, about one third of the whole, preceded his own camp and troops attached to it a march in advance, while the remainder of the army followed his camp one march in the rear. In seven consecutive marches the frontier of the Jajah territory was reached, where a kárwán of merchants from I-rán (proceeding towards Sanghar) was met. From the merchants information was obtained (falsely as it turned out) that the garrison of Kandahár only amounted to 3,000 men, and that grain, powder, and lead were very scarce.

"Next day the march was continued, and the third stage from thence (*i.e.* the frontier of the Jajah territory), the halting place or stage of Sang-i-Nuksán was reached, which point is the boundary between Kandahár and Hind."

This place seems to refer to some position—a pass probably—beyond or near the hills bounding the Kihtrán country on the west, beyond which the Chotiálí district commences. It is unfortunate the writer did not enter into greater detail respecting places on the line of march, but these are matters generally ignored by most oriental writers.

"Here a report was received from Jahángír Beg to the effect that the Persians had abandoned Dogí and Chotiálí, and that the Kákar Afgháns had, it was stated, closed the pass called the Kotal-i-Zíárat-gáh, the Pass of the Place of Pilgrimage (which appears to refer to the place marked in some maps as "Shekh Hasan's Tomb;" the tomb of Shaikh Hasan would be called a Zíárat-gáh, and is about 21 miles west of Chotiálí), but that, having abandoned everything, they had saved themselves by flight, and had succeeded in reaching Pushang with some loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners.

"The next march, from Sang-i-Nuksán, brought Dárá-Shukoh to Chotiálí;‡ and there plentiful supplies were obtained. He next reached Dogí (whether in one march or not is not stated, but, from the usual mode of expression in this work, one march is apparently meant). Here news was received that 2,000 Kazil-básh cavalry had reached Pushang in order to collect and carry away all the grain they could lay hands upon, and send it to Kandahár. On this the van division of Dárá-Shukoh's army, one stage in advance, was ordered to make a forced march to Pushang.

"Dárá-Shukoh's next march was to Sih-Gotah§ and beyond Tal, over a somewhat difficult pass, after some labour, on the way to Tabak-sar—*tabak* means a narrow

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* The author styles them Kazil-báshís, but I have adopted the more familiar term here.

† Also called Dog (*see* page 21). Bábar Bádsháh, on one occasion, having entered the northern Derah-ját from Kohát by Bannú, reached the town of Belah on the Sind river. He then marched to Pír Kánún, a famous shrine, situated in the lower hills which join the higher range of Mihtar Sulímán, or Koh-i-Siyah. He had heard that he could pass a corner of that range towards Dogí, and then a straight road would lie before him. He marched from the Tomb, reached the summit of a kotal, and halted. From thence he marched to the river which appertains to the territory of Dogí and Chotiálí, and there halted. In another march he reached Chotiálí, which is a dependency of Dogí. Forage here became scarce (it was owing chiefly to the time of the year). From Chotiálí he reached Ghaznín. No particulars unfortunately are given, but it is mentioned that, after proceeding onwards, in one or two marches more he reached the lake called Ab-Istádah, or the Standing Water or Lake; there being no such name as "*Lake* Abistada."

‡ He had therefore made eleven marches from the Sanghar pass to Chotiálí.

§ This refers to a pass in the line of hills running almost parallel to the range bounding the Pushang valley to the south-west. Tal and Chotiálí belong to the Spín or White Taríns, who are independent.

gorge, and *sar*, head or point,—the head of the narrow gorge.* On the second march from Sih-Gotah, when the troops halted at Tabak-sar, they suffered much from scarcity of water, especially the cattle of the army. Having passed Tabak-sar, the seventh march brought them to Pushang (the valley of Pushang). Scarcity of forage now began to be felt.

"The following day Dárá-Shukoh continued his advance, and, on the second march, reached the foot of the Man-Darah pass † (the A'ín-i-Akbarí mentions it under the name of the Faj-i-Mandarak—*faj* signifies a broad road or way between two mountains—the ascent of which was 35 and the descent 39 jaríbs.‡ Jauhar, the Aftábahchí or Ewer-bearer of Humáyún Bádsháh, who wrote an account of his master's flight from India and subsequent history, calls this place the Panj Badrah kotal), by which time the van of the army had arrived in sight of Kandahár, and had taken up a position on the east side of that fortress. Dárá-Shukoh, having crossed the pass on the fourth day (three more marches, but short ones), encamped near Mard Kala'h (the Kandaháris call it Mart Kala'h), which is 5 kuroh from Kandahár, and from the next stage (he appears to have proceeded very leisurely these latter stages) the booming of the guns of the van of the army could be heard. For seven days he remained encamped here, waiting for the propitious hour to proceed, which was to be made known by the astrologers.

"Whilst he was here encamped, the whole of the forces in the rear came up; the several points of attack were fixed upon; and the different nobles and officers had their posts assigned to them."§

The fortress here referred to, it must be remembered, is what is now known as "old "Kandahár," which lay a few miles westward of the present city, and adjoining the Koh-i-Lakah.

"Pending the arrival of the heavy guns sent by way of Dádhar (and the Bolán Pass, we hear so much harped upon as 'the only practicable route' in that direction), and a reinforcement with artillery, under the Súbahdár of Kábul, from that city and province, orders were given to proceed slowly with the approaches and platforms for the guns. The garrison of Kandahár was now found to number not 3,000 but 6,000 men, amply provided with ammunition, stores, and provisions for a year. Some Núhání Afgháns at this time supplied Dárá-Shukoh's camp with 4,000 camel loads of grain, which was much needed.

"A small force was now despatched to occupy the Kúshk-i-Nakhúd ‖ (improperly written from ear, in our maps, 'Khoosk-i-Nakood,' and 'Khooshk Nakhood,' &c., &c.) on the Hirát road; and a considerable body of troops under Rustam Khán, Bahádur, Fírúz-i-Jang, against Bust,¶ in case of any attempt to relieve Kandahár from Hirát or Sijistán, for, from news found on a messenger who had been captured, 20,000 Kazil-báshís were said to be then at Faráh."

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* Tabak also signifies a layer, a slab, stratification, etc.; and I find, since the above was written, that, at this place, the rocks are of a very peculiar stratification, and hence the name. *See* Note 9, page 318, of my "Translation of the Tabakát-i-Násirí," and note 8, page 319.

† This pass is more to the northward, above the Khajzak pass. There are three kotals or passes especially mentioned by Afgháns as lying in the route between Kandahár and Pushang—the Kotal-i-Zákir and Kotal-i-Gwajar—which latter appears to be identical with the Man-Darah pass, mentioned above. The Kotal-i-Khajzak or Khajzak pass was in ancient times called Púshang, which people of Arab descent call Fúshanj, after a fort of that name at the foot of the pass, and which gave name to the whole valley. This name, in course of time, became shortened into Pushang and Fushanj, but travellers and map makers have vitiated it into "Pisheen," "Peisheen," "Peishin," "Pishin," and such like names, in fact, anything but the correct name.

The first 'Alí Mardán Khán, while Governor of Kandahár, subsequent to his deserting the Sháh of I-rán and taking service with the ruler of Dihlí, dispossessed Sher Khán, the Tarín, of the fort of Pushang in 1041 H.

The Ghalzí King, Sháh Husain, son of the Hájí, Mír Wais, during the predominance of his tribe over Kandahár, "marched from the fort of Pushang to Shál by the Gaz kotal. The Roghání kotal was generally "followed in going to and fro by Kwatah or Shál and Púshang to Ghaznín by the Ab-Istádah route."

Púshang or Fúshanj is also the name of an ancient town near Hirát, and well known in history. Mus'ab, son of As'ad, and father of Táhir-i-Zú-l-Yamanain, the founder of the Táhirí dynasty in Khurásán, was for some time Governor of Fúshanj and its dependencies. *See* my "Translation of the Tabakát-i-Násirí," page 11.

‡ There were 60 jaríbs to a kuroh. *See* note to page 1.

§ Dárá-Shukoh appears to have encamped a short distance on the east side of the Koh-i-Zákir, from the summit of the pass over which a fine view of Kandahár is obtained.

‖ Or may be written Kushk-i-Nakhúd, Kushk being the shortened form of Kúshk. *See* my "Translation of the Tabakát-i-Násirí," page 331, note 2.

By the Pushang route from India, by marching from thence to the Ghunda'í- (the mound or detached hill, etc., in Pus'hto) i-Mansúr, you can proceed to Hirát without touching Kandahár at all. This Kúshk-i-Nakhúd is Elphinstone's "Kooshkinukhood."

Kúshk means literally a large and lofty stone or brick building, a castle, but here refers to those fort-like villages, several of which are still to be found, though on a smaller scale than formerly, in the tracts west of Kandahár and Ghaznín, and some other parts of Afghánistán.

¶ Another author says to seize Bust, Girishk, and the Zamín-i-Dáwar—the Dáwar district or territory.

Dárá-Shukoh had not been long before Kandahár before his troubles began. He was the victim of intriguers and incapables, for success, on his part, was not to be permitted, if it could be possibly prevented; and the Mír-i-Átash, or Chief Engineer and Commandant of Artillery, was an upstart, and totally unfitted for the duties into the bargain.

"The Súbahdár of Kábul soon arrived in Dárá-Shukoh's camp with five guns (their size is not stated, but one was a large one, as is subsequently mentioned. The rest were evidently light guns), and now preparations were made to assault the burj or tower on the Koh-i-Chihl-Zínah *—the Hill of the Forty Steps (a rocky hill commanding the city and fortress), and two guns were placed in position for the purpose of battering it. Most of the shots from the two guns, however, missed the tower of Chihl-Zínah, but fell into the old fort or citadel—Kala'h-i-Kuhnah—and did some damage there.

"About this time, too, a Farangí (a Portuguese?) who had charge of two guns, had rammed in the shots, without any powder, so firmly that the shots could not be withdrawn, and the guns became totally useless. Out of fear, the Farangí deserted to the Persians.

"Rustam Khán, Bahádur, Fírúz-i-Jang, commanding the troops despatched against Bust, asked for some guns to be sent to him, and reinforcements, to enable him to attack it. The two guns were accordingly withdrawn from their position against the tower of Chihl-Zínah, and despatched along with 1,000 pioneers, sappers, and miners, to Rustam Khán before Bust.

"After seven days' investment that fort surrendered, on a false report being purposely circulated that Kandahár had fallen. The guns were consequently sent back.

"Soon after, 2,700 camel loads of warlike stores arrived at the camp before Kandahár from Kábul; and 350 camel loads of planks, for siege purposes, arrived from Multán (by the Sanghar route).

"Rustam Khán, after the surrender of Bust, detached 200 horse from thence to occupy Girishk, but they were attacked by a large force of Kazil-báshís, Balúchís, and Nikudarís (Mughals, descendants of one of the Hazárahs, located between Ghaznín, Kábul, and Hirát, respecting whom some travellers and writers have put forth many extravagant theories. More respecting them will be found in the account of the districts north and east of Kandahár, farther on), from the fortress of the Zamín-i-Dáwar, and the whole killed or wounded, with the exception of three persons, who reached Rustam Khán with the news.

"Up to this time the battering guns sent by way of Bakhhar, Dádhar, and Shál, from Multán had not arrived, but now news was circulated to the effect that they had passed Dádhar, and would certainly arrive by the 15th or 16th of Ramazán (28th or 29th of July, 1653). Subsequently it was stated that they would reach Shál in five or six days, and four days after reach Pushang, arrive at the foot of the pass (the Khajzak pass?) on a specified date, and reach Kandahár by a certain day. Elephants were accordingly despatched to a place called Lailá and Majnún,† distant 24 miles to the southward of Kandahár, and beyond the river Tarnak, to help them in. When the elephants arrived there, there were no signs of the guns; and even the bullocks sent on to Pushang were brought back, as nothing was known there about them.

"During all this time mining and countermining went on before Kandahár, and damdamahs—artificial mounds to receive guns—were ordered to be raised for the expected battering guns. Out of the four on the way, the two smallest, Maryam and Kala'h-Kushúe, were reported to have actually arrived at Lailá and Majnún at last. A detachment of 1,000 horse was despatched to escort them into camp with all pomp. The cavalry went as far as Siyah Chashmah, but found no guns. They, however, arrived soon after, were brought into camp, and soon placed in the positions intended for them.

"Misfortunes now began to thicken upon Dárá-Shukoh and his army. An assault on the tower of Chihl-Zínah had been beaten off; and, up to this period, no less than

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* The Koh-i-Chihl-Zínah is a rocky spur from the Koh-i-Lakah, which overlooks Kandahár from the east, and a deep chasm separates the spur from the Lakah range. On this spur a former Hindí Governor built a tower which commanded the whole fortress and city. It could not be mined from its very situation, and it was shot proof. The place was called the Koh-i-Chihl-Zínah because Bábar Bádsháh had a platform made, and a seat placed there, for his own recreation, and forty steps had to be cut in the rock to reach it. It was subsequently, and still is, known as the Burj-i-Kaitúl. A fire temple of the Gabrs is said to have stood on this spot; and it is probable that the *burj*, or tower, was built from some of its materials.

† A high rock, from beneath which a spring of clear water gushes forth. According to the tradition, the rock is Majnún, who threw himself from the peak above in his frenzy for his mistress Lailá.

35 mines of the besiegers had been found by the enemy, who received information respecting them from traitors in the camp. The iron cannon balls, of which 30,000 had been supplied, with the exception of eight balls for four guns, had all been left behind at Láhor, as being too heavy, while 700 camel loads of planks and beams of wood, which were perfectly useless, had been brought all the way from Láhor! Dárá-Shukoh was advised not to encumber his army with such weighty things as iron shot, because stone shot, equally serviceable, could be made at Kandahár itself, and for this purpose 500 stone-cutters were sent with the army. The stone chosen for the cannon balls was from the Koh of Bábá Walí, but, when the balls were fired, it was found that they went to pieces in the air, from the strength of the powder, it was supposed, and, of course, were utterly useless, and more dangerous to friend than foe.

"The pioneers and miners now refused to do duty, because they had been sacrificed, they asserted, through not being protected by the troops, who were negligent of their duties, and did not keep watch on their posts. Up to this period the lives of 1,000 of them had been sacrificed. After much pressure and persuasion they agreed to work for three days more.

"Dárá-Shukoh had now been four months before Kandahár, and great was his grief, and bitterly did he give vent to his pent up feelings. He reproached those to whose evil counsel he had trusted: 'From the very outset,' he said, 'the truth had 'been kept from him, and, with the single exception of Muhabbat Khán, who had 'spoken the truth to him on the line of march, they were all traitors, hypocrites, and 'dissemblers,* and, had he only met Muhabbat Khán at Láhor, he would never have 'undertaken the task.'

"In this state of affairs it was resolved by Dárá-Shukoh to recall the troops from Bust, and concentrate all his strength for an assault upon Kandahár. A contrivance was also suggested, in order to prevent the stone shot from splitting, which was to wrap them up in coarse flax,† but, as this was not procurable apparently, the shots were encased in raw hide, and allowed to dry in the sun before using them. When discharged, however, the shots made strange gyrations in the air, and did more harm to the besiegers than the besieged. This ill success was attributed by some to bad powder, by others to the powder being too strong, and by others to magic. At this time another big gun, the Fath-i-Mubárak, arrived, and a few days after, the other, the Kishwar-Kushae, was also brought into camp."

The assailants now appear to have been a little more successful with their stone shot, for the guns actually did some execution.

"One of the great guns brought down 40 ells of the wall opposite the battery in which it was placed, but, soon after, it was found that the Fath-i-Mubárak was cracked, and therefore of no farther use. The breach caused by the fall of the wall was sufficiently low so as to allow a person to place his hands on the wall itself, and it was declared practicable.

"Rustam Khán and his troops had not yet been recalled from Bust, but an assault was delivered. It was well planned, but badly and negligently carried out by some, and failed through the cowardice of others. No less than 3,000 Hindús, chiefly Rájpúts, fell on this occasion, as well as a proportionate number of Musalmáns.‡

"After this disastrous affair, Rájah Jai Singh was ordered to march to the Shutar-Gardan Kotal—the Camel's Neck Pass§—on the road to the Tarín country, as it was found that the enemy contemplated occupying it, in order to cut off the retreat of the Mughal army, and he was directed to take as many Rájpúts with him as he desired. Soon after, Rájah Jai Singh was directed to give up guarding the Shutar Gardan Pass, and take up a position in the Tarín country, at the point where the two routes met.

"Robbers now began to carry off cattle belonging to Dárá-Shukoh's army, and a portion of it was moved to a position called Pashmúl, four kuroh from Kandahár.

"On the 2nd of the month, Zí-Ka'dah (12th of September), just five months after his arrival before Kandahár, orders were given to burst the great gun, Fath-i-Mubárak,

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* As in modern times, there were plenty to find fault, and cry out against the way operations were being carried out, but not one would give an opinion how they should be remedied, although Dárá-Shukoh tried threats and blandishments, and even entreaties, with the principal leaders. In fact, those who were not actual traitors, were ready to sacrifice their country to their own personal feelings, rather than their rivals should succeed in anything.

† They did not use wads probably, and this was equivalent.

‡ Another author states that this assault was delivered on the 9th of the month Shawwál, 21st August, 1652.

§ There are several Shutar Gardan passes. The one here referred to is one of the passes in the same range of mountains as the Khojzak and Roghání passes, but more to the north.

and for the pieces to be carried away, so that it might be recast in India, and with it exploded the hope of taking Kandahár.*

"On the 14th of the same month, the Kábul troops, with their guns, marched to the Deh-i-Khwájah, three kuroh from Kandahár (on the route to Kábul); Rustam Khán and his troops had returned from Bust, and preparations for the march back to India were made. All being ready, on the night of Wednesday,† Dárá-Shukoh began his retreat. The Rájpút troops had previously been sent off a march in advance, on the line of retreat. Dárá-Shukoh halted on the river Tarnak, about a mile and half from Mard-Kala'h, which is about five kuroh south of Kandahár. Rustam Khán and Muhabbat Khán, with their troops, remained within the old camp until the sun had reached the meridian, and all the camp-followers had been sent off, after which they put their troops in motion and followed.

"From the Deh-i-Khwájah, on the Tarnak river, Dárá-Shukoh and his army made a long march of 12 kuroh, equal to 22 rasmí kuroh, the standard of Sháh-i-Jahán Bádsháh's reign, and, in three marches, reached the Kotal or pass of Man-Darah. When he reached the place called Ab-i-Siyah Chashmah—the Water of the Black Spring,—which was the halting place of the cattle of the army,‡ the utmost confusion prevailed. A halt became necessary, for all had not come up, and did not until the following day. The rearguard was obliged to halt even for another day, because the pass of Man-Darah was so narrow.§

"Dárá-Shukoh got clear of the pass with the main body of the army, and, in three marches, reached Pushang. The rear was now harassed by the Afgháns, for which reason Rustam Khán remained, with his troops, at the top of the pass until all the camp-followers had cleared it and passed on. The Lorá river was afterwards crossed and Pushang reached. The fort there was destroyed. The next march was by the Waní (Wanah ?) Kotal,‖ which, in one part, is rather narrow, and a halt was made at Sih-Gotah. At this place, Dárá-Shukoh gave Rustam Khán, who commanded the rear division of the army, the option of proceeding by the Tabak-Sar route, the same as was taken going to Kandahár, or of following him by the Waní Kotal, but keeping one march in the rear.¶ Rustam Khán, however, knowing the difficulty of the route the Sháhzádah was about to take, followed that by Tabak-Sar. The Afgháns, like hungry wolves, followed behind, and the suffering was great, for the cold was severe** (it was the month of October), and the people could not use their hands or feet until the heat of the sun warmed them. No place of shelter offered whereat several did not loiter behind, and those who did loiter the Afgháns carried off; and there was no rough or difficult ground whereat some horses, camels, cows, and bullocks did not break down, and the Afgháns did not secure them, and drive off. Rich men abandoned all for the sake of saving their lives; all that was left behind was snapped up; and all who sat down by the way side lost their lives. Safety lay in pushing onwards.†† The Hindús suffered most, as, without being able to see cows, their food was not lawful, and there was no provision made for supplying them with water separate from the Muhammadans. It was only when Rustam Khán joined the main force at Sih-Gotah, that the Hindús could eat and drink again.

"The march having been resumed, in two more marches Dogí was reached from Sih-Gotah. Dogí had been evacuated by the commander of the post left there on the advance of the army to Kandahár, as he had been informed that the army would retire thence to Kábul, and not return by the former route. Had that place not been evacuated, the army would not have encountered all this trouble on its retreat.

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* It was not again attempted, and Kandahár never after fell into the hands of the Mughal rulers of Dilhí.

† Our Tuesday night: the night precedes the day according to the Eastern computation of time. It must have been the night of Tuesday, the 26th of September.

‡ This appears to have been the place where most of the cattle of the army had been kept during the siege, and is the same as mentioned at page 25.

§ Muhammad Sálih, the author of the history entitled "'Amal-i-Sálih," calls this the pass of Fúshanj. *See* note §, page 24.

‖ Which is not mentioned in the account of the march to Kandahár, but it evidently refers to the range of hills forming the south-east boundary of the Pushang valley, and called "Tukkattoo" in our previous maps, but that part of it lying towards the Jzobah mountains.

¶ Here Dárá-Shukoh was evidently proceeding by another, and, possibly, more northern and parallel route, to avoid the confusion and press caused by the numerous camp-followers, and, unfortunately, the writer of the account of the expedition remained behind with Rustam Khán at this time, and details of Dárá-Shukoh's own proceedings for three or four marches have not been given.

** The cold is very great in that part in the month referred to.

†† This, of course, refers to the camp-followers and non-combatants, and likewise stragglers from their corps, for the retreat appears, under all the circumstances, to have been effected in pretty good order.

"Dárá-Shukoh now determined, all danger of pursuit being over, to push on to Multán, slightly attended: so, making over the command of the troops to Rustam Khán, on the 1st of the month Zí-Hijjah (11th of October), he set out escorted by 2,000 horse. Rustam Khán's arrangements on the line of march, on this occasion, were, that every darah was occupied by a strong force, and that force held such position until another arrived to relieve it, when it would push on to another favourable point, the rear-guard being the strongest. After Chotiálí was reached all danger of attack on the baggage and followers was over, and scarcity, from which all had hitherto suffered, ceased, and the army pursued its way without farther molestation. Dárá-Shukoh reached Multán, by the Sanghar Pass, on the 9th of the month of Zí-Hijjah (19th of October, 1653, A.D.), and the army soon after reached it likewise."*

Before closing this account of the Lower Derah-ját and the routes leading to Kandahár, it may not be out of place to mention here the names of the most important places in Sind and Balúchistán occurring in the map, as such names have hitherto, with hundreds of others, been incorrectly spelt and written. I have given the names in the original, as well as their translation:—

Thathah and Thatah, not "Tattah."
Láhrí Bandar, or Bandar-i-Láhrí.
Sakhhar, not "Sukker," or "Sukkur."
Hálah, not "Hala," or "Hallar."
Bakhhar and Bhakkar, not "Bukkur."
Káhan, not "Kahún," or "Kahán."
Úchchah and Uchchah, not "Uch," "Ujah," or "Ootch."
Shál, not "Shawl."
Mastang, not "Moostung," or "Mustang."
Kwatah, not "Quetta."
Kal'át and Kal'at, not "Khelat," or "Kelát."
Kusdár, not "Khozdar."
Dádhar, not "Dadur."
Kachchh and Kachchhí, not "Cutch," or "Cuchee."
Zirhí, not "Zehree."
Gand-ábah, or Gand-áwah, not "Gundava."
Sihwán, not "Sehwun."
Síwastán, the district of which Sihwán is the chief town.
Síwístán, or Síbístán, the southern district of Afghánistán, of which Síbí, or Síwí, is the chief place.
The Koh-i-Lakkí, or mountain range of Lakkí, or Lahkhí, not "Lukkee," or "Luckee."
Khán Wáh canal, south of Thathah, not "Kamva," or "Kanwah."
Talhatí.

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* The following is a fair specimen of the loose and inaccurate manner in which Indian history has hitherto been written, through following the statements of a single author without comparing all contemporary writers available. "Elphinstone, India," page 517 (third edition), says, "Dárá" commenced his march from "Láhór," and leads us to believe that he went to Kandahár by way of "Cábul." He then has: "Dárá opened his "trenches, as Aurangzíb had done before him, on the day and hour fixed by the astrologers, and ordered by "the emperor before the army set out on its march. He began the siege on a scale proportioned to his "armament (which he does not mention). He mounted a battery of 10 guns on a high and solid mound of "earth, raised for the purpose of enabling him to command the town, and he pushed his operations with his "characteristic impetuosity, increased, in this instance, by rivalry with his brother. He assembled his chiefs, "and besought them to support his honour, declaring his intention never to quit the place till it was taken; "he urged on the mines, directed the approaches, and the besieged having brought their guns to bear on his "own tent, he maintained his position until their fire could be silenced by that of his artillery. But, after "the failure of several (!) attempts to storm, and the disappointment of near prospects of success, his mind "appears to have given way to the dread of defeat and humiliation; he entreated his officers not to reduce "him to a level with the twice-beaten Aurangzíb, and he had recourse to magicians and other impostors, "who promised to put him in possession of the place by supernatural means. Such expedients portended an "unfavourable issue; and accordingly, after a last desperate assault, which commenced before daybreak, and "in which the troops had at one time gained the summit of the rampart, he was compelled to renounce all "hope, and to raise the siege, after having lost the flower of his army in the prosecution of it. *He was "harassed on his retreat both by the Persians* (!) *and Afgháns, and it was not without additional losses that "he made his way to Cábul, whence he pursued his march to Láhor.*" History such as this is pernicious, because it is not authentic.

The name of the prince was Muhammad, and his title Dárá-Shukoh, that is to say, "Darius-like in Grandeur "and Dignity," consequently to style him "Dárá," as above, is totally incorrect, because it gives him the name of Darius, which was not his name.

Lhurí, not "Rhorí," or "Roree."*
Ubárah, not "Obarah," or "Aobara."
Lake Manch-hur,† not "Munchur."
Kin, and Kin-Kot.
Haidarábád, not "Hyderabad."
Lárkhánah, not "Larkana," or "Larkhana."
Noh-Shahrah, not "Nowsaharra."
Nowá-Derah, not "Nowa Dherra."
Karáchí, not "Currachee," or "Kurrachee."
Magar-Pír, not "Muggea Peer," etc., etc.

There are also certain words prefixed and affixed to the names of places in former maps, which are not only incorrectly written, as are thousands of others, but so written that persons unacquainted with three or four languages to which they belong, would naturally conclude that such words were part of the names of such places. For example:—"Chotee Bala," is correctly Chhotí-i-Bálá, or Higher Chhotí; and "Chotee Paen," is Chhotí-i-Pá'ín, or Lower Chhotí. These terms bálá and pá'ín are Persian words, in use in the Panjáb and Afghánistán, particularly in the western parts, but, in the north-eastern parts of the latter country, Pus'hto or Puk'hto words are used instead, namely, Bar, Upper; Lar and Kúz, Lower, as in "Bur Togue," which is an error for Bar or Upper Togh; "Kooz Pulosi," a mistake for Kúz or Lower Palosí; and "Bur Pulosi," an error for Bar or Upper Palosí.

"Durgah Murdan Shah," is an error for Dargah-i- (the shrine or tomb of) Mardán Sháh (*i.e.*, a Sayyid); "Khangah Ullhadad Khan," is an error for Khánkah-i- (the monastery or religious structure for Darweshis) of Allahdád Khán; "Ranza Khaja Noor Muhumud," is a blunder for Rauzah (the Mausoleum) -i-Khwájah (of the Khwájah) Núr Muhammad. Kabr also signifies a grave, but in many instances we find the words translated into tomb and grave. Again, the word "Goombut," is an error for Gumbaz or Gumbad, which signifies a dome or vault over a grave. Takht, not "Tukht," means a seat, a stage, any place raised above the ground.

Faj, 'Ukbah, Kotal, and Darah have been already described.

The word "Cha," in "Cha Sikundur," is a mistake for Cháh-i- (the well of, or dug by) Sikandar, a person so called; "Bughwanee Kulan," is correctly Baghwání Kalán, or Great Baghwání, as distinct from Baghwání Kúchak, or Little Baghwání. "Pooranee Lukhee" again is an error for Puráná or Old or Ancient Lakhí. The name of many places named Fath-púr is invariably written incorrectly "Futtehpoor" and "Fattahpúr."

As another specimen of the careless and incorrect mode of writing names of persons and places I find "Muhumud" and "Muhummud," and even "Mahomed," side by side. Close by the town styled "Naie Bela," in the district of Derah-i-Ismá'íl Khán, I find "Naewela Temple." The writer of that name could not realize the fact, apparently, that it was the temple of Naye (or New) Belah.

Such names as "Kullundur Oorf Dowlatpoor," constantly occur. These require to be remedied, or a key given in explanation, for who, unacquainted with the native languages, would conceive that it stood for the name of a place, Kalandar, *urf*, known as, commonly called, or *alias* Daulatpúr.

The words Rúd, river, and Áb, stream or water, and which also means river, might also be translated.

September 11th, 1878.

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* At times the letter *r* is used for *l* by some native people. It would then be Rhurí, but Lhurí is correct.
† Also written with long *ú*, Manchhúr.

## SECTION SECOND.

### The Route from Láhor to Kábul by the Khaibar Pass.

When I concluded the First Section of these Notes I intended to have begun this with the continuation of my account of the different passes in the range of Khatar Sulimán, commencing from the Kowrah Pass, and going northwards to Pes'háwar; but, for the sake of convenience and utility at this crisis, I shall, instead, proceed to give an account of the various routes between Afghánistán and India, commencing with that from Láhor to Kábul by Pes'háwar and the Khaibar Pass, after which Kábul will be the starting point for various routes.

For the reason mentioned above, I shall confine myself here entirely to those routes through the tracts lying south of the river of Kábul, with the exception of such as are connected with the Khaibar route, leaving the account of the routes into the countries north of the river of Kábul, which are exceedingly important, for the Third Section of these Notes. By this arrangement I shall be able to end the last portion with an account of the passes in the Sulimán range, from north to south, and thus complete the account of them down as far as the Kowrah Pass above mentioned.

I would have given the details of the route from Láhor to Kábul entire, but, as they are not absolutely necessary here, I propose to commence from the point at which, according to fact, not theory, Afghánistán commences. I have details of routes through all parts of the Panjáb and the country west of Dilhí, which are most interesting, as showing the state of that part of our Empire just ninety years since, and which details it may be hereafter desirable to translate.

#### 1. *From Láhor to Kábul*, 260 *kuroh westward.*

Proceeding by way of Wazír-ábád, Jhilam, Ruhtás, Mánikyálah, Ráwal Pindí, and Hasan-i-Abdál, Burhán is reached. "From this place two roads diverge. The left hand one is the Sháh Ráh, or King's Highway, but, at present (when the writer made his survey) it is closed through the contumacy of the Khatar tribe.* By this route the Fort of Atak is distant 15 kuroh. The *right*-hand road, which the writer followed, is as follows."

Errors enough are made in the mode of spelling proper names in our own territory, but those west of the Indus are so vitiated, and after so many different ways, that I will give the vernacular mode of writing them, as well as the transliterated names.†

"From Harú two kuroh west is the Burhán, a considerable stream, which comes from the mountain range on the right hand (north), in the eastern part of the Gakhar country, and, flowing towards the left (south), falls into the Sind or Indus near the town of Níl-áb. It may be forded in the cold season, at which time it is knee-deep. From the before-mentioned river, three kuroh north-west, is Khogíání,‡ a karyah (a village with the lands appertaining to it)§ named after an Afghán tribe, a portion of which, consisting of some 2,000 families, dwell in this part, which is also called Harú.‖ For the distance of a kuroh on either side of this river the country is much broken, and full of ascents and descents, and from here Afghánistán commences.¶

"From Khogíání one kuroh north-west, inclining north, is Nitopá,** also inhabited by the same tribe; and from thence a kuroh and half north, inclining north-west, is Hazrao, a cluster of three or four large villages belonging to the Afghán sept of Ghurghusht;†† and this is where the dároghah, or superintendent, of the Chachh Hazárah district is located.‡‡

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* The Khatar, the name of a Musalmán tribe dwelling in the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, in the hill tracts east of the Indus. In ancient times the town of Níl-áb was the seat of Government of the tribe, and also Bhatút. Níl-áb still remains in their possession, but Bhatút is in ruins.

† The vernacular names have been omitted in printing.

‡ Khagwania of the maps.

§ Instead of using karyah hereafter I shall merely use village, as its meaning will be understood.

‖ Incorrectly written Hurroh in the maps.

¶ This is not quite correct according to Afghán, as well as other Musalmán authors; but here we find Afgháns dwelling, who have been forced forward, so to say, by other tribes on their west, across the Indus.

** "Nikoo" of the maps probably.

†† A very general term, for the Ghurghusht sept of Afgháns contains ninety-five tribes.

‡‡ Under the Durráni Government.

"The river Abáe Sind flows at a distance of about a kuroh to the north north-west of Hazrao, and there is a ford over it, which is called the patan or ford of Hazrao.*

"The inhabitants of Hazrao, for the most part, speak the Pushto or Afghán language, but some also speak the Panjábí dialect; the former, however, is their mother tongue.

"Half a kuroh south-west of Hazrao is the small village of Pír Dád, on the left-hand side of the road; and, on the right hand, mountains appear about two kuroh distant. Proceeding from thence, another half kuroh west, there are two villages on either side; that on the right hand is Bhatí, and that on the left hand Kálú. Near the road, on the right hand side, is the small village of Amín. Having proceeded another kuroh and a half west, you reach two other villages, that on the right hand is called Malhú, and that on the left, which is a large one, Shamsábád;‡ and, continuing onwards for another kuroh and a half west, you reach Kamál-púr and Waisah, two villages, not far off, on the right hand side of the road.

"Two kuroh west of these villages is the small village of Parmúlí,§ named after the clan claiming to be Afgháns; and on the left hand side are hills distant about two kuroh. Proceeding west for another two kuroh you reach Khairú-Khel,‖ a large village named after a section of an Afghán clan, situated close to the bank of the river Abáe Sind. Another kuroh farther westward is the well known patan or ford of Bázár, so called after the Afghán village of that name, on the west bank of the river, situated on a high khák-rez, or artificial mound, and distant from Khairú-Khel two kuroh west.¶ It can be plainly seen from a distance of three or four kuroh. Through the dissensions among the Afgháns here, the ford has now become for the most part obliterated.

"From this ford, a kuroh and a half south-west, inclining south, is the fort of Atak.** It is a strong place built by command of Akbar Bádsháh on the Abáe Sind; and the walls have been carried from the water's edge to the summit of the hills on the east. Its walls are built of stone and lime (mortar), in which are two gates and two sally-ports. The gateway on the west side is called the gate of Kábul, and from this gate to the river side is 100 paces; and in this space is a graveyard. The east gate is called the gate of Láhor, and these two gates are the only means of entrance and exit for travellers and the inhabitants. The western sally-port opens on the river, and is kept constantly shut, and the eastern one, which opens out on the top of the hill, is also kept secured."

It is stated that the ancient city, the remains of the buildings of which may be seen about half a kuroh east of the present Atak, was called Banáras. It is also stated that Rájah Bírbal, the Brahman, who perished in the great defeat which Akbar's troops sustained in Suwát from the Yúsufzí Afgháns, under whose superintendence the fort was built, gave it the name of Banáras. It is certainly not mentioned by the name of Atak in any history prior to the time of its construction by Akbar Bádsháh, and that the passage of the Abáe Sind was forbidden to Hindús by their religion is clearly disproved by their constant passage of it, both in the case of Akbar's troops and those of his successors, and by private individuals of that creed.††

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* This is an interesting fact, showing that the Indus, in this direction, has encroached towards the west. Hazrao is now just five miles from the bank of the river, which, at this point, is broader than in any other part of its course, its bed being three miles wide, and full of numerous islands. This broad part extends from Atak upwards to Tor-belah, but its broadest part is between Hazrao and Uhandh on the opposite bank. It is turned into "Hoond" in our maps. Uhandh is the site of an ancient city of great extent.

† Written "Hameed" in the maps. I have noticed in most instances, that where the correct name begins with *a* it is turned into *h* in the maps or an extra *h* prefixed, and, where the word really begins with *h*, *a* is substituted in the maps.

‡ This has been incorrectly turned into "Shamshabad." The compiler of the map of course did not know that Shams is the Persian name for the sun.

§ Turned into "Promlia" in the maps. Farmúlí and Parmúlí, *f* and *p* being interchangeable, is the well known name of a tribe and their country, subsequently noticed.

‖ "Kara-Khel" in the maps.

¶ Bázár is three miles distant from Khairú-Khel as the crow flies. Here again we have more interesting facts. Khairú-Khel is close to the bank of the Indus, but the ford no longer appears to exist.

** This name too has been vitiated into "Attok" and "Attock," even by those who say that it is derived from Sanskrit Atak, signifying, "bar," "obstacle," "obstruction," &c., and whence comes the well known Hindí verb "atakná," but we do not pronounce that "attockna" nor "attokna." When this same name occurs lower down the Panjáb it is turned into "Atuk."

Atak, when built, was considered a strong place, which it really was before artillery could be brought against it. Tímúr-i-Lang did not cross here, as some would make us believe, but Nádir Sháh, Afshár, did.

†† Those who put forward the theory that Hindús were prohibited by their religion from crossing to the west of the Indus, probably did not know that Kábul was the capital of a Hindú kingdom when the Arabs first invaded it; and that the Sultáns of Ghaznín had Hindú troops in their service.

"To the east of the site of the old city is the sepulchre of that holy man, Shaikh Yahyá, the Madaní. During the reign of Aurangzeb Bádsháh an edifice was erected over it, and an extensive *sarái*, or rest house for travellers, near it.*

"Near the fort of Atak are two small streams. That on the south side, which is near the Kábulí gate, is spanned by a bridge of burnt brick, and travellers going to Níl-áb pass over it. It is quite dry in the hot season. The other, which never fails, flows from the hills on the north side of the fort, and falls into the Abáe Sind. Adjoining the Láhorí gateway there is another brick bridge.

"The river at Atak is the width of sixteen boats (*i.e.*, it would require that number, according to the writer, to bridge it), and the mouth of the river of Kábul lies about half a kuroh to the north, where it joins the Sind, and loses its name. The village of Bázár, previously mentioned, can be seen from Atak, distant about three kuroh to the north.†

"On the opposite bank of the river, facing the fort of Atak, is another stone built fortification, erected by Nádir Sháh, Afshár, and they call it Khair-ábád. It lies on the left-hand side of the King's Highway.

"Having crossed the river by boat, with the little island of Kamáliah on the right hand, and the larger island of Jaláliah and the fort of Khair-ábád on the left, and proceeding a short distance northwards, you come to a little river, which flows from the left hand to the right, and joins the Abáe Sind. Having crossed it, on the north side of it is Khair-ábád. It was a large city in ancient times, but now, with the exception of a few Hindú grocers' shops, all is desolate and deserted. It lies within the jurisdiction of Yúsuf Khán, Khatak."

The high mountain facing Atak, and a little lower down than Khair-ábád, on the same side, rising up directly from the river, which washes its base, is Mount Hodaey, which gives its name to the whole range, stretching as far as Tí-ráh. There are many legends respecting Rájah Hodaey's castle, on the summit of the mount opposite Atak. Khushhál Khán, chief of the Khataks, in one of his poems, written while in exile in India, refers to the range in the following words,—

'Its dark mountain range of Hodaey runneth directly into the Tí-ráh country,
And the Níl-áb and Landey have, wonderfully, laid their heads at its feet.
The great high road of Hindústán and Khurásán is made along their banks;
And by Atak lieth its ford, which both kings and beggars hold in dread,' &c., &c.

His eldest son, Ashraf Khán, who was also exiled and imprisoned by Aurangzeb in the fortress of Bíjá-púr in the Dakhan, where he died in 1693, aged 60 years, also mentions Mount Hodaey in one of his poems written in his prison. It is somewhat out of place to assert after this that the Afgháns have no patriotism—no love of country,—

'Of the pangs of separation I became deserving that day,
When, weeping and sobbing, from my love I was severed.
At that time, for my life, in tears of blood I mourned,
When, turning my back upon Atak, I weeping began.
How shall I now pine after the rocks and shrubs of my country?
For, having made my parting salutation, I bade them farewell.
Embedded in my heart, from Roh an arrow I brought away—
I failed to bid adieu to my bower, or its sacrifice to become.
With much toil, in the world I had a garden laid out;
And, as yet, I had not smelt a flower, when from it I was torn
The blue heavens laughed from delight until they grew red,
When, facing Hodaey's mountain, I turned from it away,' &c., &c.
(*See* my "Poetry of the Afgháns," pages 247 and 263.)

"Setting out from Khair-ábád, and proceeding one kuroh north-west, inclining north, you reach the dry bed of a river. In the rainy season it contains water, which flows from north towards the south, and falls into the Abáe Sind, south of Khair-ábád. Having entered it, [illegible]ding in it for half a kuroh, and then issuing from it and continuing [illegible]ther kuroh and a half farther, you reach Nara'i, a large village [illegible]r of Kábul, which river, one kuroh and a half farther to [illegible]Sind.

[illegible]fghán dialect, is called the Landey Sín (*i.e.*, Little Sín, [illegible] or Abá Sín (the Father River), and the Persian

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[illegible]e, standing in 1849; and I took up my quarters in the latter [illegible]tant to a detachment in charge of 45 lakhs of treasure for the [illegible]e Indus in boats, together with 150 camels, 11 tumbrils, and [illegible]provinces. The transfer across the river was effected with-

speaking people call the former the Daryá [illegible] river of Kábul, river of Jalál-ábád, and river of Lamghán; but, as the water of the [illegible]báe Sind, from the quantity of earth with which it is impregnated, appears of a [illegible]itish colour, and the water of the Landey Sín, from its transparency, of a blue colour, the latter is also called the Níl-áb or Blue Water, or River. The village of Bázár, on the opposite side of the river, is visible from Nara'í, and is rather less than three ku[illegible]oh distant on the right hand (west).

"From Nara'í, two kuroh farther, in the same direction as before (north-west, inclining north), is Shaidú, another large village on the banks of the river of Kábul; and on the left hand, at some distance, mountains appear. Between Nara'í and Khair-ábád there are also lesser mountains (hills), which lie on the right-hand side of the road.

"Three kuroh west from Shaidú, is Akora[illegible], a considerable town, on the bank of the same river, the seat of authority of Yúsuf Khán, the Khatak chief. The fort of Akorah, which is not devoid of strength, lies on the opposite bank of the river, north of the town. North of the fort again is a long hill running east and west, rising abruptly from the plain, and under it, on the Akorah side, is the village of Misrí or Misrí Bánda'h. From Akorah two roads diverge, and, following that on the right hand, you cross the river at this point to go to the Do-ábah, Hasht Nagar, Shab Kadr, Buner, and Suwát. The left-hand route is as follows. Six kuroh west of Akorah is the Kalaey of Sháh-báz Khán, a small village on the river's bank. From Atak to this place the rule of the Khataks extends. They are subject and pay obedience to Tímúr Sháh, Sadozí, Bádsháh of Kábul. *Kalaey*, in the Afghán language, signifies a village with its lands; and, in the Turkí dialect, *kalah*, which must not be mistaken for it, means a village and its lands, which, after having been ruined and deserted, is again peopled and cultivated.

"West of the Kalaey of Sháh-báz Khán, one kuroh and a half is Noh-s'hahra'h, two large villages lying on either bank of the river of Kábul. That on the north bank they call Noh-s'hahra'h-i-Hasht Nagar, and its inhabitants are Muhammadzí Afgháns. Two hills, rising abruptly from the plain, lie about half a kuroh to the north-east. The village on the south bank is styled Noh-s'hahra'h-i-Khálisa'h, and is inhabited by Tájzíks.* Two kuroh south of this place is the small village of Budrúsh, lying in the hills, and in that village is the tomb of Bábá Rahm Kár, which holy man they also style the Shaikh of Alingár. He was a pious man, and the Afgháns, who greatly venerate him, are his disciples.

"From Noh-s'hahra'h, two kuroh and a half west, inclining south-west, is Pír-páe, a large village belonging to the Dá'údzí Afgháns. The river of Kábul lies half a kuroh distant on the right hand. From the last-named village, one kuroh and a half farther on in the same direction, is Azí Khel,† which lies at some distance from the road on the left hand. From thence, proceeding another kuroh and a half, still keeping in the same direction, you reach Dágí, which also lies on the left-hand side of the road. A quarter kuroh west from thence is the bánda'h or village of Baní—Baní Bánda'h‡—which also lies on the left-hand side of the road. Another kuroh farther west is Pabbián,§ a considerable village. From this place two roads diverge. That on the right hand leads to Hasht Nagar and the Do-ábah by the Do-bandí ferry, while the left-hand road—the King's Highway—goes on to Pes'háwar.

"From Pabbián, one kuroh in the same direction as before, is Sháh-ábád, an extensive *rabát*‖ of burnt brick, but now in ruins. Another kuroh farther on is the village of Tiráhián,¶ and from thence another kuroh farther on is Turná, and another two kuroh farther, still, keeping west, is Chamkaní.** This is a good sized town, called after the small Afghán tribe of that name, which is located in the hills south-west of

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* Jahán-gír Bádsháh crossed the river on a raft, when he went to Kábul in 1016 H. (A.D. 1607–8), and disembarked above the confluence of the river of Kábul with the Ir[illegible] says in his Autobiography: "Getting on a raft with some of the most confidential of my courtiers, [illegible]-áb and disembarked on "the banks of the Kámah, which is the river that flows from the oth[illegible]ád. A raft is a "structure formed of (a platform of) bámbús, and grass or straw, [illegible] are placed. "This machine they here call '*shál*;' and, in rivers where there are m[illegible] much "better, and much safer than a boat. Making one stage (*i.e.*, bringin[illegible] "at the halting place of Bárah, opposite Bárah Saráe. On the [illegible] "Khán, Kokah, and named Noh-s'hahra'h."

† Mis-spelt "Aza Khel" in the Indian Atlas map.

‡ Turned into "Bunda Bala" in the maps.

§ "Pubbi" of the maps.

‖ One of those large caravansaries (kárwán-saráe) or in[illegible] former years, of which several remain (or did a few ye[illegible] Pes'háwar, and Kábul.

¶ Incorrectly written "Tazadeen" in the maps.

** "Chumkunni" of the maps.

the Paiwar Kotal, mentioned farther [illegible]. It is also called Chamkaní of Mullá Muhammad-i-'Azíz, a God-fearing and holy man, whose tomb—a building of some size—is near the town, which looks a very pleasant and pretty place with the trees around it, as the traveller passes along. Up to this day the descendants of this reputed saint occupy his position, and devote themselves to the welfare of the inhabitants, and the people of the country round are their disciples. The revenue of this town, together with that of several villages, is assigned (was when the author wrote) for the support of the shrine.

"From Chamkaní three kuroh south-west is Pes'háwar.

"This is a large city of Afghánistán under the rule of Tímúr Sháh, Sadozí, and here all the precious and useful commodities of various countries are disposed of, and hither come the merchants of Irán, Túrán, and Hind, to buy and sell.

"To the west, adjoining the city, is a fortress of burnt brick, called the Bálá Hisár; and, by a cut from the Nahr-i-Sháhí or Sháh's Canal, water enough to turn three or four water-mills, if necessary, has been carried to the gardens and cultivated lands to the south and east of the city.

"On the way to the city this canal crossed the road. It has been cut from the river of Kábul, near Mícharna'í, at a point where the river issues from the western mountains into the plain of Pes'háwar. Previous to the time I write, this canal used to rejoin the aforesaid river near the village of Dilazák, but Tímúr Sháh had a large cut excavated, and brought the water farther on, into the lands near to the town of Chamkaní, and gave it the name of Nahr-i-Sháhí. A special dároghah, or superintendent, is appointed to the charge of this canal, which yields a considerable sum yearly to the State funds. The water of the Bárah river is also under the control of this same official.

"Wherever a fall of water can be obtained, the people here cut canals, and convey the water to the lands, and the revenue derived from them goes to the State.

"The Khatak and Afrídí hills lie about five or six kuroh from the city, on the left-hand side (the south), but those on the right hand are much farther off."

When the great division of the Afghán people known as the Khas'hí or Khak'hí sept, and comprising the great tribes of Yúsufzí and Mandar, Tarkalární, and Gagyání, and their Muhammadzí and Jzadún allies, were driven out of the tracts in the neighbourhood of Kábul, after the slaughter of their chiefs and notables by command of Mírzá Ulugh Beg, the Kábulí, Bábar's uncle, and set out eastward in search of a new home and place of sojourn, the plain of Pes'háwar, the Do-ábah, Kálah Parní,—the district east of the Kal-Pární river, which joins the river of Kábul a few miles east of Noh-s'hahra'h,—half of Bájawr, Tí-ráh, and great part of Nangrahár, were in possession of the great tribe of Dilazák Afgháns;* and they, at the prayer of the then helpless and homeless Khak'hís, assigned them the Do-ábah district to dwell in, much to the delight of the Khak'hís. The Dilazáks had, in bygone times, been forced, by the forward pressure of other tribes, to remove into the parts just mentioned from Nangrahár, but some say from the present Wazírí country, which is not correct.

When the Khas'hís issued from the Khaibar defile, Ash-naghar, now known as Hasht-

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* Surgeon-Major Bellew, C.S.I., according to Captain Plowden, considers these Karlární Afgháns to be "Rajputs," and thinks that "their name of Dilazáks points to their original religion as Buddhists, Saki being "the name by which the disciples of Sakiamuni were formerly known in Yúsufzaí." Who *is* the authority for this opinion?

Afghán writers, as well as Bábar Bádsháh, Humáyún, Jahán-gír Bádsháh, and Abú-l-Fazl, say they are Afgháns.

The late Major H. James, on the other hand, considered the Dilazáks "the same race as that which peopled "the Panjáb, and became afterwards known as Sikhs. They are related to have been a strong and powerful "race, and worshippers of idols."—"Church Missionary Intelligencer," August 1854.

Was the Punjáb, then, not peopled before the Dilazáks moved to the east side of the Indus? If so, it must have been very recently peopled, because the Dilazáks only began to take up their quarters on the east side in the time of Bábar Bádsháh, who often mentions the "Dilazák Afgháns," and previous to his conquest of the Dihlí kingdom, at which period, and long prior, they were good Musalmáns. But I do not think any authority can be produced to show that they are either called Rájpúts, Scythians, or Sikhs.

I sent a person some few years since into Chachh Hazárah, where some still dwell, to make inquiries respecting them, a genealogical tree of their descent being in my possession. The following is an extract from his report to me:—

"I held a conversation with some Dilazáks at a place east of Hazrao. I said: "It nas been asserted that the "'Dilazáks are of Arab [illegible], and not Afgháns.' They replied: 'None but the ignorant could have made "'such a statement. We are Afgháns, and are of the Kir-rai sept (*i.e.*, Karlárnís). Akbar Bádsháh caused "'the greater part of the tribe to be removed into Hindústán from this district, and settled them at and around "'Shujá'-púr.' I inquired: 'Are they still to be found there?' They replied: 'Yes, some are still to be "'found there, but the tribe has become much dispersed.'"

Khushhál Khán Khán, Khatak, himself an Afghán, calls them Afgháns, as do many other writers.

Nagar, was in the possession of the Dihgán [illegible] of Shalmánís, who came originally from Shalmán (*i.e.*, Shalúzán) and Karmán, which are dependencies of Tí-ráh, and they were subjects of Sultán Pakhal, sovereign of Suwát and its dependencies, of the dynasty of the Jahán-gírián Sultáns, of whom I shall give an account in my proposed history of Afghánistán and the Afgháns, whose capital was Manghawar, in Upper Suwát, a large and populous city, the ruins of which, in the shape of most substantial and well-built structures, may still be seen near the present village of that name.†

The Dilazáks were a numerous, wealthy, powerful, warlike, and independent tribe of Afgháns, yet in a few years subsequent to the arrival of the Khak'ús, and soon after the advent in those parts of the Ghwaríah Khel, the rivals of the former, with whom they were at feud, and comprising the five tribes of Khalíl, Mahmand, Dá'údzí, Chamkaní, and Zeráni (but the two latter did not settle in the Pes'háwar plain),‡ after sustaining several defeats, were under the necessity of retiring to the east bank of the Indus, and settled in Hazárah and the tracts north of Atak, where numbers of them are still located. This event happened in the time of Bábar Bádsháh, when the Khas'hís defeated the Dilazáks in the neighbourhood of Kátlang, and compelled them to retire into the two Hazárahs, so called, across the Indus, which tract was also included among their territories. Subsequently, in Humáyún Bádsháh's reign, when his brother, Mírzá Kámrán, held the fief of the countries west of the Indus, the Ghwaríah Khel overthrew them at Sultán-púra'í, and obtained possession of the whole country south of the river of Kábul, from Jam-rúd and Pes'háwar to the Indus. During the next two or three reigns of the Mughal sovereigns of Dilhí, the Dilazáks were nearly all compulsorily removed farther into India, on account of their raids on their enemies and on the country round, and their strength became completely broken, and the tribe dispersed. Numbers of them, in small communities, are still to be found scattered over parts of the Indian peninsula.

Bábar Bádsháh repeatedly mentions Pes'háwar by the name of Bagrám. In his day the rhinoceros was common in the *jangals* of the district. On one occasion he found and killed one in a small wood near the township. Jahán-gír Bádsháh also says that he hunted the rhinoceros in the Bagrám district, in company with his father, Akbar.

The A'ín-i-Akbarí states that the old name of Pes'háwar was Bagrám, and it was also called by that name, even at the time that the Shaikh Abú-l-Faz'l wrote that work. The district, likewise, which was a dependency of the Sarkár or province of Kábul, was called the Bagrám Tomán. In more early times, however, it was called Burshábúr, and Pursháhúr,§ or at least what is supposed to refer to the same place, and down to nearly recent times it was called Pas'háur and Pes'hour.

The Sayyid, Ghulám Muhammad, who was sent on two occasions by the Government of India, during the time of Governor Hastings, to Kábul, to the Court of Tímúr Sháh, Sadózí, and which journeys I shall again refer to, says Pes'háwar used, in times bygone, to be styled Shahr-i-Sabz (the Green City; this is not impossible, as a by-name, on account of the greenness and fertility of the parts around), and the province Bakhtar, or the East (with reference probably to other parts of what constituted Afghánistán, when he wrote), and that it is distant from Kábul one hundred and ten kos.‖

I now return to the account of the route.

"Three kuroh west of Pes'háwar is Tahkál, the name and site of an ancient city; and it is said that this city was the capital and chief place of the district before the founding of Pes'háwar.¶ At present, with the exception of a few families, the place is depopulated, and in ruins. A curious building, like that at Mánikyálah, called the Bádsháh's *Top* by the people of this part, lies some distance in front of the present village, on the right hand. It is somewhat dilapidated.

"The water of the Bárah river, which comes from the left hand (from the south-west), is diffused by means of numerous cuts throughout the cultivated lands of the

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* *See* pages 81 and 82.

† *See* my "Account of Suwát," page 21.

‡ Except a few families at Chamkaní, as mentioned in the preceding page.

§ *See* my "Translation of the Tabakát i-Násirí," pages 76 and 77.

‖ The author of the Nasab Námah says that, in his time, there were very few Afgháns dwelling in and close to the city, as in these days, and that a great number of the inhabitants of the city were of a race styled Kalál, who in Hindústán act as *chobdárs*, or mace-bearers, horse brokers, and [illegible]. In the old Persian, *kalál*, with short *a*, signifies a seller of wine, and *kulál*, with short *u*, a potter. Besides these, he says, many other different races [illegible] there, and some intermarry; consequently, the inhabitants are of a very mixed race.

¶ I have not heard what success has attended the excavations which, it was lately stated, were to be carried on at Tahkál, but, from all accounts, this place would seem to be either the site of Bagrám, or of a place still more ancient.

district. It flows towards the right hand, and also irrigates the gardens and fields around and north of the city of Pes'háwar.*

"Proceeding west from Pes'háwar, there are numerous ascents and descents, and lofty mountains show themselves both to the right and to the left. The Spín Ghar range, which is covered with snow at all times, and upon whose slopes the Afrídí Afgháns dwell, shows itself on the left hand, above the other mountains, a long way off. This mountain range is also called the Koh-i-Tí-ráh, or Tí-ráh range, and it is of vast altitude.

"On the right hand, near by, is the mountain of Tahtarah, behind which the route so named, hereafter to be mentioned, lies. The Khaibar defile lies farther to the left hand.

"The village of Mícharna'í, near which place the river of Kábul issues from the mountains, lies twelve kuroh on the right hand, on the opposite side of that river. The village of Yalam Guzr, or the village of Yalam-ford, giving name to the ford, near which the Bárah river issues from the mountains into the plain, lies about five kuroh on the left hand.

"From Tahkál, four kuroh south-west, is Jam-rúd,† a large village, founded, according to tradition, by Jamshéd Bádsháh, and a portion of the water of the Bárah river has been brought to the lands belonging to it.‡ From Jam-rúd the villages of Yalam Guzr and Mícharna'í lie about five kuroh on the right hand and left respectively.

"The country, from Noh-s'hahráh to this place (Jam-rúd) is called the Khálisáh of Pes'háwar.§

"From Jam-rúd two roads diverge, that on the left hand is called the Khaibar, and that on the right hand the Tahtarah route, which is difficult, and rather the longer of the two. Near Bísh Bulák or Bulágh‖ (Turkish words signifying Five Springs), it again joins the Sháh Ráh, or King's Highway, by the Khaibar. At the time that Nádir Sháh, Afshár, marched from Kábul on his advance to Dihlí, Násir Khán, the Súbah-dár of Kábul, who had collected a large army, took up his position near (in front of) Jam-rúd, in an entrenched camp, and supposed that he had effectually closed it. Nádir despatched 20,000 cavalry, guided by an Afrídí named Sarwar Khán, by this very route of Tahtarah, which force appeared in the rear of Násir Khán's army one morning just about dawn, attacked it unawares, and completely finished his affairs, while Nádir Sháh, himself, with the main body, advanced through the Khaibar pass, and encamped near Pes'háwar."

The author is mistaken as to the route followed by Nádir Sháh on this occasion, and is not correct in his version of that affair. There are two other accounts, but the Táríkh-i-Nádirí, which, however, at times eschews dates, says that Nádir Sháh having marched from Gandamak (as related farther on under the name of that place), after meeting with great opposition in the defiles and on the hills along the route, detached a force from thence, in advance, towards Jalál-ábád to occupy that place, while Nádir Sháh himself, with the bulk of his army, pitched his camp at Bihár-i-Siflah, or Bihár-i-Pá'ín, Lower Bihár, five farsakhs from Jalál-ábád.

Here he was rejoined by the troops which had been sent against Balkh, which had surrendered, and the Prince, Nasr-ullah, was now left in charge of the camp, the war materials, baggage, &c., while Nádir Sháh in person, early one afternoon (no date is given), at the head of a veteran force, set out by way of Sih-Jo-íah, over hills elevated like the heavens, and on the morning of the following day, two hours after dawn, having made a forced march of 30 farsakhs, fell upon Násir Khán and his army like a sudden calamity. Such is the version given by Nádir's Secretary, the Mírzá Muhammad Mahdí of Astar-ábád.

The more correct version is as follows:—Nádir Sháh marched from Bihár-i-Siflah, or Lower Bihár, to Jalál-ábád, and proceeded five farsakhs east of it, and encamped. A force, numbering 12,000 men (cavalry), was detailed to form the van column, and 3,000 to escort the camp baggage, war materials, and followers. The van moved on two stages towards Pes'háwar,—unfortunately the names of the stages are not given,—

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* These remarks are interesting as showing the state of the district nearly a century since, and for comparison with its present condition.

† The present fort at Jam-rúd was built by the Sikhs, and called Fath-púr, about half a mile nearer to Pes'háwar than the village of Jam, which, when the Sayyid Ghulám Muhammad went to Kábul by that route was peopled. Now the ruins of the village form only a confused looking mound of rubbish.

‡ A great change has taken place since the author wrote. The Jam-rúd, or the Jam river or stream, which rises in the Khaibar defile near La'l Beg, and receives two smaller streams south of 'Alí Masjid, flows past the village and fort of Jam-rúd, to which it gives the name, towards the Nahr-i-Sháhí, previously mentioned. The Jam is mentioned by Bábar Bádsháh and other writers.

§ Lands held directly from the Government are called khálisah lands.

‖ [redacted] Bolacke" and "Pesh Bolak," in the latest maps, and, consequently, totally meaningless.

but Nádir's forces met with the most determined resistance on the part of the Yúsufzís and other Afghán tribes, who held the Kazil-báshís at bay for over a month, when a Wurakzí Afghán, Sarwar by name, guided Nádir, at the head of 12,000 men, over the mountains to the south, by Sih-jo-íah and Bázár, through the valley of the Tí-ráh river, who suddenly appeared in the rear of Násir Khán's army, which was posted in front of Jam-rúd to prevent the Kazil-báshís from issuing from the pass.*

Another account is, that a Wurakzí Malik took Nádir Sháh by the Chúrah route, which is much the same, and a third is that the Wurakzí guided him over the Spín-Ghar range, and brought him into the same route that Amír Tímúr, the Gurgán, took when he invaded Hindústán, by Shalúzán and Karmán. If Nádir made his forced march from Bihár-i-Siflah, he would have got into Shalúzán and Karmán, but, even then, he would have had to pass down the valley of the Tí-ráh river to get to Jam-rúd, while Tímúr turned off to the south from those places towards Bannú, when he was on the way to Dilhí. The distance, too, over the Spín Ghar, by Shalúzán, and then through the Tí-ráh valley, would be much over 30 farsakhs or leagues, and could not have been done in the time mentioned in such a mountainous country.

From this it appears that the Yúsufzís and their confederates closed the Khaibar route against Nádir Sháh so effectually, that, in order to get the bulk of his army and equipage through, being unable to force his passage by a front attack, he had to endeavour, by a flank movement, to fall upon their rear. While the Yúsufzís held the defiles, Násir Khán's position was strong enough, but, after it had been forced, the Afgháns in the pass, probably fearing they might be attacked from two sides, retired, and thus was the cumbrous part of the Kazil-básh army enabled to get through. This is a lesson we may take counsel from.

Násir Khán was taken completely by surprise; his army was put to flight, himself and the greater number of his officers were made prisoners; and his camp, equipage, and military stores fell into the hands of the Kazil-báshís.

Before returning to the account of the route by the Khaibar Pass to Kábul, as given in the Sair-ul-Bilád, it may not be amiss to give a brief account of a few of the many military events in connexion with it and with Pes'háwar. I gave a somewhat detailed account of the Pes'háwar province and city, at the time of the annexation of the Panjáb, in 1849, which appeared in the "Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society" for 1852, and need not enter into much geographical detail here.

History shows that the Khaibar route was seldom used by the earlier conquerors and invaders of India, those routes which I shall give an account of farther on being preferred. When the Macedonian Alexander invaded the Panjáb, the division "under "Hephæstion and Perdiccas, accompanied by Taxiles," which division is said to have been "conducted to the Indus through Peucaliotes," possibly referring to the Pes'háwar district, may have come, and very possibly did, by the Khaibar, but Alexander himself kept along the northern bank of the river of Kábul. Mahmúd, Sultán of Ghaznín, came through the Khaibar once, according to the Muhammadan writers, but on all other occasions he followed other routes. On the occasion in question he had an object in doing so—to encounter Rájah Jai-Pál, whose forces were concentrated in the Pes'háwar district.† Bábar and Humáyún passed through the Khaibar upon more than one occasion, and how Nádir came has been just related. Ahmad Sháh, Sadozí, Abdálí, came through it upon one or two occasions, as did his grandson, Sháh-i-Zamán, who invaded the Panjáb several times. These are the only occasions of invaders following the Khaibar route, and its difficulties were doubtless the cause. Nádir Sháh returned from Dihlí to Kábul by that route, but, subsequently, when proceeding into Sind from thence, he took the route by Bangas'h.

Humáyún Bádsháh, who, in 959 H. (A.D. 1552), had entered the Panjáb, with the intention of undertaking a campaign against the Afghán usurpers of his kingdom, having abandoned the attempt for a more favourable occasion, recrossed the Indus north of the Atak, and reached Pas'háur. Báyazíd, the Byát Mughal, who was in Humáyún's service as Bakáwal Bígí, and followed his master's fortunes through all

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* *See* the Eighth Route, page 94.

† Colonel Malleson, C. S. I., in his "History of Afghánistán from the earliest Times," just issued, has made a slip with respect to the Khaibar Pass and Pes'háwar Valley, as a writer can hardly fail to do who merely compiles from translations. Referring to the defeat of Jai-Pál by the Amír, Násir-ud-Dín, Sabuk-Tigín, he states (page 55) that "Sabaktagín marched from Ghazní, towards Pesháwar," while "Jaipál marched" from Láhor "to the Pesháwar plain, and took up a position at Laghmán. Upon him here encamped "Sabaktagín issued from the Khaibar pass." Laghmán or Lamghán—the name is written both ways—is a district on the nor' rn bank of the river of Kábul, and some miles west of Jalál-ábád.

their vicissitudes, composed a history of those events, which was dedicated to Akbar. His work contains some very interesting and valuable details respecting Humáyún's wanderings and expeditions and residence in the Kábul province, which I shall give extracts from as I proceed. Báyazíd also says that Pas'haur is called Bagrám; and that, "when Humáyún reached it, he directed that the fortress there should be repaired; "and all his force was employed in the work. It was completed in seven days; and the "corn of the Dilazák Afgháns—they were faithful subjects of the Bádsháh, and he was "well pleased with them—was reaped and stored there for security."

This was at the period that the Yúsufzís, and the other tribes of the Khas'hí sept, had become so powerful; but the Ghwaríah Khel had not yet arrived in the Pes'háwar district, but came soon after. Humáyún appointed an Uzbak officer, Sikandar, by name, as its governor, but Báyazíd says he was a Kazák.

About three years after the great battle at Shaikh Patúr, between the rival septs of Khas'hí and Gharí,* when Khán Kajú, the supreme chief of the former, overthrew and broke the power of the latter, he marched an army to Pes'háwar from the present Yúsufzí district of the Sama'h, on the north side of the river of Kábul, and invested Sikandar Khán, Uzbak, in the fortress of Bagrám. Khán Kajú had neither artillery nor fire-arms, indeed, such weapons appear to have been unknown to his followers, although Bábar Bádsháh had a few guns at Pánípat, and Sher Sháh, the Afghán sovereign of Hindústán, had used them, previous to this time, at the siege of Kálinjar. The Yúsufzí army, consequently, could effect nothing against Bagrám, and Khán Kajú gave up the investment.

The Shaikh Abú-l-Fazl says:—"There are five routes from Hindústán into the Sarkár or Province of Kábul, one of which is the Karappah route. . . . . The next is the Khaibar, and, formerly, it was exceedingly difficult, but, by the Bádsháh's (Akbar's) command, it was so improved by Kásim Khán, who had the superintendence of the work, that the road, which before that time was so difficult, even for horses and camels, wheeled carriages could pass over with ease, and the Túránís and Hindís generally use it.† In 997 H. (A.D. 1589), Akbar, after the road had been finished, proceeded to Kábul. He crossed the Sind river at Khair-ábád Saráe, and marched to Garhí Ilyás, then to the Gur-Khatrí (of Pes'háwar), and from thence to Dhákah. His next stages were Khwájah Yakút, the Jal-gáh of Safed-Sang, Bárik-Áb, and Kábul."

To continue the account of the Khaibar route.

"There are two routes from Jam-rúd to *'Alí Masjid* through the Khaibar mountains, about one kuroh apart, which meet again near 'Alí Masjid, distant from Jamrúd five kuroh.‡ The right hand one is called the Kotal of Shádí Bagyára'í,§ and, two kuroh from Jam-rúd, beneath the Kotal, is a post of the Afrídí Afgháns. The defile is much more confined than that to the left, and is only fit for men on foot, and camels. It leads by Sur-kamar across the Shaga'í plain.‖

"The left-hand road, and that usually followed by the Durrání troops, runs by the

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* The Ghwaríah Khel, for brevity, is written Ghwarí. They are not "Ghoris," nor "Ghúrís. What they are I have already stated.

† They scarcely ventured to use any other, and even that was continually closed against them by the Afgháns, as I shall mention farther on.

‡ When the Afgháns encountered the Sikhs, in April, 1837, on which occasion the latter lost their leader, Harí Singh, the Afgháns took up their position at Chatákí, while Harí Singh took post at Par Katah, which is a *nálah*, or cut from the Bárah river, and about half way between Jam-rúd and the Pes'háwar cantonment.

§ Shádí Batyára'í appears to have been the former and more correct name of the road, and it is said to have been so called after the Afghán Khel named Batyárí, dwelling in the Khaibar hills. They are referred to by Afzal Khán, Khatak, Khushhál Khán's grandson. A large portion of the Khaibar hills is held by the Mulágorí Afgháns. "Shadi Bagadi" is the mode in which a person ignorant of the Pus'hto language would write the name.

‖ When the late Colonel Sir C. M. Wade forced the Khaibar Pass, in July, 1839, with a mere handful of British Indian troops—380 men—consisting of a detachment of Native Horse Artillery, and four companies of the 21st and 22nd Bengal Native Infantry, and the raw levies enlisted for the service of the Sháh Shujá'-ul-Mulk, which made up his force to 4,000 men, with a few small guns, and a body of Sikh troops, whose hearts were not in the cause, numbering about 6,000 men more, his chief efforts were directed to the left hand or southern route into the Khaibar, by the bed of the Jam river from Kadam, which is that here referred to by Abú-l-Fazl, while a party under Lieutenant Mackeson (who was assassinated at Pes'háwar in after years) was sent by the Shádí-Bagyára'í route, which is shorter, but described as being a more confined pass, and only adapted for foot passengers and camels. This road has been lately improved.

Having carried the heights, the Colonel's force, on the 24th of July, encamped below La'l Chiney, and on the 25th, towards morning, a party pushed forward silently, from the positions gained after some sharp skirmishing during the day, and found 'Alí Masjid had been evacuated, just as we found it lately.

bed of the Jam river* near the village of Kadam, in the vicinity of which are some curious *smats* or caves. The stream rises in the mountains west of the Garhí or Tower of La'l Beg, and passes under the hill on which 'Alí Masjid stands.

"Proceeding from Jam-rúd by the left hand, or proper Khaibar route, five kuroh west, you reach 'Alí Masjid, so called after a small dilapidated masjid near the road. The fort named after it stands on the summit of a conical and almost isolated hill, in a commanding position, but the hills around overlook it.†

"From 'Alí Masjid, four kuroh west, is the Garhí or Tower of La'l Beg,‡ and a village, so called, lying on the right-hand side of the road. Here the hills open out a little on either side. Other villages, perched in the hills with a tower to protect them, are seen as you pass along.

"About half a kuroh before reaching the Garhí of La'l Beg you pass close to a large manár, which they call a *Top*, on the right hand side, like that at Mánikyálah, only this one stands on three square basements, the lowest being the largest, and out of these rises the *Top* of Shpola'h. It is built of a dark bluish stone, similar to the rocky spur from the mountains on which it stands, but one side of it has begun to give way. Near it, and extending nearly half a kuroh lower down the spur, on the north side, are the extensive remains of an ancient city.§ There are remains of buildings and houses, substantially built of stone, and the walls, some of which are about two *gaz* thick, are still standing to the height of three or four *gaz*. Idols, implements of bygone times, and coins are found among these ruins; and there are also the remains of several wells about the spot.

"One kuroh to the westward the Landey Khána'h Kotal commences. The road thus far is not very bad, being alternate ascent and descent, of no great elevation, over a stony road, and gradually ascending, but the Kotal itself commences with a sudden and abrupt ascent. The defile is narrow and difficult, in several places overhung with rocks, and with continual patches of tall grass every here and there, growing to the height of a man, or even higher. Farther on, the road winds along the mountain side on the right hand, with precipices on the left. The rise from the commencement of the ascent to the west of the Kotal is half a kuroh, and the descent is also very sudden. You descend to the small village of Landey Khána'h, giving name to the defile,‖ and which lies just under it. From thence, two kuroh in the same direction, is the small village of Gharíb Khána'h. The river of Kábul lies about three or four kuroh on the right hand, screened by the mountains."¶

This defile, *in former times, was* called the Gharíb Khána'h Kotal, and was the scene of the disastrous battle between the Mughals and the Afgháns, *in* which Aurangzeb's Súbah-dár was overthrown and his army annihilated. I will relate it briefly, but the accounts of the various battles and operations in and around the Khaibar, Tahtarah, and Karappah passes would almost fill a volume, and these historical details must be left for my history of the Afghán nation now under preparation.

Some soldiers serving under Husain Beg Khán, who was Fowj-dár, or Commandant of the Bádsháh's troops in the Kúnar district, had insulted a woman of the Sáfí tribe of Afgháns, who had come to the place at which they were stationed to buy and sell.

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* The lower portion of this river's bed is dry, except after heavy rains in the hills, but then the river comes down suddenly and with violence. This was the case in March 1849, when it rushed down in one great wave, and swept away some of the tents in the lines of our Bombay column, which was pitched in the bed of the river, and even endangered the lives of some of the men.

† At 'Alí Masjid a spider was seen by Jahán-gír Bádsháh which he says "was as large as a crab, and had a "very long and thin neck. It caused great astonishment to those who beheld it."

‡ It is also called the Garhí of Lalah Beg. La'l signifies "a ruby" in the Persian language.

§ These are the remains of a Buddhist city, and, probably, of a Bihár or Wihár likewise. These remains are very much like those on the Takht-i-Bihí, the intervals between the larger stones being filled with lines of thin stone, instead of lime, and fitted in with the greatest nicety. The stone used for the Shpola'h Top is blue slate, but on the Takht-i-Bihí the buildings are of a yellowish red sandstone. I visited the Takht-i-Bihí in December, 1849, and gave a brief description of it in my "Account of the Pes'háwar Province," previously alluded to.

The site of this city near the Garhí of La'l Beg offers a new field for antiquarian research, and by excavating here some interesting discoveries would doubtless be made.

‖ This is known to history as the Gharíb Khána'h Kotal, as I shall presently show.

Khána'h here is evidently the shortened form of rúd-khána'h, which signifies the bed of a river or stream, as well as the stream itself; and Landey is the Pus'hto adjective signifying "short," "brief," "little," "small," etc.

¶ The distance from Pes'háwar to Dhákah in English miles is as follows:—From Pes'háwar to Jam-rúd, 11 miles; Jam-rúd to 'Alí Masjid, 11 miles; 'Alí Masjid to Landey Khána'h, 13 miles; and from Landey Khána'h to Dhákah, 9 miles. These distances may be useful for comparing with the distances given in kurohs in these routes, and calculating other distances.

Some Sáfís, who are a very pugnacious tribe, and have for centuries been continually at feud with the Sulímán Khel Ghalzís, although reports from Jalál-ábád would make us believe their feuds to be quite a new thing, avenged the insult given to their clanswoman by killing the soldiers, and succeeded in getting off.

Husain Beg Khán called upon the Sardárs of the Sáfí tribe to seize the men and deliver them up to him. This they refused to do. Other Afghán tribes subject to the Kábul Government were summoned to join him in attacking the "refractory" Sáfís, killing them, burning their villages, and rendering their women and children homeless. They attended him as in duty bound, but sent word to the Sáfís, their countrymen, to tell them that they considered they had acted like men. They gave them a hint of what they might expect, and let them know that they would not draw sword for the Mughals against them, but remain passive spectators. This they did, and Husain Beg Khán was completely foiled. He then attempted to seize the Sardárs of the Afgháns along with him, but their clansmen crowded around them and prevented it.

On this he dispatched an exaggerated and one-sided report of the affair to the Súbah-dár, Muhammad Amín Khán, who held the office, nominally, of Mír Bakhshí likewise, and who was then at Pas'háur. He was the son of the diamond merchant, Mír Jumlah, Wazír of 'Abd-ullah, Kutb Sháh, of Gulkandah, in the Dakhan, whom the bigoted tyrant, Aurangzeb-i-'Alam-gír, took such a fancy to and raised to the highest rank in the State. Muhammad Amín Khán, a very dissolute person, was exceedingly arrogant and overbearing; no one dared to give an opinion contrary to his wishes, and he was much disliked. This Husain Beg Khán, likewise, was not held in much esteem by the Afgháns. It is related that on one occasion, when about to march from Jam-rúd to Kábul, the Afghán chiefs of the mountains came to pay their respects to the representative of their ruler. He was intoxicated at the time, and Husain Beg Khán was with him. The latter, seeing the Afgháns in attendance, said to him, "The Nawwáb's dogs desire to make their obeisance." This speech afterwards came to the ears of the Afgháns, and aroused their indignation still more against the Mughals.

At the time this report reached Muhammad Amín Khán, it was about the season for him to return to Kábul, and the Afgháns resolved to oppose his march through the Khaibar, well knowing that he was coming full of hostile intent towards them, and that the opportunity was not to be lost. They accordingly occupied the strongest points in different parts of the route before he began his march. The Shinwáris and Mahmands, within whose boundaries part of the Khaibar lies, also assembled at the time he was about to march, and took post in the Gharíb Khána'h Kotal,—what has been lately called the Landey Khána'h Kotal, and recommended as the most westerly position, in that quarter, for our new and "scientific frontier,"—and some other Afgháns were along with them.

Muhammad Amín Khán set out, and with him went the Arbáb of Pas'háur, Mustajáb Khán, Mahmand, and other chiefs of the Afrídís and Wurakzís, and Khushhál Khán, the Khatak chief and poet, was also present with some of his clan. The army encamped at Jam-rúd, and Mustajáb Khán, the Arbáb above referred to, and other men of note among the Mahmands (the Mahmands here referred to are that portion of the tribe located in the plain of Pes'háwar), were sent, as a *jirgah* (the word here signifies, in Pus'hto, a deputation, but it also means a party met for consultation, and a sort of democratic assembly. The word, in Persian, signifies forming a ring or a rank), to summon the Afgháns to retire forthwith, and leave the route clear for his army to pass. They refused. Muhammad Amín Khán resumed his march from Jam-rúd, determined to force the pass. He reached 'Alí Masjid, and passed on beyond La'l Beg Garhí without molestation, but, when he reached the spur of L'wargaey ("Luargee" in the Indian Atlas map; *l'war*, in Pus'hto, signifies high, lofty, beetling, &c., and l'wara'h, a hill, a spur, and the like; *gaey* affixed to a word lessens the importance of it, or conveys contempt—the Little Spur or Hill), he found that the Gharíb Khána'h Kotal was closed by *sangars* or breastworks thrown right across the defile. The army was accordingly halted, and the troops of the advance, the strongest in point of fighting men, were disposed on the right and left in readiness to attack these defences. Mahmúd Khán, the Kheshkí* (an Afghán of Hindústán in the Mughal service) led them. The elephants with the force were also placed in front, and the main body kept well up with the advance column.

* The Kheshkí tribe, which is again divided into several sections, is descended from Zamand, son of Kharshabún. They were much dispersed even at this period, and a good many of them were dwelling in Hindústán.

As soon as the troops were near enough, the musketeers (the matchlock men with the army, who are called "artillery" by the historian, but Muhammad Amín Khán had no artillery with him), under Mubáriz Khán, were sent to attack the right, and Mahmúd Khán, Kheshkí, the left. When the Mughals approached the breastworks, the Afgháns, who were commanded by Ae-mal Khán, the Afrídí chief, and other Sardárs, and who had piled up fragments of rocks and great stones or boulders ready for use, launched them down upon the Mughals. The elephants were forced back, Mahmúd Khán was killed, and his troops were repulsed with great loss. Mubáriz Khán, on the left, met with no more success, and was also forced back, and the Afgháns used their swords upon the assailants with disastrous effect.

The fighting, after a short time, was again renewed, and continued for nearly the whole day, but the Mughals could effect nothing, and their Afghán allies, for the most part, kept aloof. The pass could not be forced. Some one now represented to Muhammad Amín Khán that, from the place they were then in, a road led down to the Tahtarah river (or stream), and where they then were no water was procurable, but if that point could be reached matters might be remedied and a stand made.

This was a mere piece of treachery however, and the shattered force proceeded in the direction of Tahtarah, but it was the road to destruction. When Muhammad Amín Khán reached the spur or head of Batro, some Afghán Jama'dárs, who were with him, told him that if he went down towards Tahtarah he would be lost, but that if he would come along with them, they would take him through the Khaibar in safety, by a route known to themselves; and they brought him safely to Pas'háur without a single attendant of his own.

This disastrous affair took place on the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd of Muharram, 1083 H. (the 18th, 19th, and 20th April, 1672, A.D.), from the march from Jam-rúd to the annihilation of the Mughal army in the Khaibar. Everything was lost—troops, treasure, elephants, camp equipage, family, including Muhammad Amín Khán's wife, mother, sister, son, daughters, brother-in-law, and servants, as well as the wives and families of the different nobles, officers, and officials serving under him in the Kábul province. In one day Muhammad Amín Khán became utterly destitute; his wife, son, and brother-in-law died, but respecting the other members of his family little is recorded. It appears, however, that after his entering into a truce, and paying a very large sum of money, the Afgháns released, and sent back his youngest daughter, who was a mere child, his mother, and some other females, but his wife, from a high sense of honour, refused to return—the reason may be imagined,—and, having donned the garb of a recluse, she gave up the remainder of her life to prayer and religious solitude.

The battles of Gand-áb, in 1084 H. (1673 A.D.), and Khápash, in 1085 H. (1674 A.D.), followed with similar disastrous results. These and other Afghán victories are celebrated by Khushhál Khán, in his spirited poem entitled an "Ode to Spring," from which the following is an extract:—

"The first fight was at the higher back of Mount Tahtarah,
Where forty thousand Mughals were scattered like chaff;
When their sisters and daughters fell into the bonds of the Afgháns,
With horses and camels, elephants, and baggage, string after string.
The second battle was with Mír Husain in the Do-ába'h,
When his head was crushed, like that of a venomous snake.
After that again was the affair at the fort of Noh-s'hahrah,
When from the Mughals I extracted my own inebriation.
And then came Jaswant Singh and Shujá'at Khán,
Of whom Ae-mal Khán plucked up the roots at Gand-áb.
The sixth was over Mukarram Khán and Shamsher Khán,
Both of whom, at Khápash, Ae-mal scattered to the winds.
These are the greatest triumphs that I hold in recollection,
But the lesser ones, in all directions, who shall compute?
Up to present time victory hath been always with us;
And for the future upon God is our dependence placed.
A year hath passed since Aurangzeb is encamped against us,
Disordered and perplexed in appearance, and wounded in heart.
It is now year after year that his nobles fall in battle;
But his armies swept away, who shall number them?
The treasures of India have been spread out before us;
The red gold muhurs have been engulphed in the hills.
It would not have entered one's head in eighteen guesses,
That such events would e'er have happened in these parts," &c., &c.

The whole of the poem will be found in my "Poetry of the Afgháns."

**To resume the account of the route.**

"From Gharíb Khána'h one kuroh and a half farther west is Haft Cháh*, signifying the (place of) Seven Wells, which previously had been a large and thriving village, but is now utterly desolate. There are some extensive ruins of a fortress here on a mound, and near by, several wells, hence the name. It lies on the left-hand side of the road.

"Proceeding from thence two kuroh, in the same westerly direction, there are two villages lying on either side of the river of Kábul, La'l-púra'h and Dhákah.

"West of Garhí-i-La'l Beg, some small streams rise in the mountains on either side of the Khaibar dara'h, which at Landey Khána'h unite into one bed, which increases in breadth as it runs to the northwards to join the river of Kábul, or Lamghán river, as it is also called at this place, east of Dhákah.

"From Landey Khána'h the dara'h begins to open, and in some places it is from half a kuroh to nearly a kuroh in breadth. The road lies in the sandy bed of this river, which is dry for great part of the year, but, during heavy falls of rain, like all similar river beds of this country, it is liable to be flooded. It is overgrown, and partly concealed, by the tall reeds before alluded to, but an occasional large boulder may be seen peeping through them, and indicating the river bed. As you proceed along, you suddenly perceive a village in front of you, and then, ascending a little to a small open space or plain, you can see over the Dhákah valley, the river of Kábul running through it, and another village on the opposite side. The village on the other side of the river is called La'l-púra'h,† the residence of Arsalán Khán, Mahmand, of the Tragzí clan. Halfway between Landey Khána'h and Dhákah you entered the Mahmand country or district.‡

"The village on the south side of the river is Dhákah,§ also belonging to the Tragzí Mahmands, and here the Khaibar dara'h terminates. From its eastern entrance near Kadam to this place there are numerous remains of ancient forts and other buildings, every here and there on the crests of the mountains, which rise on the right hand and on the left. Some of these ruins are of considerable extent, and numerous *smats* or caves are also to be found."

Mírzá Muhammad Hakím, half brother of Akbar Bádsháh, who held Kábul and Zábul, as far east as the Indus, as his appanage, having died in Rajab, 993 H. (1585 A.D.), Farídún, his maternal uncle, who ruled at Pas'háur for him, left for the purpose of proceeding to Kábul. It was usual with the governors of the Kábul province to make Pas'háur their *kishlák* or winter quarters, and Kábul their *iláh* or summer station. Farídún was, however, opposed in the Khaibar by the Afgháns, defeated, and compelled to return to Pas'háur again. He managed to reach Kábul soon after by another route, which is not specified, after losing seventy of his party, who died from thirst.

Akbar was now advised to annex Kábul, and the rest of Mírzá Muhammad Hakím's territory, to his own dominions, and he set out for Kábul in the month of Ramazán, 993 H. (1585 A.D.). The Kuṇwar,‖ Mán Singh, was directed to cross the Sind river, and advance to Pas'háur, and many Afgháns hastened to welcome him. The Khaibar route was infested by the Táríkís,¶ to whom I shall again refer, but, when the Kuṇwar, Mán Singh, marched through it, he cleared the route for the time, and proceeded on his way to Kábul.

Akbar reached Atak in Muharram, 994 H. (January, 1586 A.D.). At this time the

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* The Sayyid Ghulám Muhammad says: "In advance of 'Alí Masjid dwell the Kásim Khel Afrídís, who "are arrant thieves. The next stage from 'Alí Masjid is the fort of La'l Beg, distant ten kos, and two kos "from the next Kotal is Landey Khána'h, and four kos from that Kotal is Haft Cháh."

† Four copies of the original distinctly state that La'l-púra'h is on the south side of the river of Kábul, and Dhákah on the north, although, at present, they are exactly the reverse. Strange to relate, the Sayyid Ghulám Muhammad, says the same, and Elphinstone likewise places La'l-púra'h on the south bank in his map, but leaves Dhákah out entirely. It strikes me there may be some truth in all this, and that the present La'l-púra'h, like Dhákah-i-Khurd, neither of which are mentioned in the histories of the reigns of Akbar, Jahán-gír, Sháh-i-Jahán, and Aurangzeb, are very modern places, or that the river of Kábul has altered its course in this direction, which seems very improbable, at least to any extent.

‡ The Táríkh i-Husain Sháhí states, that after passing the third stage in the Khaibar defile, which so far belongs to the Afrídís, and emerging from it halfway, and passing La'l Beg Garhí, which is also in the Khaibar, Landey Khána'h, and Dhákah, you reach the boundary of the Mahmand country. At the *manzil* or stage of La'l Beg Garhí there are no habitations, merely the watch-house or tower, because the people dwelling in this part are mostly nomads. *See* page 40.

§ This name, in the map contained in the "Geographical Magazine," for November 1878, is "Dukka," but in the map in the first number of the "Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society," it is "Daka." A uniform system of spelling is most desirable.

‖ The son of a Rájah is called a Kuṇwar, especially of a high Rajpút family.

¶ *See* page 46.

chiefs and maliks of the tribes and clans of Khalíl, Mahmand, Gagyání, Sher-zád,* Khizr Khel, 'Abd-ur-Rahmání, Dzádzí (*vul.* Jajee and Jagee), Túrí, and others of the Ghurghust and Ghwaríah Khel septs, dwelling in the tracts between Kábul and Níl-áb, came and represented to the Bádsháh that the Yúsufzí tribe were in the constant habit of assailing them, and of attacking and plundering kárwáns, and other travellers and wayfarers, between Níl-áb and Bagrám, and that, on this account, they themselves got a bad name for the acts of the Yúsufzís. Consequent on these complaints, a force under Zain Khán-i-Kokal-Tásh, Rájah Bírbal†, and others, was despatched against them. This expedition will be referred to in the account of the Yúsufzís and their country, at the end of Section Third.

The mention of the Túrís here by Abú-l-Fazl proves the incorrectness of the statement made to the late Colonel Sir H. B. Edwardes, C.B., who mentions, in his report on the Míránzí expedition, that he was informed that "it is four generations since "the Toorees (Túrís) took root in Kooroom" (Kurma'h), and that "the Bangash had "rebelled against the Kábul sovereign, who sent a force, reduced them, imposed a "tax, to pay which they sold the village of Burrookzye, near Peywar (Paiwar), to the "Toorees." The Túrís have been settled for centuries in their present seats.

To resume. "At Dhákah two other roads diverge to Pes'háwar. The first lies to the north of the Khaibar dara'h, and is used when that route is closed. It is called the Áb-Kháná'h route, crosses the elevated valley or dara'h of Shalmán, then descends to the river of Kábul, which is crossed, and the road then leads along the north bank of the river to Mícharna'í, and will be subsequently described.‡ The other, which is extremely difficult, a mere footpath in fact, and by which horses and camels cannot be taken, follows the Áb-Kháná'h route to the Shalmán valley, but then, instead of crossing the river of Kábul, you keep it on the left hand and the Khaibar dara'h on the right. Few people are acquainted with this route except the Tragzí Mahmands who dwell in that part."

Before leaving the Khaibar, and resuming the route, it may be well to say a few words on a subject which there seems to be some doubt about—the custom of paying the Afrídí, Shinwárí, and Wurakzí Afgháns, for guarding the Khaibar route.

As late as Sháh-i-Zamán's reign these tribes paid no taxes to the State, being exempted as a compensation for guarding the pass, and, besides these exemptions, they held *jágírs*, or free grants of land, from the Government, to the value of 12,000 rupees annually: indeed the Wurakzís held jágírs in the valley of Pes'háwar itself for performing this service, and, consequently, styled themselves *naukars* or servants of the State. The Khaibar tribes, however, were liable to furnish contingents of troops in time of war, for, in Sháh-i-Zamán's last invasion of the Panjáb, they furnished 10,000 men, of whom 2,000 were Afrídí infantry.§

The author of the "Nasab Náma'h," a general history of the Sadozí monarchy, refers to this payment for the care of the pass, and making good all losses sustained in proceeding through it, as "a very old custom," even in his day. He also mentions that the Afrídí bounds "extend as far as the third stage in the route."

The Sayyid Ghulám Muhammad also refers to it as an "old custom," and adds that the Kásim Khel Afrídís, dwell immediately west of 'Alí Masjid, and that they are great thieves. I could quote many more proofs if space permitted.

The Sayyid computes the distance from Jam-rúd to La'l-púra'h at 24 kos.

To resume. "From La'l-púra'h,‖ three kuroh west, is Garwaey, a small village,

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* A section of the Khogiánís.

† Also written Bírbar.

‡ This route can never be preferred either by Government or by private individuals, as some persons, who style it, incorrectly, the "Alkama," "Abkhama," and "Alkana'" route, assume, unless the river is permanently bridged, for, at some seasons, it rushes down with great violence, is deep, and its bed dangerous. It is easy to get down from Jalál-ábád to Pes'háwar by raft, but to get up the stream by such means is not practicable. The river is dangerous at all times, and that it is so has been proved in a lamentable manner.

§ The Bárakzís, after they had overturned the Sadozí monarchy, stopped this grant, upon which the Afrídís and other Khaibar tribes closed the route against them and the Pes'háwar traders altogether. On one occasion, when Pír Muhammad Khán, and his brother, Sultán Muhammad Khán, invaded the Jalál-ábád district, one had to take the southern and the other the northern route, as they could not pass through the Khaibar. This affair is again mentioned farther on, at page 50, note **.

When Ranjít Singh invaded Pes'háwar, the Afrídís, one night, cut the dykes of the Bárah river, and laid his camp under water. Knowing what confusion was likely to ensue, they were on the alert, and succeeded in carrying off much booty. On another occasion they cut off the water from Ranjít Sing'h's new fort of Fath-púr at Jam-rúd, and he had to pay them 1,200 rupees a month to allow the water to run for the use of the garrison.

‖ The writer does not take his departure from Dhákah, it will be observed, because, as mentioned previously, he says La'l-púra'h is on the south side of the river of Kábul, and the Sayyid Ghulám Muhammad does the same.

also called Gard-áo, which lies on the left-hand side of the road. On the way you pass the Kotal called Khaibar-i-Khúrd, or the Little Khaibar, the road over which is somewhat difficult and narrow, but it does not extend for any great distance. There are some mounds there, apparently of ancient times, and some *smats* or caves. Another road leads to Gard-áo by keeping nearer the river of Kábul, and leaving the Kotal on the left hand, which does not require to be crossed, but the distance is greater.*

"From the last named village, one kuroh and a half in the same direction, is the village of Hazár-Khána'h,† signifying Thousand Springs—The Place of the Thousand Springs. It is also called Hazár-Ná'o, or The Place of a Thousand Channels,‡ which names are both derived from the numberless springs of water which flow from the hills on the left hand side of the road, and supply the numerous small canals or channels which intersect the *jal-gáh* or verdant plain which stretches away to the river on the right hand. On the left is a mountain range.

"The whole way along the road from Gard-áo the country is quite desolate and without inhabitant. After passing some small hills, you perceive several mounds in the plain or open space, on which are remains of ancient buildings.

"Leaving Hazár Khána'h, otherwise Hazár-Ná'o, and proceeding one kuroh and a half across the jal-gáh, in the same direction as before, but inclining northwards, not far from the banks of the river of Kábul, is Básaur, otherwise Básaul.§ This is a large village belonging to the Tragzí clan of the Mahmands, and is likewise called Bihsúd, and Bihsut (with the interchange of *d* and *t* as in the case of *r* and *l* above), and Dih-i-Ghulámán—or Village of the Slaves. The Koh-i-Be-Daulat (The Unlucky or Luckless Mountain Range),‖ a small range of hills, lies two kuroh towards the south, on the left-hand side of the road.

"The route above mentioned is the most direct or lower road over the jal-gáh, and is therefore somewhat difficult on account of the numerous springs and cuts running through it. There is another road which leads through marshy ground, nearer to the river of Kábul, close to the northern part of the Koh-i-Be-Daulat, which approaches the river, and near which an opening leads into the more level and open country where the Chhár Dih, or the Four Villages, are situated, and the distance is three kuroh. The road thence keeps along the western skirts of the Koh-i-Be-Daulat.

"From the range of hills before mentioned (the Koh-i-Be-Daulat), three kuroh to the south-west is Bísh-Bulák or Bulágh. It signifies 'The Place of Five Springs,' *bísh* being five in the Turkish language, and *bulák* or *bulágh* a spring,¶ and from these five springs or bísh-bulák to Jam-rúd, by way of Tahtarah, is a well-known route, forty kuroh (to Pes'háwar)."

Towards the close of the year 994 H (end of 1586 A.D.), the Mahmands and other tribes of the Ghwaríah Khel, dwelling in the neighbourhood of Pas'háur, who had now made Jalálah, the Táríkí,** their leader, and had broken out into rebellion, invested

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There are two Dhákahs now, Dhákah-i-Khúrd, or Kam Dhákah, as it is called in Persian and Pus'hto respectively, or Little Dhákah, some miles east of La'l-púra'h, and Dhákah-i-Kalán or Lo-e Dhákah, or Great Dhákah, the name given to three small villages facing La'l-púra'h, which, between them, contain about eight or nine hundred dwellings.

* The Khaibar-i-Khúrd, or Little Khaibar, can be turned by this route, or rather pathway.

† Khána'h here is evidently, as in the case of Landey Khána'h, the shortened form of rúd-khána'h, the bed or channel of a river or stream, as well as a river or stream of water.

‡ Jal-gáh, the place of water or streams, a marshy meadow-like plain, in which is a spring or springs.

§ The former word bespeaks its Turkish origin, and there are several places with such names in this direction as I shall presently show, and *r* and *l*, in such words, are constantly interchangeable. At present, the letter ل, with which the author writes it, has been dropped for ر, as in the word "Básaul" above.

Our latest maps turn it into "Bussowal," "Basawal," "Bussole," and "Bussoul."

When the Yúsufzís left Nangrahár on their way east of the Khaibar, they left the Muhammadzís in possession of part of Nangrahár, and the Gagyánís, who now occupy the Do-ába'h in the Pes'háwar district, took up their quarters at and around Básaul.

‖ Jahán-gír Bádsháh says, in his Autobiography :—"I then proceeded by Jam-rúd and the Khaibar, and "encamped at 'Alí Masjid, and then proceeded by the Már-pech (signifying, in Persian, serpentine, twisting "and twining like a snake) Kotal, and reached Gharíb Khána'h. On Wednesday, the 2nd of Safar, 1016 H. "[18th May, 1607, A.D.], I reached Básaul on the banks of the river. On the farther side is a range of "mountains, which is entirely destitute of trees and verdure, and, therefore, it is called the Koh-i-Be-Daulat. "I heard my father say that such mountains generally contain deposits of gold."

¶ All our maps are incorrect with respect to this name, some have "Pesh Bulack," some "Pesh Bolak," others "Pesh Boolak," and the like. *See* my "Translation of the Tabakát-i-Násirí," note 8, page 937.

** Colonel Malleson, at page 195 of his "History of Afghanistan," makes Jalálah, the Táríkí, chief of the "Mohmands and Ghoris," and the "Mohmands," to make a "successful raid on the city of Ghazní." He says : "Rájá Mán Singh reached Kábul in safety, and prepared at once to act on the instructions of his master, "but before he arrived there Akbar had entrusted Zain Khán with a second army to act against the Mohmands "and Ghoris, who, under their chief, Jalálúdín Raushání had committed many depredations in the Pesháwar

the fortress of Bagrám, and killed the Sayyid Hamíd, the Fauj-dár, who had sallied out against them.

The Kuṇwar, Mán Singh, who had set out with his troops for Kábul, as stated at page 43, now faced about and moved back to Jalál-ábád. Continuing his march towards the Khaibar he was attacked with fever at Bísh-Bulágh, and became so dangerously ill that it was necessary to halt there for some time.

The boldness and audacity of the Mahmands, Khalíls, and others of the Ghwaríah Khel, after their success over the Sayyid Hamíd and his small following, knew no bounds. They decamped, however, from before Pas'háur, and entered the Khaibar, where they threw up *sangars* or breastworks, and some directed their course into Tír-áh, which is a most difficult and broken country. Sukat Singh, son of Mán Singh, on hearing of the state of affairs, when on his way towards Kábul, was for making a forced march through the Khaibar, and throwing himself into Bagrám, but was unable to do so because the pass was closed; and now the Yúsufzís, and other Afgháns, joined the confederacy.

By the time the Kuṇwar, Mán Singh, had recovered from his illness, the forces despatched from Láhor, on the news of the outbreak and death of the Sayyid Hamíd had not yet reached their destination. They were at Atak, but unable to proceed. Mán Singh, therefore, selecting 3,000 men from his force, and leaving the rest as an escort for Mírzá Sulímán, late ruler of Badakhshán, who was on his way to Akbar's court, proposed to march into Tí-ráh, and from thence to fall upon the Afrídí Afgháns, who were the yeast of the disturbances in that quarter, after which he would suddenly advance through the Shádí Dara'h (not the Shádí Bagyára'í route) to 'Alí Masjid, in order that the different bodies of troops might effect a junction there, and open the Khaibar route, which had been completely closed by the rebels.

Mán Singh, accordingly, without encumbering himself with much baggage, marched at night from his camp at Bísh-Bulák or Bulágh, and at daybreak reached the Kotal of Chhár-Jo-e, the Persian for four rivulets or springs. This, it may be observed, is nearly the same route as lately taken by part of General Maude's force, in his operations against the Zakhá Khel clan of the Afrídís, only its advance was from Dhákah instead of Bísh-Bulák. The Kotal was encumbered with snow—it was early in December—and the ascents and descents were great. With much difficulty the defile was cleared.

Mán Singh halted at Bázárak, the diminutive form of Bázár, for a short time, and the following day a force, led by Muhammad Kulí Beg, fell upon the Afrídís and captured a great deal of booty. Some of his officers wished Mán Singh to return, in order that they might conduct their booty to a place of safety, but he would not hear of it. He continued his advance, and, by the dara'h of Jzawara'h (the Pus'hto for

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"valley. . . . . Thus the frontier contests continued for fourteen years (and the events of fourteen years "are summed up in about as many lines), until a new turn was given to them by a successful raid made by the "Mohmands on the city of Ghazní," &c., &c.

The author continually mentions that "the history of Afghanistan is a blank," but a volume might be filled with an account of the Táríkís alone, in and around the Khaibar. To those who know Afghánistán and the Afgháns I need scarcely mention who are meant when Táríkís and Ros'hánís are referred to, as I did so long since in my "Poetry of the Afgháns," published in 1862, but before giving an extract from it, I will give Mr. Dowson's explanation of Tárikí, which word occurs in his translation from the "Akbar-Námá," in Elliot's "Muhammadan Historians," Vol. vi., p. 101. He says, "Jalála is generally called tárikí, 'sectary.' Chalmer's "in his MS. translation, read the word as 'Tájik,' and, strange to say, Elphinstone has adopted that word in "one of his notes. Jalála's followers, as Elphinstone shows, were Yusufzáis, not Tájiks."

It is not Elphinstone, however (who calls the Táríkís "Rousheníahs"), who turns them into "Tájiks:" he has merely referred to that word (p. 457) as contained in the Chalmer's MS. translation referred to by Mr. Dowson.

The brief account I gave of the Táríkís, *alias* Ros'hánís, in the "Poetry of the Afgháns" is as follows:—

Báyazíd, or Bázíd, the Ansárí, was altogether a remarkable man. . . . . Bázíd's religion, which he instituted in 1542—43, A.D., spread rapidly among the Bar Pus'htún, or Eastern Afgháns, till at length he was able to assemble armies, and oppose the Mughal government. He held the same tenets as the Súfís, but having been a disciple, for some time, of the notorious Mullá Sulímán—known as Jálandharí Sulímán, from the town of Jálandhar, in the Panjáb, where he dwelt—Bázíd became initiated in the tenets of the Jogís, a sect among the Hindús, and became a fast convert to the creed of the Metempsychosis, or Pathagorean system of the transmigration of souls. On these doctrines, however, he engrafted some of his own, the most remarkable of which was, that "the most complete manifestations of the Divinity were made in the persons of holy men." The great opponent of Bázíd was the Akhúnd, Darwezah, the greatest and most venerated of all the saints of Afghánistán, who, in derision of the title of Pír-i-Ros'hán, or Apostle of Light, which Bázíd had himself assumed, conferred on him the name of Pír-i-Tárik, or Apostle of Darkness, by which name he is now chiefly known."

I may mention, once for all, that the disciples of Bázíd, the Ansárí, and his descendants are called Ros'hánís, by their friends, and Táríkís by their enemies.

deep, depressed, profound, &c.) reached the hills on which the Mahmands and Khalíls, and others of the Ghwaríah Khel had taken up their position. Upon this the rebels tendered their submission, and thereby saved themselves. But no sooner had the Bádsháh's troops penetrated these mountain tracts and defiles than Jalálah and his Táríkís fell upon their rear, and the whole of the Afghán tribes round about rose. Takhtah Beg, the officer in command of the rear-guard, and other warriors, showed great gallantry upon this occasion, and fought with determined obstinacy, but being hard pressed they had to close up on the main body, and be relieved by another detachment of troops. After a deal of fighting the enemy gave up their attacks.

The Kunwar, Mán Singh, now turned his face towards 'Alí Masjid, and gave the command of the rear-guard to his eldest son, Jagat Singh. Observing this retrograde movement, the Afgháns again assembled in great numbers, and the affair assumed a very serious aspect.* There was no open ground for the troops to act and get at the enemy, and, amidst volleys of stones and showers of arrows, the men had to mount the hills and grapple with the enemy as best they could, and every now and again they made vigorous onsets upon them.

At last more open ground appeared in sight, and there Mán Singh, contrary to the advice of some of the nobles with him, resolved to make a stand. Takhtah Beg, and a body of Kábulís in his force, in their turn, now became the assailants, and attacked the Afgháns; and after some severe fighting the enemy were defeated and compelled to retire to their fastnesses in the hills.

Some of the officers were of opinion that, as the day had nearly closed, they should bivouac for the night on the scene of their success, but others were for pushing on to 'Alí Masjid without delay. This was done, and, without halting, the Mughal force reached that place by the Shádí Dara'h.

Jalálah and his Táríkís followed them very quickly. About two hours before midnight he reached the vicinity of 'Alí Masjid, and took up a position where he and his followers lay in wait in battle array for an opportunity to molest the Bádsháh's troops.

Some of the leaders under Mán Singh were for sallying out upon the enemy at daybreak, but the troops were too much knocked up from the long march and their exertions to be able then to do so. At midday, Mádhú Singh appeared in sight with Rájah Bagwandás's division of troops from the side of Pas'háur, which had been detached from the Bádsháh's army, but, as previously mentioned, had been detained at Atak. At the sight of this reinforcement the Táríkís dispersed in all directions.

To continue the account of this route.

"From Bísh Bulák to La'l-púra'h the distance is eight kuroh (*i. e.*, by road), and the Spín Ghar, or Safed Koh, is about twelve and a half kurohs to the southwards.

"Continuing the route from Básaul, and proceeding five kuroh west, inclining northwest, you reach Bhatí-Kot,† the name given to several villages belonging to the Afgháns, and the Már Koh, the Mountain of the Serpent, halfway on the road, and the river of Kábul, lie on the right-hand side.

"A road from the left hand (south), which comes from Bísh Bulák, at Bhatí-Kot, joins the Sháh-Ráh, or King's Road again, and the distance by that way is six kuroh.

"The wind from the Már Koh is highly dangerous. It is said, by tradition, to have been 'infested, in ancient times, by a large dragon, which the Khalífah, 'Alí, slew with his famous sword, Zú-l-Fakár, but the baneful breath of the dragon, which is the simún (wind), still continues, and nothing green will grow near the Már Koh nor on it.'‡

"Rather less than three kuroh to the west and south from Bhatí-Kot is the town of Baro, by which is another road, which again joins the Sháh Ráh, or King's Highway,

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* The Afgháns invariably follow the retreat of troops, and attack their rear if possible. It is their universal tactics, and has been for centuries, and should always be expected and provided for.

† Turned into "Batikot," and "Buttekot" in our maps, but, in the latest map, contained in the "Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society," for January 1879, it is "Barrikot."

‡ This range of hills is called Koh-i-Márán, or Mountain of Serpents, in the histories of Akbar's reign.

The Sayyid Ghulám Muhammad states that, when his father, the Sayyid 'Abd-ullah Sháh, on his mission from Governor Hastings, reached this place on his way to Kábul, people were much afraid of the wind blowing from the Már Koh; and, it being then the hot season, and he being rather feeble, it was determined that he and his party should remain at Bhatí-Kot until the autumn set in, because there was danger from the simún wind, which, in the hot season, blows from the Már Koh.

Ghulám Muhammad, going to join his father by way of the Khaibar, set out from Pes'háwar on the 29th of Rabí'-ul-Awwal, 1196 H. (that year ended on the 6th of December, 1782, A.D.). He made one stage from Pes'háwar to the Dih-i-Ghulámán, and the next to the 'Í'd-gáh, referred to farther on.

between Nímla'h and Jagdálík, at Safed Sang. Baro is the place where Muhsin Khán, governor of Kábul, defeated the arch heretic, Báyazíd, Ansárí, otherwise Pír-i-Ros'hán, or Saint of Light, *alias* Pír-i-Tárík, or Saint of Darkness. Báyazíd had invaded Nangrahár from Tí-ráh, and had sacked Baro, but the governor, making a forced march from Jalál-ábád, came upon him, and routed him and his followers with great slaughter. Báyazíd, with difficulty, reached the mountains again.

"Proceeding three kuroh north-west, inclining west, from Bhatí-Kot, you reach a religious edifice called, an 'Íd-gáh, which is in ruins, and from thence five kuroh in the same direction is the ancient Tájzík town of 'Alí Baghán, but, in the histories of Akbar Bádsháh's reign, and other writings, it is called Ilah Baghá. It is situated near the banks of the river of Káman (*i.e.*, the river of Kábul, which here is also called the river of Lamghán). It is also sometimes called Samah Khel.

"Between Bhatí-Kot and this town you first cross an extensive open tract, which is intersected by small streams running from the left hand, from the Spín Ghar range, towards the right. After having proceeded thus for about three kuroh, you enter ravines and broken ground, ascents and descents, and have to pass through a defile for about half a kuroh, with little hills on either side, and on one higher than the rest, on the left hand, are the ruins of a large fort.*

"This defile is called Ilah Baghá, and also Surkh Díwar or Díwal, signifying the red pass or defile,† and also Koh-i-Sang-i-Surkh, or the Red Rock Mountain (range), from the reddish colour of the rocks on either side of the defile.

"On clearing this gorge the town of Jalál-ábád can be seen, and also the town of Káman on the right hand.‡

"At Ilah Baghá you leave the Afgháns for a time, for you are now in Nangrahár where the people are Tájzíks, and speak the Persian language. They extend all the way as far west as Gandamak.

"Three kuroh west from Ilah Baghá or 'Alí Baghán is Jalál-ábád, a large town, and the seat of government of the district of Nangrahár. From Pes'háwar to this place the distance is fifty kuroh, and the Spín Ghar range shows itself by the way on the left hand."

### *Nangnahár or Nangrahár.*

This is one of the six provinces or territories inhabited by the Tájzík race north of the Safed Koh or Spín Ghar range of mountains, which provinces contain a number of dara'hs or valleys of considerable extent, with other smaller dara'hs opening into them.§ These territories will be more particularly referred to under the head of Kábul, farther on.

During the present Afghán crisis, new accounts of the country have been written and new maps have been prepared. In one of the former we are told that "Nungnehar" is "the hilly tract which extends along the northern base of Sufeid Koh, between the

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* This is, in all probability, the remains of the fort of Aghúz-ábád, so called after its founder, Aghúz Khán, a Mughal officer of Aurangzeb Bádsháh's reign, who was very successful in his operations against the Afgháns.

† Díwar or Díwal, *r* and *l* being interchangeable, as previously noticed, is Turkish for a pass or defile.

This name has been hitherto written by Europeans "Sang-i Súrákh," which signifies "the stone or rock with a hole or perforation," but it is a great error. The former word, súrákh, would be written سوراخ, but the name of this place is written سرخ, red.

‡ On his return from Kábul, whither he had gone in 997 H. (A.D. 1589), having passed Gandamak and the Bágh-i-Wafá, Akbar Bádsháh entered the lands of Koshlak. From thence he turned aside to Bihár, a very old place (from its name, the site of a bihár or wihár of Buddhists), which was inhabited in the time of Sultán Mahmúd-i-Sabuk-Tigín of Ghaznín. Akbar directed that a fort should be erected there, and he assigned to it the name of Sháh Bihár (being particularly partial to Hindús he must needs revive the name of their celebrated temple mentioned at page 63). Having passed Jalál-ábád, on the way back to Pes'háwar, he turned aside to visit the Lamghánát, *i.e.*, the Lamgháns, and Mandráwar, and proceeded as far as Mas'úd-ábád. He then came to the range of hills or mountains called Ilah-Baghá, and then went on by Bárik-Áb, and the Saráe of the Khwájah, Yakút, to Dhákah. While on his way thither a hyena was seen, and Akbar gave chase to it in that stony and broken ground. His horse fell with him, and the skin of his face was much abraded. He got up, and the wound was bound up, and he continued his journey. Another writer states that he was hurt a good deal, and kept his bed for six days.

§ A dara'h, as previously noticed, may well be compared to a leaf. To use the botanical terms, the *midrib* or *costa* is the river running through it, the *primary veins* are the smaller streams or rivulets, its feeders, flowing through still smaller dara'hs opening into the larger one on either side; the point of the leaf is the head of the dara'h, where is the jal-gáh in which the river rises, and the *petiole* is the river running from the dara'h, where lies the pass leading into it.

"Khyber and the Kurkutcha ranges." Then we are further informed that "the "most direct road from the Kyber Pass to Kabool lies through it, but it is little "frequented, in consequence of the great number of defiles, and the turbulent and "predatory character of the people"; and finally we are assured that it is a "sequestered district."

The new maps contain the "Khyber" and the "Kaibar" Pass, and several ranges of mountains and valleys appear, but they are mythical in many instances, and in the case of this territory particularly. The Safed or Spín Ghar range, in one map especially, is made to run towards the river of Kábul in such a manner that, from what is called the "Karkatcha Pass" to "Dukka" these mountains appear to divide the valley of the river of Kábul almost in a straight line, run in a broad belt filling more than half the space between the river of Kábul and the Siyah Koh range and the highest ridges of the Spín Ghar range, and terminate most abruptly on the northern side. The ridges are made to run in singular regularity, at right angles from this broad belt towards the north, with a river of wonderful uniformity between each ridge, altogether different to that portion of the India Atlas sheets, Nos. 4 and 14. Who would imagine, looking at these maps, that there were several routes from Kábul to Jalál-ábád, and farther east through this apparently inaccessible broad wall of Safed Koh, besides many cross roads? and who would suppose that the courses of these regularly flowing rivers, nearly all running due south and north, are for the most part imaginary?

According to one of the maps referred to, "Nungnahar" consists only of one third of the southern half of the area between the river of Kábul, near Chhár Bágh, and the highest ridge of Spín Ghar, and that the most easterly portion, while in another map, "Nangrahar" constitutes the whole of the southern half of the area, or a tract of country twice as large again in the one map as in the other!

The following are the correct geographical and ethnological boundaries of the country or province of Nangrahár:—

"It extends, from the village and lands of Bhatí-Kot on the east, to the Surkh-Áb-Kotal on the west (not, however, according to the line of the "Surk-ab" and "Surhab River," as the Surkh (Red) Áb (River) is laid down in the maps referred to), a distance of thirty kuroh; and from the mountain of Darúnthah, on the river of Kábul on the north, to Kajá, on the south, a breadth of ten kuroh, and these boundaries are precisely contrary to what has been written in some Gazetteers. In this space, although the district lies high, there are no lofty mountains, nevertheless the ground is stony and broken in many places, and not very level; and in it from 12,000 to 15,000 Tájzík families dwell. The cultivation is chiefly rúdí, that is land dependent on river irrigation, but there is a little lalmí, or such as is dependent on rain. On the produce of the former the government assesses one third and sometimes a fourth of the produce in money, but, on the latter, one tenth only is assessed, and that is in kind, not in money.

"The original name of this territory was Nek Anhár, *nek* signifying in Persian 'good,' 'beneficial,' and also 'many,' and *anhár* is the plural of *nahr*, 'a stream' or 'rivulet,' but that is an Arabic word, although commonly used in Persian. By degrees, through constant use, Nek-anhár became corrupted into Nangrahár. In former times it was likewise known as Jú-e-Sháhí. It consists of a number of dara'hs of greater or less extent, and these are peopled by Tájzíks and a few Afgháns. The Dara'hs of Lamghán and Káman, and, in the same manner, Shíwí, the tract of country in which the Shinwárí tribe dwell, which runs down south of Jalál-ábád, being also computed, they number nine various dara'hs, out of which nine rivers flow. All these meeting in this district, the combined rivers receive the name of river of Kábul. It is from these nine tributaries that the name of the territory is derived, not from the minor streams alone which flow from the Spín Ghar range, as has been hitherto supposed.

"The town of Adínah-púr was the ancient seat of government, but, as it was situated in broken and uneven ground, and distant from the river of Kábul, a new town was founded, half a kuroh north of the old one, adjoining the river, which was named Jalál-ábád after Jalál-ud-Dín, Muhammad, Akbar Bádsháh, whose founder he is said to have been. It is a small place. It is also called 'Ajá'ib-ul-Bilád—wonderful among cities—because the cold of winter is never severe, although snow falls within two or three kuroh of it.

"It is a fruitful tract of country, producing much grain, such as rice, wheat, barley, múng (*Phaseolus mungo*), and 'adas (lentils), in great quantities; and the quantity and quality of the various fruits who shall enumerate and sufficiently praise? Among

them are the seedless pomegranates, which are taken away into distant parts for presents, in such esteem are they held.

"The weights and measures of Nangrahár are similar to those of Kábul. The weight of 80 rupees they term one ser, 100 rupees weight a chárak, 2½ cháraks constitute 1 mann of Tabríz, 4 cháraks 1 Kábulí ser, 8 Kábulí sers 1 mann of the kingdom of Delhí. The measurement of land is after the following computation,—40 fingers of middle size constitute 1 standard gaz, 3 gaz 1 katth'ah, 20 katth'ah in length and the same in breadth 1 biswah, 20 biswah 1 bíghah, which they also term a jaríb.*

"The gross revenue of that part of Nangrahár mentioned in the fourth paragraph above, not including the other dara'hs, was, in Tímúr Sháh Sadozí's reign, just 100,000 rupees.† According to the assessment in Akbar Bádsháh's reign, as stated by the Shaikh, Abú-l-Fazl, the revenue of the Tomán of Nek-Nihár amounted to 1,18,94,003 dáms, which at 40 dáms the rupee makes it amount to 2 lakhs and 97,350 rupees. The contingent of militia amount to 200 horse and 5,000 foot, but of what tribe or people is not stated, but, doubtless, Tájzíks are referred to.

"The following are the dara'hs east of Kábul and south of Nangrahár; the others will be mentioned in the Third Section of these notes:—

"First. Hisárak-i-Sháhí. This dara'h is of considerable size; and, from north-east to south-west, is nearly sixteen kuroh in length. South-west and south of it is a vast mountain range, covered with perpetual snow, and styled the Koh-i-Tí-ráh. This is the Safed Koh of Persian writers, and Spín Ghar of the Afgháns, and from the south-west or head of the dara'h a river issues. Its water, from being impregnated with a red-coloured earth, appears of that colour; in fact, the colour is so deep that if a piece of white cloth be dipped in its water it turns it a red colour. This river consequently is known as the Surkh Rúd, or Red River.‡ Its water, however, is considered very good, and is not deleterious to the health of any one. It passes three or four kuroh west of Gandamak, and, flowing through a mountain range difficult to cross, joins the river of Lamghán (or river of Kábul) near the village of Darúnthah.§ In this dara'h are Hisárak-i-Sháhí, giving name to the dara'h, Chhár-tút, and several other villages of the Mahmad (Mandú) section of the Khogíání ‖ tribe, which will be farther referred to in the routes.

"The second dara'h, which is small, and to which no name in particular is assigned,¶ lies to the southwards of Gandamak, and through it a small river flows, which, passing east of Gandamak, joins the Nímla'h river, and subsequently enters the Surkh Rúd; and the stream in question they call the river of Gandamak.

"The third dara'h is called Kajá.** This is a great and long dara'h belonging to the Tájzíks, and the Afghán people call it Kagá (some tribes, particularly the Eastern Afgháns, use *g* where the Western tribes use the letters *j* and *jz*. *See* my Afghán Grammar, page 3). It is nearly ten kuroh in length, and, on the south side, it joins the Koh-i-Tí-ráh or Spín Ghar. It produces various kinds of delicious fruits, and in the winter much snow falls, and, even in the summer, the nights cannot be passed without a fire and a postín.

"From the south side of this dara'h, a small river issues, which, passing on the east side of the village of Nímla'h, joins the Gandamak river, and higher up (*i.e.*, farther north), beyond the village of Kangkrak, unites with the Surkh Rúd.

"From the village of Kajá to Nímla'h is four kuroh north, and Fath-ábád is four kuroh to the north-east.

"The fourth dara'h is Kajah-ah, a still larger one, in length from east to west fifteen kuroh. It has a great mountain range on either side of it, and in the ridges thereof a

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* Kattha'h, biswah, and bíghah, are Sanskrit words.

† Under the rule of the Amír, Sher 'Alí Khán, Bárakzí, the whole territory from Básaul to Jagdalaey or Jagdálík, including *all* the territory belonging to him on the northern side of the river of Kábul, yielded, I am informed, on good authority, nine lakhs of rupees.

‡ The "Surhab River" of the Indian Atlas map, and "Surkab" of Mr. Trelawny Saunders' first map in the "Geographical Magazine," but the "Surkh-rúd River" of his last map in the "Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society." Strictly speaking it should be called the Surkh River.

§ The cartographer has placed the district, so called, on the wrong side of the river in his first map.

‖ It is sometimes called the Mandú dara'h.

¶ It might be very properly styled the dara'h of Gandamak.

** During the time that the late Dost Muhammad Khán's half brothers, Pír Muhammad Khán and Sultán Muhammad Khán, who held Pes'háwar and its dependencies, were conspiring against the former, and invaded his province of Jalál-ábád, Pír Muhammad marched to Kohát, crossed the Spín Ghar range, and descended into this dara'h of Kajá, where Sultán Muhammad, who had marched from Pes'háwar by the Karappah route by Mícharna'í, then was. The Khaibar had been closed against the Bárakzís, and consequently the brothers had to take these routes.

section of the Ghalzí tribe dwell. In the middle of it (*i.e.*, halfway through it), the Surkh Rúd issues from the mountains to the south, and flows towards the east.

"Every plot of land is called after the name of the person who cultivates it, and is known by that name."

Mr. Clements Markham tells us* that "the district of Jalal-abad is called Nangnahar, "not, as Lieutenant Wood supposed,† because it contains nine rivers, for the word is, "as Colonel Yule explains it, but a corruption of the ancient Indian name Nagarahâra "(the Nagar of Ptolemy), written in Babar's time Nagarhar," and that "Babar also "calls it Adinapur."‡

I will not go back as far as Ptolemy and ancient Indian names, or attempt to interfere with these ancient reveries, but I must dissent as respects Bábar. On looking into the Turkí original of his Tuzúk, and the two different Persian versions of it, I find in one place, where his setting out to invade Hind is mentioned, that Babár "set out from Kábul to invade Hind by way of Badám Chashma'h and Jagdálík, and, "in six nights, reached the fort of Adínah-púr, in the tomán of Nangnahár." If a careless copyist leaves out one of the *n*'s here, then the word will be Nagnahár, but to make "Nagarhár" it must be written نگرهار, and pointed with the vowels as well. In the Persian versions the name is Nek-nihár.

The Shaikh, Abú-l-Fazl, author of the Á'ín-i Akbarí, who is considered a very great authority, and who may be supposed to have had the best information on matters connected with the geography of the Mughal empire as well as revenue matters, calls the district the tomán of Nek Nihál and Nek Nihár. From the interchange of *l* for *r* in the second word, I should suppose Abú-l-Fazl took it to be a Turkish word. He does not mention its meaning, but he says it contained nine rivers. The first word, *nek*, in Persian signifies "many" as well as "good," and among other meanings of Nihár in the same language one is "an idol."

Báyazíd, the Byát, says that Humáyún Bádsháh built a fort at Jú-e Sháhí, where, in after years another fort was built, and called after that Bádsháh's son—Jalál-ud-Dín, Muhammad, Akbar Bádsháh—by the name of Jalál-ábad. Humáyún, he also says, built this fort in Rajab, 959 H. (June, 1552, A.D.), and that, having left Jú-e Sháhí, he arrived at Adínah-púr,§ near which his father, Bábar Bádsháh, laid out the garden called by him Bágh-i-Wafá; and that he reached Kábul on the 8th of Sha'bán.

Abú-l-Fazl also states that Adínah-púr was formerly the chief official place of Lamghán, but now Jalál-ábád is; and that near Adínah-púr is the Bágh-i-Wafá.

The Akhúnd, Darwezah, the celebrated saint of the Afgháns, who was himself a Tájzík, and a native of the territory in question, writes the word Nangrahár. His ancestors came from the town of Pápín, which appears to have been situated in the dara'h of Hisárak-i-Sháhí.

This place Sultán Bahrám, a descendant of the Sultáns of Pích, who claimed descent from a son of Alexander of Macedon, took possession of, and conquered the tracts up as far as the Safed Koh of Nangrahár, and drove out a tribe which predominated over the Nangraháris, as the Akhúnd styles the Tájzík inhabitants of that part, called Budní, which appears to have been a clan of those Turkish tribes which, before the Afgháns púshed as far north as the southern face of the Spín Ghar range, lorded it over those parts from very early times, as I shall presently proceed to show. The Akhúnd, Darwezah, was descended on the father's side from the Turks of Nangrahár, and, on the mother's side, from Sultán Bahrám, an account of whom I shall give in my History of the Afghán people and their country.

Sultán Bahrám died at Kot, in Nangrahár, and his descendants were still dwelling there in the Akhúnd's time. They continued to rule over those parts until the period of Amír Tímúr's invasion, when they became vassals to his government and that of his successors, but in course of time they lost this nominal power likewise.

Other writers, who composed their histories long before the time of the Akhúnd, also tell us about the Turk tribes, or sections of tribes, settled in these parts, and therefore the numerous Turk names of places are not to be wondered at.

When Sultán Jalál-ud-Dín, Khwárazm Sháh, overthrew the Mughals at Barwán, near the source of the Logar river,‖ in 618 H. (1222 A.D.), a quarrel arose about

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* "Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society" for January 1879, page 43.

† Wood calls it "Nanjhnehar," and, in a footnote, says, "Sultan Baber mentions that the name Nangenhâr "(*sic*) as he calls it, was written Nekerhâr (rather Nagarhâr) in many histories."

‡ Mr. Markham, doubtless, formed his opinion from the translation of Bábar's work.

§ Adínah-púr was the name of the chief town, not the name of the district or province.

‖ See my "Translation of the Tabakát-i-Násirí," page 228, and note 3.

some of the booty between the Yamín-ul-Mulk; Malik Khán of Hirát, and Malik Saif-ud-Dín, Ighrák, the Khalj, who had joined the Sultán with 40,000 men, composed of Khalj and Kankulí Turks, Ghuzz Turk-máns, and Ghúrís, who were Tájzíks. The dispute not having been settled to the satisfaction of the Khalj Malik, Saif-ud-Dín, he, with the whole of the troops he had brought to the Sultán's army, left his camp in the night, and marched away in the direction of Pars'háwar, supposed to be the present Pes'háwar district, towards the mountains of Karmán and Sankúrán* (this is the Shalúzán or Shanúzán—both modes of writing the word are correct—of Amír Timúr's campaign). With Saif-ud-Dín was the 'Azam Malik, the son of 'Imád-ud-Dín, the Balkhí, a Ghúrí chief, and several others. These disloyal chiefs proceeded into Nangrahár, which was the fief of the 'Azam Malik. Arrived there, the latter entertained them for a time, but, as enmity existed between Núh, the Ján-dár, who was at the head of a khel of some five or six thousand families, and Malik Saif-ud-Dín, Ighrák, the Khalj, the latter, with his 20,000 followers (his immediate followers) turned his face towards Pars'háwar, while Núh, the Ján-dár, stayed behind in the pasture lands of Nangrahár.†

Sultán Jalál-ud-Dín, in consequence of this defection on the part of these Turks and Ghúrís, could not keep the field, and retired to Ghaznín; and after the Chingiz Khán had completely overthrown the unfortunate Sultán, he had these rebels exterminated, which was partly brought about by their own feuds. The particulars of these events will be found in detail in the last Section of my "Translation of the Tabakát-i-Násirí," and at page 288, and note 3.

A portion of the Khalj tribe, and some of the Ghuzz, had been settled in these parts, about Spín Ghar, in Nangrahár and Karmán and Shalúzán, for a long period prior to this time. Some writers, however, who appear to have no special knowledge of the subject, seem to be unaware of these facts, and hence Khalj Turks are first turned into Ghúrís, who are Tájzíks, and then the same Ghúrís are re-transformed into "Ghilzai Afgháns."‡

The Akhúnd also says, "first the Dilazák Afgháns appeared in Nangrahár—as he "writes it—and passed on to the east; in after years came the Khas'hí or Khak'hí "Afgháns—the Yúsufzís, Mandars, and others—and they too passed on; and lastly, "came the Ghwarís or Ghwarían Khel, and they likewise passed on. The Dilazáks seem "to have occupied those parts some time after the Chingiz Khán had destroyed the "Turk clans there located."

The Khas'hís appear to have moved from the tracts near Kandahár about the time

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* An account of these dara'hs will be found at pages 81 and 82.

† Surgeon-Major Bellew, C.S.I., in a recently published account of "Afghánistan and the Afghans." says, at page 195, that "Changiz, at the time of his invasion, found the "Peshawar valley held by Irac or Persian troops." He has made a mistake here over the name of Ighrák—Saif-ud-Dín, Ighrák, the Khalj—which Turks he subsequently turns into Ghalzí Afgháns.

‡ A portion of the Khalj tribe of Turks had been settled in the Garm-sír of Ghúr during the time of the Turk governors of those parts, previous to the time of Násir-ud-Dín, Sabuk-Tigín. In after years the Khalj tribe of those parts gave kings to Lakhanawatí or Bengal, and to Málwah. Portions of them are still to be found in different parts of Central Asia. Their name is written خلج, and its plural is Akhláj, اخلاج, and persons unacquainted with early Muhammadan history run away with the idea that they must be Ghalzí Afgháns, because, among the Turk tribes settled in and around the valley of the Kurmáh river, a portion of the Khalj was one. The name of the Afghán tribe is written Ghalzí, which is the plural form. Some Afghán tribes use the letter "j" in place of "z" in all words, and, as some pronounce the above name Ghaljí, those who know nothing of the Khalj Turks and their antecedents, assume that they are Ghalzí Afgháns, or rather that the latter are Khalj Turks.

In a book written by Mr. Bellew in 1857, "A Mission to Afghanistan," he says, at page 50, "Bíbí Matto "was married to Shah Husain, a Persian prince of Ghor, and to whom she bore two sons, viz., Ghilzai "and Ibrahim." At page 60 he says, "A few months after the marriage, Bíbí Matto gave birth to a son, who "from the attendant circumstances (the illicit connection) was named 'Ghalzoe' or 'the son of theft' "(in Pukhtú, 'ghal' means a 'thief' or 'theft,' and 'zoe,' a 'son'). From this son sprang the tribe of "'Ghalzoe' or 'Ghalzai,' at this day one of the chief and most powerful of the Afghán tribes."

All this is tolerably correct, only the Ghúrís were not "Persian" princes. At page 80 of the same book he says, "the Ghoride were Afghan princes," which they were not, in the opinion of Firishtah.

At page 175 of Mr. Bellew's book, he says, "of Afghans, there are families of the Ghalzai and Mahmand tribes," but, at page 220 of his latest book we have the following:—

"Connected with the Afghan, and generally reckoned as a Pathan (elsewhere we are told that 'Pathans are not Afghans') is the Ghilzaí. His language is the Pukhto, and his manners and customs assimilate to those of the Afghan, with whom he is an orthodox Sunni Musalman. But he is professedly of a different origin, and never styles himself anything but Ghilji. He has no knowledge why he sticks to this term as his patronymic, beyond the fact that he is not an Afghan nor a Pathan, though now he is more or less blended with them by intermixture of territory, and to a small extent by intermarriage also. The Ghilzais are supposed to have come into the country with Sabaktakin, the Turks in the tenth century, and to be representatives of the Turk tribe of Khilich which was anciently located on the upper course of the Jaxartes."

of Tímúr's invasion, and in the time of Mírzá Ulugh Beg's rule, we know, on undoubted authority, that they reached the tracts north and east of the Khaibar Pass, but the Ghwaríah Khel only reached their present seats towards the end of Humáyún's reign. "The Yúsufzís left the Muhammadzís in Nangarhár, and the Gagyánís took up their quarters about Básaul, but followed the Yúsufzís as soon as they had sufficient room in their newly acquired territory to receive them." At this time too it is remarkable, but a fact nevertheless, that we hear not one word as to the Afrídís being then located so near the Khaibar defiles, much less occupying them, and it is only in 925 H (1519 A.D.), that we hear of their being *just* settled in Bárah, where "they had sown much rice."

Any account of the town of Jalál-ábád, from the course of events at present, is unnecessary; therefore, after this digression, I shall continue my author's routes towards Kábul.

Several routes diverge from Jalál-ábád, and will be mentioned in their proper place, in the next Section of these notes, including those leading towards Kúnar, Chitrál, Káshkár, and the Káfiristán.

"One kuroh and a half west of Jalál-ábád is the Mazár, or Tomb of Rustam Khán,* a brick-built mausoleum, which is close by, on the right hand, adjoining the road. This place has been also called the 'Íd-gah, which means a building in which the religious festivals of the Muhammadans are celebrated; and near this place are the elephant stables of Tímúr Sháh, Sadozí. The river, which is generally known here as the Lamghán river, lies at a distance on the right hand. After it passes Jalál-ábád, in the direction of north-east, near Ilah Baghá or 'Alí Baghán, it joins the Kámán river, and obtains the latter name, and also that of river of Jalál-ábád, as well as river of Kábul.

"To the west of the mausoleum of Rustam Khán, on the right-hand side, adjoining the road, is the little village called the Kalaey (in Pus'hto, signifying a village) of Madad Khán, to the west of which again is a small river, called the river of Rustam Khán, which comes from the left hand, from the villages belonging to the Shinwárí tribe, in the Shíwí Dara'h, and, running to the right, joins the river of Kábul. It rises in the mountain range of Tí-ráh, which is always covered with snow (Spín Ghar, or Safed Koh); and, except in the summer season, when the snow melts, it can be easily forded, the water being then less than knee deep.† The rivers and streams of this part all become swollen and flooded in the hot season when the snow melts.

"From this Kalaey, one kuroh west, inclining south-west, is Chhár Bágh-i-Safá,‡ a large village of the Tájzíks, and near it are four gardens—chhár bágh—as its name indicates, which are famous for their fruits, more particularly the garden known as the Bágh-i-Safá (which latter word signifies 'pleasure' and 'content,' as well as 'purity,' 'clearness,' etc.), which lies near the village on the west side, a heart-ravishing and delightful place, and therein are produced delicious fruits. A large canal has been cut from the Surkh Rúd, farther west, and water brought from it into these gardens.

"The distance from this place to Kábul is estimated at forty kuroh; and from here two roads diverge. The right-hand (northern) route they call the Ráh-i-Kaj-há, the Kaj-há Road, while that on the left-hand (southern) is as follows:—

"Leaving the Bágh-i-Safá of Chhár Bágh on the right hand, and proceeding six kuroh in the direction of south-west, inclining west, and leaving Bálá Bágh likewise on the right hand, at some distance from the road, you reach Fath-ábád,§ a large village belonging to the Tájzíks. There are many ascents and descents by the way, and mountains on either side, distant about two or three kuroh. In proceeding direct from Chhár Bágh to Bálá Bágh you pass Sultán-púr,‖ where are numerous springs and many gardens, and cross the river called the Karáh-Sú, the Turkish name for the Black or Dark River.

There is also a road from Bálá Bágh direct to Nímla'h, but it is bad after you reach

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* The Sayyid Ghulám Muhammad computes the distance of this place from Jalál-ábád at two kos west.

† This river in the Indian Atlas map, and in some others, is made to flow east of Jalál-ábád instead of west, while a small stream, which runs only for a few miles, takes its place west of Jalál-ábád.

‡ There is a large village on the other side of the river of Kábul, also called Chhár-Bágh-i-Mas'úd, or Chhár-Bágh of Mas'úd, by way of distinction.

§ This is a very old place, once called Dínúr. Maudúd, son of Mas'úd, the Martyr, son of Mahmúd, Sultán of Ghaznín, is said to have defeated his uncle, Muhammad, here in 434 H., (1042–43, A.D.), and avenged the murder of his father, and named it Fath-ábád, or the Abode of Victory. *See* "Tabakát-i-Násirí," pages 96 and 97, and note 2.

‖ There are two Sultán-púrs now, one Bálá or Upper, the other Pá'ín or Lower.

about halfway, and descends into the bed of a clear stream, which has to be crossed. It has several ascents and descents until you approach near to Nímla'h."

When Bábar Bádsháh, in 925 H. (October, 1519, A.D.), was on his return to Kábul, having abandoned his intended expedition against the Yúsufzís, on receiving intimation of the intention of Sultán Sa'íd Mírzá, his kinsman, to invade Badakhshán, he passed through the Khaibar defile and encamped on the west side of it. He, on this occasion, determined to beat up the quarters of the Khizr Khel, Afgháns (there is a clan of the Soní or Suní Sarwárnís, called the Khizr Khel), for they had been acting very badly of late, cutting off stragglers who were passing to and fro, and had stolen horses from the Bádsháh's troops previously left in Tí-ráh. He marched, at dawn, from the west foot of the Khaibar defile, and pushed on by way of the village called the Dih-i-Ghulámán—"The village of the Slaves"—also named Básaul, where he halted to pass the midday. At the time of afternoon prayers the horses were fed, and he again set out; and he sent on a party to Kábul to secure the Khizr Khels in that quarter.*

That same night, at about the beginning of the third watch, he passed a little beyond Sultán-púr, and halted for the purpose of taking some repose, and allowing his force to do the same. The Khizr Khels were located from Bihár and Hích-grám, as far as Karáa-tú, and he attacked them early the following morning. The surprise was so complete that only a few had time to betake themselves to the mountains, and most of their property and effects, they and their families, fell into the hands of the troops. Next morning the Bádsháh reached Kilághú—the Turkí text has Kílághú—where the heavy baggage and materials came up with the force, and there he halted.

The Wazírí Afgháns had always declined before this to pay any tribute, but now they sent in 3,000 sheep, as an offering (pesh-kash), to propitiate the Bádsháh. The next day the head-men of the Kharlakhí and Shamú Khel,† and some other Afgháns, accompanied by several of the head-men of the Dilazáks (who were in the Bádsháh's camp), came and solicited pardon. The Khizr Khel clan was accordingly pardoned, their families were restored to them, and their yearly tribute was fixed at 4,000 sheep. On the 18th of the same month, Bábar marched from Kilághú, and came back to Bihár and Hích-grám again, and halted for the day, and next morning reached the garden styled Bágh-i-Wafá, or Garden of Sincerity or Fidelity, a little west of Chhár Bágh, and then proceeded on by Gandamak and Jagdálík to Kábul.

Some time after Humáyún Bádsháh had defeated his rebellious brother, Mírzá Kámrán, at Kabchák and Shutar Grám, in the year 957 H. (1550, A.D.), he had to march from Kábul again to quell another outbreak which Kámrán had raised in Nangrahár.

Kámrán had fled into those parts through the dara'hs of Alingár and 'Alí Shang, and found shelter among the Khalíls and Mahmands. The former, at this period, was an exceedingly powerful tribe, indeed, the most powerful tribe among the Ghwaríah Khel, and, at this time they had not reached their present seats in the Pes'háwar district. They had followed the Khak'hís or Khas'hís, that is to say, the Yúsufzís, Mandars, and Gagyánís, constituting that great sept, from Gárah and Nus'hkí, after having compelled the latter to leave those parts many years before. They first occupied part of Bájawr with some of the Yúsufzís about 923 H. (1517 A.D.), but had again quarrelled with them, and the Yúsufzís had been driven out, but they subsequently recovered part of it. They were, at the period I refer to, occupying the country immediately west of the Khaibar. Báyazíd, the Byát, says,—"Humáyún, having reached the Siyah-Áb or "Black Water, or river of Gandamak, placed the van of his force under Haidar "Muhammad, the Akhtah Bígí, and then advanced across [that is, east of] the "Siyah-Áb, and halted. There is also a village called Siyah-Áb.

"Kámrán, with his Khálíl and Mahmand allies, was at Karáa-sú (this, in Turkish, has the same meaning as Siyah-Áb in Persian), which is situated on the northern skirt of Safed Koh or Spín Ghar, on the other side of which lies Bangas'h, and, on this side, Jalál-ábád. He made preparations for a night attack upon Humáyún's forces, and, as the Bádsháh, with his troops, was on the other side of the Siyah-Áb (from Kámrán and his allies), in the darkness of the night he lost the road, and stumbled upon the van of Humáyún's forces under Haidar Muhammad. Standing at the entrance of the latter's tent, Mírzá Kámrán sent in Sháh Badágh and others of his own immediate followers, who fell upon Haidar Muhammad with their swords, and wounded him so in the right arm, that it was powerless for ever after. In the meantime his allies were plundering the baggage and cattle.

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* *See* page 58. † *See* pages 58 and 72.

"The whole force being soon on the alert, Kámrán and his Afgháns had to beat a retreat; and the movement of the troops under Humáyún, on the opposite side of the Siyah-Áb, prevented them from reaching Karáh-sú again, and so Kámrán, with the Khalíls and Mahmands, retired eastward, passed Jalál-ábád and Hindál-púr, and reached Bárik-Áb, where he took up his quarters among the Afgháns."

Humáyún followed in pursuit of him, and, having reached Jíryár or Jabíryár, of Nangrahár, which in other works is written Jabír-háe, on the hill slopes of the Spín Ghar range and Hindál-púr, there took up his position, and secured the safety of his camp by intrenchments and breastworks.

I regret I cannot identify this first-named place with any certainty, but somewhere about the "Jabbah" of our maps, five or six miles to the south of Baro, mentioned at page 48, appears to be the place.

Whilst here encamped, Kámrán and his Afghán allies made another night attack upon his brother's camp, on which occasion another brother, Mírzá Hindál, lost his life. Hindál was moving about within the breastwork held by the troops under his own command just at the time that the Afgháns attacked the camp at that very point. Hindál was not armed for the fight, and had merely his bow in his hand—carried by great men as an indication of rank—and two or three arrows. The Afgháns had reached the entrance of the camp, and one of them, on his left hand, cut at Hindál with his sword, on which the Mírzá, instinctively, raised his left hand to save his face. Báyazíd says, "the sword must have been a Barakkí blade, and newly sharpened, for it cut the Mírzá's forefinger lengthways into two slices. His assailant, swinging round his sword the second time in a horizontal direction, cut the unfortunate Hindál's head through from ear to ear, and the upper part rolled on the ground.

"The Yasáwal, 'Abd-ul-Wáhib, who was sent by Humáyún to see after the safety of his brother Hindál, in the confusion caused by the clamour and the yells of the Afgháns, was shot in the mouth with an arrow which came out at the back of his head, and one of the Bádsháh's soldiers, taking him for an Afghán, finished him.

"The din was so great that Humáyún rushed out of his tent, got on horseback, and took up his position on a mound which stood in the midst of the camp. It was previously determined that, in case of danger, the Bádsháh should proceed thither, and that there the troops would rally round him. Mun'im Beg, who was made Khán-i-Khánán 970 H. (1562–3 A.D.) by Akbar Bádsháh, came from his breastwork, and, joining Humáyún there, found him in tears. He inquired the cause, on which Humáyún said, "Have you not heard that they have killed poor Hindál"? The Beg replied, 'Do not grieve, for you have one enemy the less.'

"The attack did not succeed, and the Afgháns were beaten off with considerable loss. This event happened on the night of Sunday (our Saturday night: the night precedes the day in the computation of the Musalmáns), the 21st of Zí-Ka'dah, 958 H. (end of November, 1551 A.D.).

"The day after this untoward event Humáyún conferred the tománs of Ghaznín, Gardaiz, and other parts, the appanage held by his brother Hindál, upon his own son, the young prince Muhammad Akbar. Hindál was buried at Kábul near his father, Bábar Bádsháh."

After this affair Humáyún advanced to Bihsúd (Básaul) and halted, and remained there until the cold weather had passed. During this interval a strong fort was erected at Bihsúd, and after the cold season had passed the Bádsháh commenced operations against the Afgháns who had sheltered Mírzá Kámrán. He attacked them quite unexpectedly early one night in the neighbourhood of the Bísh-Bulák or The Five Springs. They had been left quiet so long that they were completely off their guard, and had quite settled down. The attack was completely successful, and 12,000 persons, male and female, and 300,000 sheep fell into the hands of the troops during that raid, and the wives and families of the Afgháns were ordered to be sold as slaves.

After this affair Kámrán fled to the Panjáb to Salím Khán, son of Sher Khán, the Núhání Súr, who had deprived his brother Humáyún of his throne; and Humáyún, after providing for the peace of that part of Nangrahár, returned to Kábul.

If it is determined to secure our hold on the Khaibar defiles now, once for all, the Bísh-Bulák is the spot for our position on the west side. This would not only command the Khaibar, but also the route into Tí-ráh, described at page 94.

After this digression I return to the account of the route.

"From Fath-ábád, likewise, two routes branch off. That on the left hand goes to Kajá, also written Kagá,* and the right-hand one is as follows. From Fath-ábád three

* *See* this route, at page 50.

kuroh west is Nímla'h, which is a large village of the Tájzíks, on the eastern bank of a little river which comes from the left hand, from the Tí-ráh range of mountains or Spín Ghar, and falls into the Shu'bah—signifying a cleft in a mountain range where water stagnates—of Kajá or Kagá. A small portion of the water of this river flows on to Fath-ábád, where it is drawn off for irrigating the fields and gardens of that place, and the rest flows past this village (Nímla'h) towards the east, and finally unites with the Surkh Rúd."

Jahán-gír Bádsháh says, respecting Nímla'h, that "the peasantry here are Laghmánís and Afghán Shál."

"There are also two roads from Nímla'h. The right-hand one runs to Gandamak, four kuroh west of Nímla'h. It is a large walled village belonging to the Khogíání Afgháns,* who also hold villages on the western bank of a little river to the immediate south, called the Nauyán, which stream also comes down from the great mountain range on the left-hand side, and, flowing to the left, enters the Surkh-Rúd.

"The left-hand road leads by Safed Sang, about two kuroh to the south-west, to Tútú, and on to Hisárak and But-Khák.

"Half a kuroh to the west of Gandamak, having descended to the bed of a rivulet and forded it, the ascent of the mountains begin, and this defile through which you pass they call the Surkh-Áb Kotal. It has an ascent and descent of three kuroh, and is tolerably even. On the west side of the Kotal is the Surkh-Áb or Surkh-Rúd—Red River—previously referred to at page 50. This river comes from the left hand and runs towards the right, and within three or four kuroh west of Jalál-ábád, near the Darúnthah mountain, joins the river of Kábul. It can be forded in the winter season, the water reaching to the knees, but in the hot season, when the snows melt in the mountains to the west, it is quite unfordable. At the point where the road crosses it there is a fine bridge of good width, some 200 gaz long, built of stone, brick, and lime, of one arch only. It was erected by 'Alí Mardán Khán, the first of that title, who gave up Kandahár to the officers of Sháh-i-Jahán Bádsháh, and they call it the Pul or Bridge of Surkh-Áb.

"At this bridge a road from Bálá Bágh again joins the Sháh-Ráh or King's Road. Setting out from Bálá Bágh you leave this road, which goes by Nímla'h, and you descend into the bed of the Surkh-Áb, and keep along the valley in which it runs, crossing some small streams coming from the mountain range which bounds the valley to the north. Continuing to follow the course of the river, you reach a Tájzík village called Kangķrak-i-Pá'ín† or Lower Kangķrak, where a small stream from the southward joins the Surkh-Áb, and where there are several *smats* or caves. There is a road (path) from thence over the hills to the village of Nímla'h three kuroh distant, and to Bálá Bágh two kuroh.

"Proceeding from Kangķrak, still going up the valley of the Surkh-Áb, with lofty hills on either side, you at last reach the high road again at the afore-mentioned bridge. Another route runs from this bridge to the southwards across the country to Hisárak, previously referred to, and then, leaving that place on the left hand, you can cross over the Kotal of Karkachah to Tezín. The village of Tútú, mentioned at page 96, lies two kuroh nearly due south from this bridge.

"To continue the route by the Sháh-Ráh.

"Three kuroh north-west and west of the Surkh-Áb is the Chaukí (signifying a post or place where a guard is stationed) of Báwalí,‡ which lies near on the left-hand side, the ascent being gradual. After proceeding another three kuroh from thence in the same direction, the road winding and still ascending, you reach the Chaukí of Kímah, the name of a halting place now wholly deserted. You pass by the way, on the left hand, the bed of a rivulet overgrown with reeds or a giant grass with a feathery flower, called *badá-gál* in Pus'hto, and *lúkha'h* in Persian, and from the latter word the place is known as Lúkhey.§ The village of Hisárak, which will be again mentioned in another route farther on, and lies about four kuroh over the hills, may be reached from this place. From it Jalál-ábád may also be reached in one direction

* The Ghalzí Afgháns have greatly encroached upon the country of the Khogíání tribe, which formerly possessed the tracts to the eastward of But-Khák, now held by the Jabbár Khel Ghalzís. No Afgháns, however, extend so far east as Jalál-ábád in the Nangrahár district.

† There are two villages named Kangķrak (*g* and *ķ* constantly come together in Turkish proper names, as in the name of the celebrated tribe of Kangķur-át, in that of Ungķút, Tingķut, &c., in lieu of *gh*), the village here mentioned, and the other styled Kangķrak-i-'Ulyá or Bálá, signifying "upper," distant from the village referred to above one kuroh west.

‡ Also written Bháwalí. Afgháns have an objection to aspirates—their language eschews them, and such words as the above are of Hindí origin.

§ Wygram Battye was killed here.

by another route, and, in the opposite direction, Jagdálík may be reached from Jalál-ábád by a route which joins this one at Chaukí-i-Báwalí.

"At Chaukí-i-Kímah the road lies close to and in the dry bed of a river, which, in the hot season, rushes down the valley to Kangkrak-i-Pá'ín or Lower Kangkrak (there is another village called Higher Kangkrak previously mentioned), and joins the Surkh-Rúd or Surkh-Áb. At other seasons it is dry or nearly so. The mountains show themselves on the right and left as you proceed along the road. You now begin to ascend higher; and one kuroh north from the last-mentioned Chaukí, at the top of the Kotal, is the Kala' or Fort of Chashan, a small hisár or fortress on the summit of an eminence of the mountains, and on either side, right and left, are immense abysses and ravines, and clefts, and precipices, and there is no other road for travellers save in passing close to this fortress.* This Kotal marks or forms the boundary between the Kábul and Jalál-ábád provinces. The village of Karkachah, which lies some distance on the left hand, high up on a ridge of the mountains, can be seen from this point.

"Having descended a quarter of a kuroh from the Kala'-i-Chashan, towards the north, the descent being steep, with dwarf trees on either hand, you proceed, still descending, in a westerly direction. Winding through a *tangí* or defile in the mountains, for half a kuroh, with similar trees still on both sides, the hills on the left hand being lower than those on the right, which are high and abrupt, you reach the dry bed of a river (dry in the winter season),† which (when full) comes from the left hand, and runs to the right, and joins the river of Kábul. Proceeding onward along the bed of this river for another kuroh, still descending, the road opening as you move onwards, you reach Jagdálík, also written Jagdálik, and Jagdalaey.‡

"Jagdálík, situated on a lofty mound, is the desolate site of an ancient ruined city. Near this mound, in the valley, there is a small river containing an unceasing supply of good water, which, farther down, joins the dry bed of the river previously mentioned (before entering Jagdálík), and runs towards the north. South of the village, on the south side or bank of the river, is one shop occupied by a Hindú chandler or grocer, and another by a baker. There are a few shady amlúk trees near, planted by Ahmad Sháh, Durrání; and at this place travellers alight and make it their halting place."§

West of Jagdálík the Sulímán Khel Ghalzí country begins. The greatest chief among them, at the time these routes were written, was 'Abd-ur-Rahmán, of the family of Mahmúd, Ghalzí, ruler of Kandahár, and conqueror of the Safawí dynasty. 'Abd-ur-Rahmán, incorrectly styled "Abdooreheem" by Elphinstone, bore the title of Ikhlás Kulí Khán from the Persians, rebelled against the Sadozís in 1801, and set himself up as king. The Ghalzís assembled in great force, and, in November of that year, threatened Ghaznín, but sustained a check, not a "crushing defeat," as we are told in the "Geographical Magazine" for November, 1878, in the engagement at Shujá-wand, mentioned at page 72, from the Durránís under the Mukhtár-ud-Daulah.‖ They subsequently were overthrown, with the loss of 3,000 men killed in the battle and pursuit, near Kala'-i-Sháhí, within a few miles of Kábul. They were not crushed, however, nor completely overcome, until May, 1802, in an engagement at Mullá Shádí.

In the reign of Aurangzeb Bádsháh, on the occasion previously referred to, Fidá-e Khán, the Súbah-dár of Kábul, wanted to proceed from Kábul to Pas'háur by way of Jalál-ábád. Aghúz Khán was then occupying a fortified position at Gandamak, but Fidá-e Khán did not think fit (out of jealousy, apparently) to avail himself of Aghúz Khán's aid, proceeded onwards from thence towards Jalál-ábád, and soon after sustained a severe repulse, and had to obtain help from Aghúz Khán after all. In the

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* During the reign of Aurangzeb Bádsháh, after sustaining so many defeats in the different attempts to force the Khaibar, and keep open the road between Pes'háwar and Kábul, the Mughals established a series of strong posts along the route. There was one at Bárík-Áb, another at Jagdálík, a third at the Surkh-Áb, and a fourth at Gharíb Khána'h, besides the fort and station of Jalál-ábád, and other smaller posts between the larger ones.

† Jahán-gír Bádsháh says: "I then proceeded by Surkh-Áb and Jagdálík. Although there were no defiles "to pass, yet the road was full of stones and boulders." From thence he proceeded by Bárík-Áb, the Yúrat-i-Bádsháh, and Kábul-i-Khúrd, to Kábul city.

‡ The Sayyid, Ghulám Muhammad, says this place is twelve kos from Gandamak.

§ It was here that the unfortunate Sháh-i-Zamán was blinded by the Bárakzí faction, in A.D. 1800. His name was not "Zamaun Shah."

‖ Sir J. Kaye, in his "*History of the Afghan War*," writes this title in a strange manner, Mooktor-ood-Dowlah. Mukhtár-ud-Daulah signifies Director or Superintendent of the State. His name was Sher Muhammad Khán, and, as he knew the whole Kur'án by heart, he is styled Háfiz.—The Háfiz, Sher Muhammad Khán.

Jagdálík pass or dara'h (*see* Kala'-i-Chashan, page 57), a well known place, and one of the most difficult, great rocks were rolled down upon the Mughal force, but Fidá-e Khán was enabled to reach Jalál-ábád.

Bábar says in his Tuzúk that, when he set out from Kábul, in 913 H. (September, 1507 A.D.), with the intention of invading Hind, the Afgháns located between Kábul and Lamghán thought it a good opportunity to attack his force, thinking he was leaving for Hind, and so, the morning he marched from Jagdálík, he says, "the "Afgháns around, such as the Khizr Khel, Shamú Khel, Kharlakhí, and Khogíání, "sought to close the Kotal against us. They appeared in strength on the hills to the "north, with drums beating, standards waving, brandishing their swords, and showing "the Afghán gasconade. They were however driven off, and we reached the Tomán "of Nangnahár, and encamped before the gate of the fort of Adínah-púr."

When Mírzá Muhammad Hakím, Akbar's brother, incited by Farídún, his maternal uncle, invaded the Panjáb, in 989 H. (April 1581, A.D.), and again retired to Kábul, on the approach of his brother, he made his way back by crossing the Bihat or Jhilam near Báhrah, and by the Kahár Pass and the Gahep route across the Indus. Akbar advanced towards Kábul by the Níl-áb, another name for the Sind river or Indus, which was anciently called the Sind-Ságar (the Sanskrit for sea or ocean), and at this time numbers of Afgháns presented themselves. Akbar gave orders for building the fort of Atak Banáras, near the junction of the river of Kábul with the Sind. The Kunwar, Mán Singh, was ordered to cross the river and occupy Pas'háur, and Prince Muhammad Murád, Akbar's son, was sent with him. He then proceeded by Daulat-ábád to the fort of Bagrám (near Pes'háwar).

While Akbar, who had crossed the Sind in the sixth month of 989 H. (middle of June, 1581, A.D.), was advancing by the Khaibar route, Muhammad Hakím proposed to leave Kábul and take the Bangas'h route into India, and foment troubles therein, but he appears to have abandoned the intention.

Akbar continued his advance by Jam-rúd, Dhákah, a long march to Láchí-púr, then to Jalál-ábád, and the next march the Bágh-i-Safá was reached. Here news reached him that the Afgháns (the Sulímán Khels probably) had closed the road in advance. His next march was to Gandamak, but how it fared with his troops in front is not stated. His son, the Sháh-zádah, Muhammad Murád, who nominally commanded the troops in advance, but the Kunwar, Mán Singh, in reality, had by this time, reached within seven or eight kuroh of Kábul by the same route. On this Muhammad Hakím came out of Kábul, with his forces, by the Khúrd Kábul route, and attacked Muhammad Murád, consequently Akbar, his father, did not deem it advisable to proceed farther until news of the capture of Kábul should reach him.

The particulars are thus given. Farídún was in ambush at Bíní-Badr, which is between But-Khák and Do-ába'h. On the day that the Sháh-zádah, Muhammad Murád, marched from Bárík-Áb, Farídún threw himself upon his rear, upon his equipage and baggage, and some of it was carried away. The rear-guard, however, succeeded in driving Farídún off, and he retired to Badám Chashma'h, whilst part of his force went to Korkíáe (another MS. has Korkasáe) and Ulugh-púr. The next night fires were seen lighted upon all the mountain sides, and there was great tumult and outcry made all around, in order to intimidate Akbar's troops, and a night attack was made upon them, both on the right and left of their position. The Kábul forces were however beaten off. On the 1st of Rajab, Mírzá Muhammad Hakím issued from the defile and showed himself with his troops, but, after some fighting, he was compelled to retire. The following morning, Farídún again appeared upon the scene, and Naurang Khán, one of the officers with the advance of Muhammad Murád, encountered him, but was overpowered and forced back. This raised the hopes of Mírzá Muhammad Hakím and his forces, and he again advanced from the head of the defile into the plain against the Sháh-zádah, and very nearly succeeded in gaining a victory. Mán Singh now put his own force in motion, and despatched a body of his best troops to the scene of action, and the elephants were also brought to the front. The upshot was that the Kábul troops were, in their turn, overpowered and repulsed with considerable slaughter. Mírzá Muhammad Hakím fled, and succeeded in reaching Karáh-Bágh; and afterwards hastened to Ushtur-ghach, and from thence retired to the Ghúrband.

After this success, the Sháh-zádah advanced to the jal-gáh of Siyah-Sang,—we had a camp there at the time of the outbreak at Kábul, in November 1842, under the command of Brigadier Shelton,—and Akbar, who had received news of this victory at Jagdálík, as already stated, marched next day to Bárík-Áb, and from thence to But-Khák, and on to Kábul.

Mírzá Muhammad Hakím in a few days presented himself and was forgiven, and was left as before in possession of the territory of Zábulistán and Kábul. Akbar, after pending twenty days at Kábul, set out on his return to India.

Some of the writers of his reign state that Akbar was at the Surkh-Áb at this time, while Faizí, the Sarhindí, says a battle took place between the two forces outside the Shutar Gardana'h *tangí* or defile near Kábul-i-Khúrd, not the "Shooturgurdun" that we have heard so much of lately, for there are several gardana'hs, *i.e.*, defiles or gorges, of this name; that west of the Paiwar Kotal is quite out of the way of these operations. It was after this affair that Kásim Khán was sent to improve the road by the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah and the Khaibar defile, mentioned at page 39.

To return to the route again.

"Another road branches off from Jagdálík in the direction between west and north, called the Dara'h-i-Parián, the Defile or Pass of the Fairies, but it is a much more roundabout way, and by it to Bárik-Ab the distance is about twelve kuroh, but the route given under is the Sháh-Rah or Royal Road."

The Sayyid Ghulám Muhammad computes the distance from Jagdálík to Bárik-Áb, in the direction of south-west, at eight kos, and by the Dara'h-i-Parián, in the direction of west and north, at thirty kos, which, certainly, is too great.

"From Jagdálík you descend into the dara'h or valley in which the stream runs, and ascend to the opposite side, and on the summit are the walls of two old forts.* Having proceeded three kuroh, in a direction north and afterwards north-west, passing the walls of a small square building, you reach the Taudah-i-Sang-reza'h—the mound or heap of stones or large pebbles—which lies near by on the right-hand side of the way. From this point the mountains of perpetual snow show themselves both on the right and left hand (the Hindú Koh and Spín-Ghar ranges), and the Tag-áo valley can be plainly seen on the right hand.

"Having passed the Taudah-i-Sang-reza'h, going over an open but uneven tract for half a kuroh, you reach the dry bed of a river, and from thence, proceeding up the river bed for two kuroh, in a westerly direction, you reach Bárik-Áb, which is also called Bárah Gáo,† the name of a desolate halting place or station. The former name is derived from a small rivulet, whose source is a spring which bubbles out here, and which flows towards the east and is lost. In the hot season, when the snow melts, the water of this stream increases greatly, and flows six or seven kuroh to the east to join the river of Kábul.‡

"Proceeding from Bárik-Áb and ascending half a kuroh to the north-west, and then descending in the same direction for one kuroh, you reach the Tezín, also written Teza'í, which is the name of a considerable river, which comes from the left hand from Khúrd or Little Kábul, and, flowing towards the right hand for three or four kuroh, and passing But-Khák on the east, joins the river of Kábul.

"At this point two roads branch off to the right and left, that on the left goes to Khúrd Kábul."

This route turns the Latah-Band Pass, as the Latah-Band turns this. The road commences beneath the Kotal, and proceeding by the Kabr-i-Jabbár—Jabbár's Grave§—near which are some *smats* or caves on the left hand, through a most difficult tract, opens out at last upon Khúrd Kábul.

The Sayyid Ghulám Muhammad says it is exceedingly cold by this route at all times of the year, that even in the hot season few follow it, and that the Sháh-Ráh, or that pursued by Tímúr Sháh's troops, is by the Latah Band Kotal.‖

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* This is the very place where the last stand was made in the disastrous retreat from Kábul, and the stream the identical one mentioned by Eyre in his narrative. He says, "About 3 p.m., the advance reached Jugdaluk, and took up its position behind some ruined walls that crowned a height by the road side. * * * * * The exhausted troops and followers began to suffer greatly from thirst, which they were unable to satisfy. A tempting stream trickled near the foot of the hill, but to venture down it was certain death." Page 224.

† Possibly meant for Bárik-Áb.

‡ The courses of the rivers marked in the Indian Atlas map, in this direction, are purely imaginary.

§ Invariably written incorrectly, as "Kubbur Jabbár," "Kubbur-i-Jabbar," "Kala Jabar," and even "Kubbur-i-Zubbar." In the Indian Atlas map we have two places for this one. "K. Jubar," and another about two miles south-east of it styled "Kuburi Jubar," and in the map to the first number of the "Royal Geographical Society's Proceedings" "Jabar" only.

‖ It certainly is a much longer way from Kábul-i-Khúrd to Jagdálík by the Kabr-i-Jabbár, and very difficult, certainly more so than by the Latah-Band Kotal, and yet the former was chosen for the army to take in the disastrous retreat in the month of January too.

In the map of the "Kyber, Karkatcha, and Kurram Passes," in the "Geographical Magazine," for November, 1878, the whole route from "Barikab" to "Muradund" appears quite level, and yet, for greater part of the way, it is a maze of broken country, with hills of greater and lesser elevation.

"By the right-hand route you proceed half a kuroh from the river of Tezín or Teza'í in the direction of west, ascending until you gain the crest of the mountains, and then, descending one kuroh in the same direction, you reach a little river, which also comes from the left hand or south and runs to the right, and falls into the river of Kábul. You then proceed one kuroh and a half in a direction between west and south-west, and ascend for a distance of another kuroh and a half up the mountains, which having gained, you descend again in a direction north-west and west, and reach the Manzil-i-Ghalzí, or the Ghalzí Halting Place or Stage. At this place a little water issues from the foot of the mountains, which the Ghalzí tribe use in irrigating their cultivated lands, and this defile they style the Kotal-i-Latah-Band, signifying the pass where rags and tatters are hung up. It is called by this name because most way-farers, on reaching the crest of this Kotal, hang up their old clothes or rags on the branch of a tree. The elevation here is excessive, and the city of Kábul can be distinctly seen away in the west.* Proceeding from the Manzil-i-Ghalzí into the dry bed of a river in the direction of north for half a kuroh, you ascend the defile to the crest of the mountains on the left-hand side. This defile they call the Kotal of Mír Khán. It is extremely arduous and difficult, and you have to dismount and leave your horses, mules, camels, and other animals, to take their own course and pick their way as best they can.† The ascent is nearly half a kuroh, and parallel with the road, on the right hand, is a yawning precipice. The summit lies close by on the left-hand side, and on the right are abysses, and through them the stream from Zaffar Khán flows and joins the river of Kábul.

"From the crest of the afore-mentioned Kotal you proceed one kuroh in the direction of west and north-west, with a lofty mountain (range?) close by on the left-hand side, and deep abysses on the right. After this you proceed half a kuroh to the north, and afterwards about the same distance in the direction of north-east, through a defile of the mountains, when you reach the kalaey or village of Zaffar Khán.‡ It is a small deserted village, lying near by the road on the left-hand side; on the right there is a little spring, which, issuing from the foot of the mountains, forms a small river, which, entering the gorge just before [illegible] traversed, runs away to the right hand. It contains about water enough to turn one mill.

"Continuing onwards from this ruined village for about half a kuroh west and north-west, you enter a small Ghalzí tribe extends as far as this defile in the direction of Kábul. After this, having gorge, which is pretty even, called the Kotal-i-Zaffar. The got over another kuroh of ascents and descents, you reach open level ground again, with the mountains distant on either hand.

"From the Kotal-i-Zaffar to the city of Kábul, which is distant nearly seven kuroh, the road lies over this open tract of country, which depends chiefly on rain for irrigation, but there is some land irrigated artificially from the Logar river, which intersects it from north to south. It is in this open tract that the royal armies encamp.

"Khúrd Kábul from this point lies three or four kuroh on the left hand (south) side, hidden by the veil of mountains. Proceeding onwards for another kuroh and a half over this open tract, in the direction of south-west, inclining west, you reach But-Khák, a large village belonging to the Tájzíks, who extend as far as Kábul and beyond. The name, signifying Idol Dust, is derived, according to the traditions of the people, from the circumstance of Sultán Mahmúd of Ghaznín having brought some large idols from Hindústán, which he had broken up and pounded into dust at this place; and it is further affirmed that jewels, to the value of many lakhs of rupees, were found deposited in the bellies of these idols.§ From that day, they say, this place was called But-Khák, but some native authors, who exaggerate in all they write about, make this circumstance take place at Somnáth.

"From Gandamak to this place there are no villages by the way, and no habitations, and traders and travellers have to provide themselves with food and forage for the journey.

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* The Sayyid Ghulám Muhammad states that "the site of the ancient city of Zábul, referred to in another place farther on, lies forty kos south-west from the Latah-Band Kotal.

† It has been asserted that this route is only available for men on foot, but this shows that, although difficult, like the other roads, it is not impracticable, and is certainly much the shortest. No doubt a little engineering would soon render it practicable enough.

The Sayyid Ghulám Muhammad considers the distance between the Latah-Band Pass and Kábul to be nine kos, six of which is ascent, and three descent towards the city. He says the road is not very difficult.

‡ Called the Chaukí-i-Zaffar by the Sayyid Ghulám Muhammad, who says it is a halting place for káfilahs and travellers, below or at the foot of the mountains.

§ It is very probably the site of the ancient idol temple of Shá-Bihár, referred to farther on.

It was at But-Khák that 'Alí Mardán Khán, after he had given up Kandahár, was received by the Sháh-zádah, Shujá', who had been deputed by his father, Sháh-i-Jahán Bádsháh, for that purpose.

"The river of Kábul passes below the village (*sic.* in MSS.) in the direction of north-west and north, and the cultivators have cut a canal from thence, and conveyed the water into their lands. Khúrd Kábul lies about three kuroh on the left hand from But-Khák.

"From Jam-rúd to Bhatí-Kot, and from Gandamak to this place, But-Khák, the mountain ranges on either hand are lofty, and the defiles great. The snowy mountains on the right are a long distance off, but those on the left-hand side lie near by, and can be seen from most places by the way.

"From But-Khák, a kuroh and a half in the same direction as before (south-west, inclining west), is the kalaey or village of Táj Khán,* which lies near the road on the right-hand side, and the village of Úshínáh appears at the distance of one kuroh on the right hand. From the kalaey of Táj Khán, one kuroh west, is the brick bridge called the Pul-i-Bagrámí, over the river of Kábul, and this river they here call the river of Logar. The village of Úshínáh, just before mentioned, appears on the right hand, about half a kuroh distant.

"Bagrámí† is not the name of one village but of several, belonging to the Tájzíks, lying along the west bank of the before mentioned river, on the left-hand side, near the road. The cultivators have brought the water of this river into their lands as far as the Dih-i-(village of) Ya'kúb.‡

"From Bagrámí, three kuroh and a half to the west, is the Dár-ul-Mulk, or capital city of Kábul, which you enter by the Láhorí gateway. The Bálá Hisár or citadel, which is the place of residence of the Bádsháh, Tímúr Sháh, Sadozí, lies near by on the left hand, while the old or ancient Hisár, which is separate from the city, lies at a distance, on a ridge of the mountains, also on the left hand. The villages of Kaláí-chah, Subúkí, also written Shúbúkí and Makara'í, also written Magara'í &c., six or seven in all, also lie on the left-hand side of the road."

Although Kábul§ does not possess, as far as we know or have discovered, any extensive remains of antiquity, it is known to Oriental history from the earliest times. Zábul, however, is mentioned as a distinct place, and should not be mistaken for it or confused with it, for we find Kábul, Zábul, and Ghaznín often mentioned in the same sentence.

Kábul is mentioned in the reign of Kai-Ká-ús, the second monarch of the Kai-áníah dynasty; and is afterwards referred to as the appanage of Rustam, whose mother is said to have been the daughter of Mihráb-Sháh, the Tází or Tájzík, of the race of Zuhák (*see* my "Translation of the Tabakát-i-Násirí," page 308, note 2). Rustam is said to have held Sijistán and Nímroz, Kábul and Zábul, Hind and Sind; and up to this day tradition speaks of Rustam's possessions in the present Bannú district, and people point out the site of an ancient city of his, as will be mentioned farther on.

The name of Kábul, however, does not occur in the accounts of the Greeks unless Kábura refers to it, nor does it appear, I believe, on any of the coins of the Greek-Bakhtrián rulers.

Harmuz, son of Narsí, the fourth ruler of the Sásánián dynasty, married a daughter of the Malik of Kábul, and Kábul and Zábul are enumerated among the cities and provinces contained in the empire of Núshírwán the Just, the first of the Akásirah rulers.

When the Arab invaders appeared in Khurásán, Kábul, that is to say what constituted the Sarkar of Kábul under Akbar, including the Ghaznín district, was ruled by a Hindú king, whose authority probably extended farther east, and who most likely

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* Turned into "Tez Khan" in the Indian Atlas map.

† This name in maps and gazetteers is incorrectly spelt "Bugramee," "Baguramee," &c.

The Sayyid Ghulám Muhammad says: "But-Khák is a village of the Tájzíks, who, in Hindústán, are styled Dih-káns, and these people are very rebellious. South of this place is a mountain range, in which direction they possess several towns and villages, including Bagrámí and Kamárí or Gamárí."

‡ This place was Bábar's first march when he set out for India and conquered the Delhí kingdom.

When he marched from Kábul on his expedition against the Yúsufzís, which will be mentioned in connexion with the routes north of the Kábul river, he encamped in the *ulang* or *jal-gáh*, on the 13th of Ramazán, 930 H. (July, 1523, A.D.), on the Kábul side of the Dih-i-Ya'kúb, and here the Dilazák Afghán deputation waited on him. On the 16th he again marched, passed beyond But-Khák, and encamped, as he always did, when proceeding by that road, on the banks of the river of this But-Khák (the Tezín river). On the 21st he reached Badám Chashma'h, and next day Bárik-Áb, and went and visited the garden at Kará-tú.

§ The correct pronunciation of the name of this city in the original is Ká-bul, with long *a* and short *u*, but Elphinstone, who apparently endeavoured to give the Shirází Persian pronunciation to such Tájzík words, wrote it Cau-bul; but in lexicographical works it is explained in writing as I have rendered it. I mention it here because it appears in Government maps and official documents as Kabool and Cabool, with the wrong syllable lengthened, and Cabul, Kabul, and even Kábal.

was subordinate or subject to the Hindú sovereigns of the present Panjáb and Upper India. The title of the Kábul ruler was Sháh, and Ranbal, Rantil, Ratpal, Rantal or Rantil, as it is variously written by different authors, but Zantíl and Zanbíl by Yáfa'í and Fasih-í was the name of the dynasty or family. The correct reading may be Ratan-pál or Rin-pál.

In 22 H. (642, A.D.) Mukrán and Sind were subdued by the 'Arabs, and in the following year Sijistán. In 30 H. (650–51, A.D.), Hirát, and its dependencies of Bádghais and Fúshanj were given up. The treaty was dated 26th of Ramazán, 30 H. In 32 H. (652–53, A.D.) all the territory between Marw and Balkh was subdued, such as Marw-ar-Rúd, Tál-kán, and the Gúzgánán (Júzjánán of 'Arabs). In 43 H. (663–64, A.D.) the 'Arabs invaded the territory of Kábul, under 'Abd-ur-Rahmán, son of Sumrah, who was the lieutenant of 'Abd-ullah, son of 'Amír, governor of Khurásán. He marched from Sijistán after capturing the capital of that country. Kábul Sháh, at that period, was known by the title or name of 'Arij, but this appears to be an 'Arabic word, and signifies lameness from birth. He moved out with his forces to meet the Musalmán invaders, and after a severe battle retired within the walls of Kábul, and did not sally out again. 'Abd-ur-Rahmán continued before it for a full year, after which, his army having suffered great fatigue and hardships, the place was taken, The fighting men were put to the sword, and the women and children were made captives. The Kábul Sháh was also taken, and his head was ordered to be struck off, but he was spared on his agreeing to become a convert to Islám. He was then received into favour, a tribute was fixed, and the Musalmáns retired.

Subsequently, the countries lying near Hind and Sind were subdued.

In 78 H. (697–98, A.D.), the Khalífah, 'Abd-ul-Malik, sent 'Ubaid-ullah, son of 'Abú-Bakr or Bakrah, to Sijistán, and directed him to make war upon the Malik of Kábul, Zantbíl (Ratan-pál?), who had become contumacious, although he had previously been obedient and paid tribute, to demolish his fortresses, and reduce him to submission. Others say that Hajjáj-i-Safík sent him to Kábul.

'Ubaid-ullah in the following year set out with the divisions of Basrah and Kúfah for the Kábul territory, and as he advanced Zantbíl [Ratan-pál?] retired, without fighting, in the direction of Hind (that is, eastward) until he had drawn the Musalmáns about 17 leagues among the defiles and passes (between Kábul and Jagdálik). The Malik of Kábul then gave command to his people to occupy all the passes and defiles in rear of the Musalmáns, and cut off their retreat. This proved most disastrous for them, for, after making one desperate effort to break through, they were reduced to a state of starvation, and 'Ubaid-ullah had to enter into an agreement with Zantbíl (Ratan-pál) to pay the sum of 700,000 dínárs to be allowed to retire from the Kábul territory.

It is said that, when his wearied and half-starved troops reached Musalmán ground, and their own people brought forth food and relieved their necessities, many eat their fill and fell down dead immediately after.

When the year 80 H. (699–700, A.D.) came round, 'Abd-ur-Rahmán, son of Muhammad-i-Ash'as, was appointed to avenge this disaster at the head of 40,000 men. Zantbíl (Ratan-pál?) sent to him offering to pay the same amount of tribute as had been formerly fixed, and desired 'Abd-ur-Rahmán to retire under those terms. He refused. On this the Kábul ruler again tried his previous tactics, and receded as the Musalmáns advanced. 'Abd-ur-Rahmán was too cautious. He left garrisons in the places he subdued, and bodies of troops to occupy and hold the defiles and passes he left behind him. After having made considerable progress, and the season being advanced, he determined to carry on no further operations for that year, but await the coming one, in order to complete the subjugation of the Kábul territory.

He reported these matters to Hajjáj, who held the government of all the eastern parts of the Khalífah's territories, who harshly reprimanded him, and directed him to at once resume operations. This caused 'Abd-ur-Rahmán, who was already hostile to Hajjáj, to determine to rebel against the tyrant. He accordingly made peace with Zantbíl (Ratan-pál?) on favourable terms, and openly declared against Hajjáj.

Between him and the officers of Hajjáj no less than eighty encounters are said to have taken place. 'Abd-ur-Rahmán was, in the end, reduced to great straits, and finally overcome by Yazíd, the son of Muhallab, in 81 H. (700–701, A.D.), and compelled to fly. He took shelter within the walls of Bust, which was held by one of his own subordinates named 'Iyáz. He seized and imprisoned 'Abd-ur-Rahmán, and proposed to send him to Hajjáj. Zantbíl (Ratan-pál?) immediately, on hearing of this, marched his forces to Bust and invested it on all sides, and threatened 'Iyáz and all within the place with impalement if a hair of the head of 'Abd-ur-Rahmán should be injured, and

that he would never leave the place until he should be released. This had the desired effect, and he was set at liberty, and took refuge, with Zantbíl (Ratan-pál?). Hajjáj, some time after, sent an agent to that ruler making him very advantageous offers, and requiring him to give up 'Abd-ur-Rahmán, which he did, along with eighteen of his kinsmen, in the year 82 H. (701–702, A.D.), but on the road back, 'Abd-ur-Rahmán succeeded in throwing himself from the flat roof of a building in which they had alighted to rest, and dragged the agent with him. Both perished.

Kábul is again mentioned as having been "reduced," in 87 H. (706, A.D.). It consequently must have temporarily thrown off the 'Arab yoke. In the year 90 H. (709, A.D.) Zantbíl or Ratan-pál, or Rin-pál, or whatever his title may have been, agreed to aid the Maliks of Balkh, Marw-ar-Rúd, Tál-kán, Fáryáb, and the Gúzgánán (Júzjánán of 'Arabs), against Katíbah, son of Musallam-ul-Báhilí. Hajjáj died in 95 H. (713–14, A.D.).

In 150, H. (767, A.D.) Ma'an, son of Zá'idah-ush-Shaibání, the Amír of Sijistán, on the part of the Khalífah, demanded the tribute from Zantbíl (Ratan-pál?) ruler of Kábul and Zábul. The latter sent property and goods, the produce of his territory, instead of money, and set a very high price upon them. This enraged Ma'an, who marched his troops against him. He sent forward his brother Yazíd, in advance, into the territory of Rukh (I have read this Rukh, but the word is Zih —ز—, and read either way will not enable us, at present, to understand with any certainty what territory is referred to, unless we add a *j*, when it would refer to Rukhj, one of the districts of the territory of Bust*). Zantbíl (Ratan-pál?) fled from thence, and retired to Kábul. Ma'an overran the Rukh territory, slew a number of people, and obtained spoil to a great amount.

In 152 H. (769, A.D.), the Khalífah, Mansúr, sent Hamíd, son of Kahtabah, into Khurásán, and he penetrated into Kábul, and made holy war.

In the year 170 H. (786–87, A.D.) Hárún-ar-Rashíd sent Bú-Ja'fir, son of Muhammad, as governor to Khurásán. "He despatched his son 'Abbás, in Zí-Hijah (the "last month—July) of the same year, to Kábul. He seized the ancient and famous "idol temple of Shá-Bihár, in the neighbourhood of Kábul," which is also sometimes called "Sháh Kábul," the site of which most probably is But-Khák, for it is stated that around about the temple was an extensive uncultivated plain, or, possibly, the site known as Bagrám may have been the spot. 'Abbás made prize of all the wealth contained in it.† Hárún-ar-Rashíd soon after this recalled Bú-Ja'fir, and appointed 'Abbás, his son, governor of Khurásán in his place.

Ya'kúb, son of Lais, the suffár or brazier, ruler of Sijistán, son of Mu'addil, a man of unknown birth, in the year 256 H. (870, A.D.) possessed himself of Kábul, at which time also it was an important place. After the downfall of the Suffáris, the old rulers of Kábul, who were subject to that dynasty, appear to have again acquired some independence, for we hear nothing of Kábul or Ghaznín being subject to the Sámánís, who were Tájziks,‡ for some time after they succeeded the Suffáris in Khurásán and Sijistán, and their dependencies. Subsequently Ghaznín is distinctly mentioned as part of the Sámání empire, and Kábul was subject to it, although its Hindú rulers still possessed it. Ghaznín was held by a succession of Turk governors from the time that Alb-Tigín, in 322 H. (934 A.D.), dispossessed a ruler there whose family name was Lawík,§ but of whom very little is known, except that they were Musalmáns,

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* I believe, after all, that what is supposed to be Rukhj, is correctly Zaranj, called after the city of that name. *See* "Translation of Tabakát-i-Násirí, page 318, note 6.

† Bihár (or Wihár), also written Bahár, signifies an idol temple, and an idol; and the chief idol temple of Chín, and principal átash-kadah or fire-temple of Turkistán, is also styled Bihár in the old Persian language. Possibly the Hindús of Kábul, at the present day, have some knowledge of the site of this famous temple, for there are many places near Kábul which they venerate and pay visits to. *Vide* Burhán-i-Ḳaṭi'.

It was on this same plain of Shá-Bihár that Sultán Mahmúd of Ghaznín, after his campaign against Nanda Rájah of Gwáliyúr, reviewed his forces in the year 414 H. (A.D., 1023), and 54,000 well-equipped cavalry were there present, together with 1,300 elephants in defensive armour. This force, the Gardaizí says, was quite independent of other troops doing duty in different parts, which were not assembled to swell the number for the occasion, and that the horses and camels were almost beyond computation.

There must have been other idol temples named Shá-Bihár, or probably it was the general name applied to such temples, for there was another two stages from Kal'át-i-Ghalzí, near the scene of the Ghalzís' defeat by Nádir Sháh, which will be referred to hereafter, near the Ghazín road. My Tokhí Ghalzí Maulawí informed me that he had often noticed the site, consisting of several mounds, and that the whole country near it is almost red with the fragments of bricks and tiles and other articles of pottery lying about.

‡ The Sámánís, it is said, were Mughs, or followers of Zardusht, before their conversion to Muhammadanism.

§ Surgeon-Major Bellew, C.S.I., in his "Journal of a Political Mission to Afghanistan in 1857," page 78,

and probably Tájzíks, and that little is to be found in my "Translation of the Tabakát-i-Násirí" and notes, pages 71 to 73.

After Alb-Tigín died in 352 H. (963, A.D.), his son Ishák succeeded as governor on the part of the Sámánís, but he was ousted by Abú-'Alí, the Lawík, who was hostile to them. Ishák was restored by the forces of Amír Mansúr, son of Núh, the eighth sovereign of the Sámání dynasty, and died in 355 H. (966, A.D.). Balká-Tigín, a Turk slave of Ishák's father, and commander of his forces, succeeded by order of the Sámání ruler. He died in 362 H. (972–73, A.D.), and Pírey, another of Alb-Tigín's slaves, succeeded to the government, and Sabuk-Tigín, father of Sultán Mahmúd of Ghaznín, a third slave of Alb-Tigín's, commanded the troops. Pírey was a great villain, and the people of Ghaznín were so disgusted with him that they invited Abú-'Alí, the Lawík, to return and assume authority. He acceded to their request, and with him, as an ally, came the son of the Sháh of Kábul.* This is described by one of the early Muhammadan writers as an invasion by a body of infidels who had advanced out of Hind,—Kábul was included in Hind at that time,—but they were defeated by Pírey, aided by Sabuk-Tigín, near Charkh, a well known and very ancient place, mentioned at page 73, and put to flight.

Pírey was, however, deposed in 367 H. (977–78, A.D.), some say in the previous year, and the people chose Sabuk-Tigín for their Governor, and he was confirmed in the office by the Sámání sovereign.

In the map given in the "Masálik wa Mamálik," the Hírmand is styled "the river of Hind and Sind," and the tract east of it as Hind and Sind. Kábul is mentioned in the same work, which was written, or rather composed, about this time. It says:—"Kábul has a kuhandujz, or citadel, of great strength, and by one road alone can it "be approached. The Musalmáns hold the fortress, but the Hindú infidels hold the "suburb or town without the walls. It is said that a Sháh—the Hindú rulers of "Kábul are styled 'Kábul Sháh'—is not legally entitled to be considered a sovereign "until he is inaugurated and allegiance is pledged to him at Kábul, however far he "may be away from it." It further states that Kábul is a province of Hind.†

The Gardaizí, Abú-Sa'íd-i-'Abd-ul-Hai, says that Amír, Abú-Mansúr, Násir-ud-Dín-i-Sabuk-Tigín, the Hájib, obtained possession of Ghaznín, Barwán, Kábul, and Bust, and other territories which the Ghuláms of Karáa-Tigín had previously held.

Towards the termination of the Ghazníwí dynasty, and after Sultán Sanjar, the Saljúk, had been overthrown and made captive by the Ghuzz Turk-máns, they became all powerful in Khurásán, and possessed themselves of Ghaznín and its dependencies, and overran Kábul and Zábul. Khusrau Sháh, the last of the family of Sabuk-Tigín whose capital was Ghaznín, had to abandon his western dominions and retire to Láhor in 555 H. (1160, A.D.).

The Ghuzz remained in possession of those parts for twelve years, but were overthrown by Sultán Ghiyás-ud-Dín, Muhammad-i-Sám, the Shansabí Ghúrí, in concert with his brother, Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muhammad-i-Sám, the future conqueror of Hindústán, and establisher of the Muhammadan power in that country, but at this time the latter, the younger brother, still bore his first title of Shiháb-ud-Dín, and he was made Sultán of Ghaznín and its dependencies, subject to his brother.

From this time Kábul became a dependency of Ghaznín, and continued to be so down to the time of Tímúr's invasion, or for a few years subsequent, and the history of Kábul, therefore, from the overthrow of the Ghuzz belongs to Ghaznín history, which I may give a summary of in another place.

Ibn Zábit, the author of the "Asár-ul-Bilád" (Annals of Countries), says:—"Kábul "is a famous city of Hind. The people are Musalmáns, but some are also infidels." He also mentions what I have quoted from the "Masálik wa Mamálik," but with some difference, that "the people of Hind consider that no kingdom or sovereign can be "established but at Kábul, and, if a sovereign should happen to succeed to the masnad "of sovereignty, he would not be considered worthy of the allegiance and obedience "of his subjects unless he should come to Kábul to be installed there." He adds that tropical fruits are produced in Kábul, with the exception of dates.

The "Haft Iklím," a work of great value, and whose contents are taken from many old works unknown at this day, says:—"Kábul is one of the world's ancient cities.

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states that "at Kábul Sabaktaghin firmly established himself, and a few years later, about 975, A.D., *founded the city of Ghazni*, which he made his capital." What is the authority for this statement?

* *See* "Tabakát-i-Násirí," page 73.

† The author of this work states that Ghaznín is a small city one *marhalah*, a day's journey, from Sistán. He returned from his travels in 368 H. (978–79, A.D.), just one year after the Amír, Násir-ud-Dín, Sabuk-Tigín, became feudatory of Ghaznín and its dependencies.

" All about the territory are mountains, and in one day you are able from thence to " reach spots where snow never falls, and in two hours to reach places which are " never free from it." The author describes the province, as it was constituted when he wrote, as bounded east by the Lamghánát and Pas'háur and part of Hind, west by the Kohistán or mountain tracts in which the Nikúdarí and other tribes of Mughal and Turk descent dwell (Ghúr), north by Kunduz, Andar-áb, and the mountain range of Hindú-Koh, and south by Farmúl, Baghzan, and Afghánistán.*

To return to the account given by the author of the Sair-ul-Bilád.

" Kábul consisted of two cities or towns founded by Kábul Sháh, Bádsháh, one of which is called Kábul-i-Khúrd, or Little Kábul, and the other simply Kábul. The former is now a small village, and is situated on a ridge of the mountains about eight kuroh south, inclining east, from Kábul. The latter was one of the most excellent cities of olden times, and the ancient capital of the Tájzík race. It is in length one kuroh, and in breadth half a kuroh. The houses are chiefly built of unburnt brick, but some few are of burnt brick and stone."

The "Nasab Náma'h-i-Afaghinah" states that, " since the Durránís made Kábul " their capital, which happened when Tímúr Sháh succeeded his father, and have taken " up their residence there, the Durrání chiefs and their dependants, and the Kazil- " báshís likewise, have taken up their quarters there and built themselves dwellings. " Previously, Kábul was the residence of the Persian speaking Tájzíks."

It is still their residence, for they constitute the bulk of the inhabitants termed in our days Kábulís.

" The finest and most costly commodities of the four quarters of the world are disposed of in this city, and one fortieth is levied from the merchants and traders. This alone brings in a revenue of six or seven lakhs of rupees to the Sháh. As much snow falls from the beginning of Libra to the end of Aries, a great bázár has been erected in the city, which is roofed over. Its erection they attribute to Sháh-i-Jahán, Bádsháh; and as it was finished by 'Alí Mardán Khán, while he held the government of the súbah or province, it is famous as the bázár of 'Alí Mardán Khán.† On account of the severity of the winter season, all those who can afford it go to Jalál-ábád, Pes'háwar, and Kandahár in that season, and return in the beginning of spring.

" The immense quantities of fruit produced round this city cannot be recorded.

" Adjoining the Láhorí gateway, on the east side of the city, there is a large fort, which was built by Sháh-i-Jahán, Bádsháh. Its walls are of stone and lime, and within it is a commodious haram-saráe, a large masjid, and an extensive bázár, through which a canal, containing sufficient water to turn two or three water-mills, runs from east to west, and is made available for that purpose.

" The fort contains three gateways. The east gate, on account of its proximity to the haram-saráe, is closed up. The sardár of the troops and the guards come by the west gate, which opens into the city. The south gate is also closed up. This fort is called the Bálá Hisár‡—upper fortress or citadel—and is the residency of Tímúr Sháh, Sadozí. He has laid out a large garden within the walls, with a lofty pavilion and gateway, and its length is half a kuroh, and its width about the same.§

" To the south of the city is a high mountain range, and on a ridge of it, called Sháh Kábul,‖ is a strong fortress built in ancient times, and because Jalál-ud-Dín Muhammad, Akbar Bádsháh, restored it with stone and lime, some people erroneously attribute its foundation to him. This is also styled the Bálá Hisár; and at the present time princes and other state prisoners are confined there. The distance from the Bálá Hisár, previously mentioned, to this fortress is more than half a kuroh, south.

" On the north and north-west sides of the city there is also a small range of hills, at the farthest and northern point of which, about a kuroh distant, is the village of

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* He is quite right here; he refers to the old seats of the Afghán tribes, referred to in note §, page 70.

† *See* Sir J. Kaye's " War in Afghanistan " (3 vol. ed.), Book IX., Chap. iii., pages 359 to 370.

‡ Named the Bálá-Hisár-i-Pá'ín, or lower citadel, to distinguish it from another fortress mentioned below. Jahán-gír Bádsháh says, in his " Autobiography," that when at Kábul he went to inspect the Bálá-Hisár, and found it no place fit for him; that he ordered it to be pulled down (the private apartments ?), and a more suitable one to be erected.

§ All this had disappeared long before the first Afghán campaign.

‖ This ridge or eminence is also so called by the Shaykh, Abú-l-Fazl, in the A'ín-i-Akbarí. The place has been in ruins for many years.

Bíbí Máh-rú-e.* To the east of this range, and north of the city, is a large open plain, which is six or seven kuroh long, and about the same in breadth. Here the Bádsháh's troops encamp."

When Akbar Bádsháh left Kábul on his return to India, in Muharram, 998 H. (November, 1589, A.D.), he encamped at the jal-gáh of Siyah Sang, where three remarkable incidents happened. Kásim Khán, who had so much improved the road through the Khaibar and the route generally, was here nominated Governor of the province of Kábul, and the news of the decease of the Rájah, Todar Mall, the eminent revenue officer of Akbar, was received. Here, too, the Khán-i-Khánán or Khán of Kháns, 'Abd-ur-Rahím Khán, presented Akbar with the "Translation of the Tuzúk-i-Bábarí," written by his grandfather, Bábar Bádsháh, which he had rendered into Persian from the original Turkish.

At Siyah Sang likewise Akbar enjoyed the diversion of skating, at a place convenient for the purpose. Others joined it, for the Bádsháh gave permission to all who liked to join in it, and enjoy what he pronounced "exceedingly good sport, as such an "opportunity might not occur again."

"In ancient times there was no wall round the city, but, at the time that Ahmad Sháh, Sadozí, Durrání, set out on the campaign to attack the Mashad, the Sardár Jahán Khán, Khán-i-Khánán, who was appointed to the charge of Kábul and its district, built a curtain wall of stone, which was carried from the range of hills to the south, right across the plain to the summit of the hills on the north. It contains three gateways; the eastern gate is called the Láhorí gate, the northern, the gate of the Jaláír Sardár, and the southern, the Gázar-gáh gate.†

"The territory dependent on the Dár-ul-Mulk of Kábul is a dara'h of great size, extending from Kábul city, in the direction of north and north-east, as far as the mountains of Hindú Koh, in which is the Kotal or pass of Hindú-Kush, for nearly fifty kuroh, and towards the south, in the direction of Kandahár, nearly two hundred kuroh. This space is peopled entirely by the Tájzík race.‡

"In the parts around Kábul on the north and north-west, in the mountainous district, which is exceedingly difficult, dwell the people descended from the Mughal regiments or mings."

*Ming* is a Turkish word, signifying a thousand; and these corps or regiments were so styled from the number of men they usually contained. Some of these

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* About three miles north-west of the Bálá-Hisár-i-Pá'ín is the village of Bíbí Máh-rú-e, or the Moonfaced Lady, turned into "Beymaroo" by Eyre, and "Bímaru," by Masson. Jahán-gír Bádsháh says he went to see the *khiá-bán* (signifying a road leading through gardens) when at Kábul, and took the ladies of his family to the jal-gáh of Safed Sang. This jal-gáh is the place which was selected for the cantonment at Kábul after the first Afghan war.

We also had a camp at the Siyah Sang jal-gáh, when the Afgháns rose against us on the 2nd of November 1841, about a mile and half to the west of the cantonment. The Siyah Sang heights or hills were still nearer, being about a mile distant from the cantonment, and about a thousand yards north of the most northern bastion of the Bálá Hisár-i-Pá'ín. This Siyah Sang is a remarkable place in Afghán history, especially in the history of the Khas'hí or Khak'hí sept. After Mírzá Ulugh Beg had massacred seven hundred, less six, Yúsufzí notables, whom he had treacherously invited to an entertainment, he commanded that their bodies should be taken outside the city of Kábul and buried. Agreeable to this command, the corpses were interred "at a place about two or three arrow flights distant from the city, in the direction of north-east, and near the "village of Siyah Sang. That burying ground is called the Khatírah of the Sháhidán, or the Martyrs, to this "day." There also may be seen the tomb of the Shaykh 'Usmán, son of Mútí, the Molízí, Yúsufzí, one of their holy men, who was included in the number above mentioned, and to whose resting place pilgrimages are made.

Masson says, in one of his volumes respecting Kábul, that, leaving the Gate of Sháh-i-Sháhid, "we passed "the eminence and ziárat of Siyah Sang on our left, overlooking the Idgáh," etc.

In the neighbourhood of Kábul likewise a battle was fought between the Mughals of Mírzá Ulugh Beg and the Gagyání Afgháns on the one side, and the Yúsufzís on the other. It was fought in a verdant plain teeming with grass called kabl (*Agrostis linearis*, but this name is antiquated, the *dúb'* grass formerly so called is now generally styled *Cynodon dactylon*). It is called the battle of Ghwara'h Margha'h, or the Besmeared or Polluted Plain, because it was rendered slippery from the blood of the slain on that occasion. Ghwara'h, in Pus'hto, is an adjective agreeing with the feminine noun margha'h, the Afghán name for the kabl grass, and signifies greasy, slippery, etc.

The Yúsufzís gained the victory. This Ghwara'h Margha'h is quite different from another place of that name in the vicinity of the Koh-i-Surkh and Ab Istádah, one of the old seats of the Ghwarí and Khak'hí or Khas'hí septs.

† The Jaláírs are a well known Mughal tribe. This gate is miscalled "Derwâza Jabár" by Masson.

‡ There are very few Afgháns in the Logar district even now; and it is only in recent times that Afgháns have pushed on to the westward of Ghaznín, for, as shown in note † at page 85, there were people of Túrí (*i.e.*, Túránián) descent, the so-called Hazárahs, still settled to the east of Ghaznín in Humáyún Bádsháh's reign.

It is not much over a century ago since the same people held Wardag. The Afgháns have since been spreading westward, and they still continue to do so.

mings were permanently located in Ghúr by one of the Mughal Ká'áns, and the Tájzík people translated the word 'ming' into their own language, and called a ming hazárah. In the course of time the descendants of these hazárahs became styled by that general term. They will be referred to again in the Fourth Section of these Notes.

"On the east and south-east again, the Afgháns dwell, some few of whom are settled in permanent dwellings, but the majority are íláts or nomads.

"Every dara'h and every tract is known by a separate name. For example: to the north of Kábul are Paghmán, Shakar Dara'h, Káh Dara'h, Istálif, Chára'h-kár (also called Chária'h-kár), Panj-shír or Panj-hír, Nijr-Áb or Nijr-Áo, Ghúr-band, etc., which are several dara'hs famous for their fertility and for yielding a large revenue, and for the abundance of their fruits, which are proverbial throughout this country. The districts of Istálif, Shakar Dara'h, Káh Dara'h, and others, constitute what is called the Tomán of Dáman-i-Koh (the skirt of the mountains). In the same manner, to the south, are Gamrán or Jamrán—*g* being used by some Afghan tribes for *j*,—Logar, Gardaiz, and other smaller dara'hs, famous for their fertility and great revenue.

"Respecting the rivers of the Kábul country or territory, the river of the Ghúr-Band or the Ghúr Dara'h passes the city of Kábul at a distance of about six or seven kuroh on the north-east, which, in the maháll or district called by the name of Tang-ghár, below But-Khák, joins the river of Kábul.

"The Logar river, having received the Khúshí, flows one kuroh to the south and east, passes north of But-Khák, and, in the afore-mentioned maháll of Tang-ghár, joins the river of the Ghúr-Band. From this river (the Logar) opposite Zarghún S'hahr (in Pus'hto signifies the green or verdant town or city), a great canal has been cut, and the water conveyed into the gardens and dwellings of Kábul.*

"To the west of the city there is a collection of water or small lake which is styled the Gázar-gáh, and over it they have erected a wooden bridge (*see* next page). The water of this stream runs through the city, and over it, within the city walls, they have built a stone bridge, called by the name of Pul-i-Mastán—the Bridge of the Enthusiasts—and under it is the Gázar-gáh or place frequented by washermen, or, literally, the bleaching ground.† From this stream likewise a cut has been made, sufficient to turn about two water-mills, and the water has been conveyed into the gardens lying to the northwards of the said bridge. On the south-west, without the walls of the shahr-panáh or city walls, is the makbara'h or mausoleum of Bábar Bádsháh, consisting of a fine masjid, and an extensive garden. Fruits of many descriptions are produced therein, and are dedicated to the use of travellers. The sepulchre of the Bádsháh is contained within a small covered building, a chabútarah or sarcophagus of white marble, and that again is surrounded with a small enclosure. Several members of his family also lie buried there, including his son, Mírzá Hindál, who was killed in Nangrahár.

"A cut has been made from the Logar river, sufficient in volume of water to turn four water-mills, and brought into this garden, but, at present, Tímúr Sháh, Durrání, has drawn off three fourths of the water, and carried it into his Haram-Saráe, and into the Asiyá-e Khána'h Bágh, or water-mill garden, previously referred to as having been laid out by that sovereign, and there it is used for irrigation purposes.

"To the south, adjoining the mausoleum of Bábar Bádsháh, is a high mountain.

"It is stated that previous to the reign of Jahán-gír Bádsháh this tomb was built of stone and mud mortar only, but, when Jahán-gír came to Kábul, in 1016 H. (1607–1608, A.D), he gave orders for erecting this present makbara'h, and also a masjid of marble; and in a short space of time they were completed. A marble tablet was set

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* Our maps are much out here, and require considerable revision. This canal has been mistaken for the Kábul.

It was near the upper sources of the Logar river that the Sultán Jalál-ud-Dín, Mang-barní, Khwárazm Sháh, overthrew the Mughals in two engagements near Barwán. It is distinctly said to have been situated on the Áb-i-Baráni or Baráni river, between Ghaznín and Bámián, but nearer to the former place, not the Parwán defile in the Hindú Koh range, as some have imagined because Parwán and Barwán are something alike—one being written with *b*, and the other with *p*—and the defile in question being in a totally different direction. The writers of that period called the upper portion of the Logar river Áb-i-Baráni. When these battles took place the Chingiz Khán was occupied in the investment of the strong fortress of Nasír Koh of Tál-kán of Khurásán, and his main camp was at the Pushta'h-i-Nu'mán. European writers, with a single exception, I believe, unaware that there was a place called Tál-kán in Khurásán, and another named Táe-kán in Kunduz, which they have vitiated into "Talikhan," straightway transfer the investment to their Talikhan, which is only about five and a half degrees too far east, and then Barwán near Ghaznín is turned into the Parwán pass in the Hindú Koh to suit their blunder. Tál-kán of Khurásán and Táe-kán of Kunduz were well known places in the tenth century of our era. *See* my Translation of the Tabakát-i-Násirí, page 288, and note 3, note to page 988, and page 1008.

† Gázar-gáh also means a burying place, or rather catacombs where dead men's bones are bleached.

up there, engraved in the nasta'lík character of Persian, containing the following inscription:—

"'By grace of the boundless favour of Almighty God, when Abú-l-Muzaffar, Núr-ud-Dín, Muhammad, Jahán-gír Bádsháh, son of the Hazrat-i-'Arsh Ashiyání (*i.e.*, His Majesty, whose nest is in the empyrean heaven), Jalál-ud-Dín, Muhammad, Akbar Bádsháh-i-Ghází, attained the fulfilment of his desire of visiting the illumined tomb of the Hazrat-i-Firdaus Makání (*i.e.*, His Majesty, whose place is in paradise)* Zahír-ud-Dín, Muhammad, Bábar Bádsháh-i-Ghází, he directed this tablet to be placed here in the second year of his reign, equivalent to 1016 H. (1607–8, A.D.).'"

"The date is contained in the words "فردوس دايم جاي بابر بادشاه" 'Paradise (is) 'the eternal place of Bábar Bádsháh.'

"The various delightful spots and heart-ravishing places which are to be found in this district, and in the neighbourhood of the city, are too numerous to be detailed here.

"The total revenue of the district is about twelve lakhs of rupees yearly, and every race of people here dwelling has to furnish a contingent of troops to the royal army.

"The language chiefly spoken at Kábul, and in the immediate districts, is Persian, which differs from that of modern Persia. It is the language of the ancient Tájzík inhabitants, but Push'to is the language spoken by Afgháns, some of whom know Persian colloquially, the upper classes well; and, in the same manner, many Tájzíks speak Pus'hto,† but Persian is always spoken among themselves."

I need not enter into more details respecting Kábul here, and now proceed to give an account of the important routes leading from thence into the Panjáb.‡

## An Account of the various Roads and Highways of the Province which branch off from Kábul, consisting of Ten Routes.

*First Route. From Kábul to Baghzan, which is the chief place in Irí-áb, a distance of thirty-five kuroh south, inclining south-west. This road leads also to Kurma'h and Bannú.*§

"Leaving the Bálá Hisár of Kábul, and proceeding one kuroh south-west, passing by the way an exceedingly populous and well cultivated tract, with a high range of hills on the left hand,‖ and the bázár of 'Alí Mardán Khán and the houses of the city on the right, you reach the Gázar-gáh gateway, on the southern side of the city walls. The last quarter of this distance you pass along the side of the small stream which they have brought through the city and out again on the right-hand side, adjoining the said gateway, under the parapet of the city walls. On both sides are lofty hills, and the mazár or shrine, so called, of the 'Ashikán wa 'Arifán (lovers and pious persons¶) lies near by on the right hand.

"From thence (the Gázar-gáh gateway), a quarter kuroh south-west, is the Gázar-gáh,** a small pond or lake in the bed of the river, over which they have erected a wooden bridge; there are several dwellings of grain sellers, grocers, and fruit sellers there.

"At this bridge two roads diverge. The right-hand one leads over the bridge, and runs to Ghaznín by Urghandí, and the left-hand route is as follows. Proceeding a short distance south and south-east from the Gázar-gáh you reach the makbara'h

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* By these titles they are known. For example: Abú-Fazl would not write that such and such an event took place in the time of Bábar Bádsháh, but in the time of the Hazrat-i-Firdaus Makání. A similar title is applied to Jahán-gír, and his immediate successors, but they need not be mentioned here.

† But "Pasto," "Pukkhto," "Pukshto," "Pashtú," "Pakhto," and "Pakhhto" are unknown to them.

‡ I shall enter into greater detail on these matters in my history of the Afgháns and their country.

§ Sháh-i-Jahán Bádsháh, who proceeded to Kábul in 1049 H. (1639–40, A.D.) by the Khaibar route, returned from thence by that of Logar and Bangas'h, the one described under, and reached Kohát on the 25th of Jamádí-ul-Awwal of that year.

‖ On a bluff of which the upper citadel, now in ruins, stands.

¶ Such is the literal meaning, but it appears to have been so called after some holy Súfís apparently—lovers in a divine love.

** Not to be mistaken for Guzr-gáh; Gázar-gáh has a very different signification.

Many alterations have taken place, it must be remembered, since this account was written, especially within the last few years, and many buildings have been removed, and others ruined, since the Bárakzís overthrew their sovereign's dynasty, and divided the Durráni kingdom among themselves.

or tomb of Bábar Bádsháh, near by on the left hand, while the Gázar-gáh lake and stream lie close by on the right. From the tomb, one kuroh south, is a cluster of villages styled Hindka'í,* which lie close by on the right hand. These villages are also called Chhár Dih, or the four villages, the lands of which are extensive, and yield a considerable revenue. The Áb-i-Madághaṇ (Madághaṇ water), the name of a large canal, which joins the Gázar-gáh, also lies near by on the right hand. Opposite Hindka'í a cut has been made from the canal before mentioned, enough to turn four water-mills, and carried to the left hand, towards the makbara'h of Bábar Bádsháh previously mentioned.

"From Hindka'í, or the Chhár Dih, three kuroh south, is Chhár Asiyá (the four mills), consisting of several Tájzík villages, and the canal above mentioned lies close by on the right hand. About one mill of water has been drawn off from the canal, and conducted into the fields and gardens of this district.

"On the left hand, likewise, are several villages, not one only, belonging to the Tájzíks, styled Masa'í, also written Masua'í. The Logar river passes from here one kuroh and a half on the left-hand side, behind the screen of mountains.† From thence (Chhár Asiyá), three kuroh south, is a little hill or rising ground on which are several graves of Musalmán people. This little hill lies on the left-hand side of the road, and the Madághaṇ Nahr or canal lies close by on the right-hand side.

"On the right hand, likewise, on the opposite side of the Madághaṇ Nahr, there are several Tájzík villages, known by the name of Nún-yáz, and from thence, one kuroh south, is Gumrán, the name of two large villages, lying on either side of the Logar river, on the left-hand side of the road at some distance off, while the Madághaṇ Nahr lies close by on the right-hand side.

"From this place there is a road, on the left hand, by which the Kabr-i-Mullá,‡ or Mullá's tomb, east of the Ghás'hí of Mi-yandzey Lár, referred to farther on, may be reached.

"From thence (Gumrán), one kuroh south, is the Logar river, which you can cross knee deep in the cold season, but in the commencement of spring, when the snows begin to melt, it becomes flooded and overflows (its banks). This river comes from the right hand, and flows towards the west, passing by in its course the villages and lands of Dih-i-Ya'kúb, which lies one kuroh east of Kábul, Bagrámí, and But-Khák. The Madághaṇ Nahr shows itself at some distance on the right hand.

"Two kuroh south from the Logar river are several Tájzík villages called Khúrdgán, which lie one kuroh on the right-hand side of the road. In this wádí, or broad valley, some of the Ghalzí tribe dwell as íláts or nomads, and they also cultivate a little land. From Khúrdgán, another three kuroh south, is Madághaṇ,§ a large village belonging to the Tájzíks, on the other (farther) side of the Logar river, which appears at the distance of about one kuroh on the right-hand side. A large nahr or canal has been cut from the Logar river to the village, and carried from the east side of that place to the houses and gardens of Kábul and the environs of that city, and which canal, as previously stated, is called the Nahr-i-Madághaṇ.

"About three kuroh south of Madághaṇ is Zarghún S'hahr,‖ a cluster of several large Tájzík villages. The Logar river passes at the distance of a kuroh and a half to the north-west of these, at the foot of the mountains. From this point they have cut a canal and brought the water into their fields and gardens. The village of Kalangar, which is the chief place in this district, shows itself on the farther (west) side of the Logar river, about three kuroh distant.

"From the Zarghún S'hahr two roads branch off. That on the right hand goes to Ghaznín and Kandahár. The left-hand route, by which the writer proceeded, is as follows. Two kuroh south of the Zarghún S'hahr the wádí or large open valley begins to contract, and a small river enters it from a dara'h on the left-hand side, and which, running to the right, near Kalangar, joins the Logar river. This small river is called the Rúd-i-Do-bandí, or Do-Bandí river. On both banks of it there are numerous gardens and extensive cultivation.

"The dara'h through which it runs is called Khúshí, and, in truth, it is a delightful (pleasant, etc.) place, and a charming situation, lying in the direction of south-east

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* Turned into "Indike" in the map.

† It will be observed that there is no mention of any Kábul river running through the city, and with good reason.

‡ *See* page 74. The Mi-yandzey Lár may be turned by that road.

§ Incorrectly spelt "Mazzagán" in the map.

‖ Zarghún signifies "green," "verdant," etc., in the Pus'hto language.

and north-west, and is four or five kuroh in length.* From Khúrdgán to the extreme end of this dara'h they term the Logar country, and its chief places are Kalangar, before mentioned, Hisárak, and Barakkai.

"You now cross the Do-bandí river, and reach Sa'ad-ullah Khán, one of the large villages of the dara'h situated on this river. It is inhabited by Sayyids.

"From Nún-yáz to Kalangar a great detached mountain range shows itself on the right-hand side (the west), and Khúrdgán, Madágha̱n, and other villages are situated at the base of it.

"From the excessive cold prevalent on this range of mountains there is no grass, verdure, nor vegetation, and, indeed, on the mountains of this district generally trees and grass are scarce.

"In this dara'h of Khúshí there are several *smats*, or caves, and in the winter season the cattle and flocks of the inhabitants of the dara'h are kept in them.

"From this village of Sa'ad-ullah Khán to that of Kalangar, by way of the river, is seven kuroh, which is well known. By proceeding three kuroh south of the village of Sa'ad-ullah Khán, among the mountains, first by way of the before-mentioned river, and afterwards leaving it on the right hand, you ascend on the left hand a high mountain range where two roads branch off, that is to say, a road on the right-hand side comes from the village of Taghra̱n,† which is one of the large villages of the Tomán of Logar, and joins this road (that is, the main route from Kábul to Baghza̱n, now under explanation), and between this dara'h (of Khúshí) and the last-named village is a very high (and deep) gorge or defile, called the Kotal-i-Uchagán. From this point, where the two roads diverge, to Taghra̱n is a distance of seven kuroh, and from the village of Sa'ad-Ullah Khán to Taghra̱n is also a distance of seven kuroh, which is well known.

"From this same point, proceeding half a kuroh east up the mountains to the summit, and again descending a similar distance in the same direction, you come again on the same river, the Do-bandí, and the right-hand part, from which direction the river passes, they call the Káfir or Infidel's dara'h, which lies in a mountain range of great altitude, and the roadway is very difficult.

"From the before-mentioned river, having proceeded onwards a quarter kuroh to the east, you reach Do-bandí, a fortress of great strength (in former times), situated on a ridge of the mountains, on the right-hand side of the road. Its foundation is attributed to one of the Gurgániah Sultáns,‡ but it is now totally desolate and depopulated. This dara'h they call the Dara'h of Do-bandí, and the Kotal which has been just passed they call the Ghás'hí or Ghák'hí of Do-bandí (ghás'h or ghák'h is the Pus'hto for tooth, and ghás'haey or ghák'haey the crest of a mountain or pass, which, inflected, becomes Ghás'hí or Ghák'hí). It is three or four kuroh in length, and in this dara'h the Ghalzí Afgháns dwell after the manner of íláts or nomads.

"From Kábul to Do-bandí there are no tall trees; indeed, through the excessive cold, and the falls of snow in these parts, grass grows but scantily.

"At the Do-bandí Kotal, likewise, the Tájzík territory terminates in this direction, the Persian language ceases to be spoken, and the Pus'hto or Afghán language begins, but the Pus'hto of the íláts or nomads of this district is much affected by Persian speaking neighbours.§

"Opposite the old fortress of Do-bandí two roads branch off. That going to the right is called the Katah Sang road, and that going to the left, the Mi-yandzey Lár. From each of these directions a small river comes, which, east of the fortress of Do-bandí, unite, and then, under the name of the Rúd-i-Dobandí, flows through the dara'h of Khúshí, and finally unites with the Logar river.

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* It is a very easy march from this place to Kábul city.

Khúshí, Zarghún S'hahr, and Do-bandí, all three places, appear in the new map contained in the "Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society" for January 1879, under the incorrect names of "Kachi," "Zurgun Shah," and "Doband."

† The peculiar manner in which the names of these two places, تغرا and بغرا, and some others, are written,—with what is grammatically known, in 'Arabic, as tanwín or nunnation, by doubling the vowel with which the word terminates, and subjoining the letter ا, the vowel in such cases taking after it the sound of ن,—is meant probably to express some Turkish sound or pronunciation. In case of the other vowels, ـٍ or ـٌ, being used, the sounds become *in* and *un* respectively.

‡ The sovereigns of the house of Tímúr, the Gurgán, or Son-in-law, antecedent to the year 913 H. (1507–8, A.D.), when their territory was conquered by Shaibání Khán.

§ This, then, is the natural boundary in this direction of the country of the Afgháns, or tún of the Pus'ht, or Puk'ht, or Pás'ht, or Pák'ht, whence the Afgháns derive their name of Pus'htún and Puk'htún. *See* my "Afghán Dictionary," new edition, page 1113.

"Having proceeded for a distance of two kuroh east, inclining to north-east, from the old fortress, and following the course of the stream through a deep and narrow gorge, with the mountains overhanging the way, and ascending at every footstep, the gorge contracting as you proceed, you ascend in the direction of east by a zig-zag road to the crest of the pass. This defile and pass they call the Ghás'hí-i-Mi-yandz Lár*.(meant, possibly, for "the middle road" into Hind), which is a defile exceedingly lofty, and from the summit of it the territories of Logar and Gardaiz, to the west and south-west, can be distinctly seen, spread out beneath like the courtyard of a dwelling.

"On this mountain range a species of tree (or shrub?) named nacha'í (tacha'í?) is found. Its leaves are large, of a red colour, and sour to the taste; and it spreads on rising out of the ground.

"From the summit of this Ghás'hí you descend in the direction of north-east for two kuroh and a half, and then reach Manzil-i-Ghalzí, the name of a dara'h and halting place of the ílát or nomad Ghalzís. It extends from east to west four kuroh in length, and from north to south it is about two kuroh in breadth. From the west side of this dara'h a river issues, which, passing through the hill tract to the east, runs on into Nangrahár, and obtains the name of Surkh-Rúd, or red river, which joins the river of Kábul at Darúnthah, a short distance west of Jalál-ábád.

"The people of this part call the mountain range to the south and east, which adjoins the dara'h of Irí-áb, by the name of Sirkai;† and that to the west and north, which lies towards or on the side of Kábul and Gardaiz, by the name of Shúbul.

"One kuroh and a half north, inclining north-east, and proceeding upwards, you reach Kabr-i-Mullá (the Mulla's grave), the tomb of some holy man; and here are two roads. That on the left hand side comes from the direction of Gumrán, but it is a difficult route. The other road is as follows. Proceeding one kuroh north-east, inclining east, from Kabr-i-Mullá, and then another half a kuroh to the south, you reach Kabr-i-Fakír (the Devotee's tomb), also the grave of some holy man. From this point likewise two roads branch off; the right-hand road, which is named Katah Sang,‡ comes from the fort of Do-bandí, as previously mentioned, and here again joins the road by which we have been proceeding. Upon the whole it is smoother and more level than the main route, and it is on this account that artillery and such like heavy materials are taken to and fro by this road.§

"They call the route from Kabr-i-Mullá to this place Rágha'h (in Pus'hto signifying the skirt of a mountain bordering on an uncultivated tract). A small stream of water comes from this side of Katah Sang and another from the Rágha'h, which, having united west of Kabr-i-Mullá, runs on to Irí-áb. A forest of chalghozah trees (*Pinus Gerardiana*), and the Irí-áb territory, commence at Kabr-i-Mullá.

"One kuroh and a half to the south of Kabr-i-Fakír there is a considerable river, sufficient to turn ten or twelve water-mills, which issues from a tangaey (a gorge of the mountains) lying on the left hand (north), and running to the south goes into Irí-áb. A stream at Kabr-i-Fakír likewise, at this place, joins this larger river, which then obtains the name of Rúd-i-Sirka'h, or Sirka'h river.

"From thence having gone half a kuroh to the south, along the before-mentioned river, you reach Shúmú Khel, a small village on the left-hand side, on a ridge of the mountains belonging to and named after a section of the Dzádzí tribe.

"Two kuroh and a half farther south from thence is another Shúmú Khel, belonging to the same tribe, on the right-hand side, and close to the before-mentioned Sirka'h

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* Lár, in Pus'hto, means "a road," "path," "way," "track," etc., and Mi-yandz, which is also a noun, signifies "the middle" or "centre" of anything. Mi-yandz-Ghálaey signifies a "chasm," "a gap," or "gorge," but Mi-yandz and Mi-yandznaey is the adjective for "middle," "mid," and the like. "The middle road" would be—lár being feminine—"da Mi-yandzey Lári," or "da Mi-yandz-na'í Lári." The writer appears to have merely given the name as it would be expressed in Persian.

It will be noticed here that there is no mention of a Shutar-Gardana'h pass. The author was too careful, as the minuteness and correctness of his descriptions show, to pass over such a fact, if the pass was so called in his time. It is probably a modern name in this part of the country.

I fully believe that the route west of the Shutar Gardana'h kotal will be found far more formidable than has been and is expected.

† Sirka'h, probably, which, when inflected, would become Sirkey. The Sirka'h river is also mentioned farther on. "Sarkhe," as it has been recently called, is not correct.

‡ South of Katah Sang is a defile through which a road leads to Bannú through Khost and Dáwar, by the roads subsequently mentioned.

§ When the Kurma'h force pursued the fugitives from the Amír, Sher 'Alí Khán's garrison, from the Paiwar Kotal towards the so-called "Shuturgurdan" pass lately, it was a matter of wonder what had become of the brass nine-pounders. The half burnt carriages were found, but not the guns, which had vanished. Some supposed they had been buried, and some declared that they had been "put on camels." The route these guns were removed by was, without doubt, this very road.

river, on the west bank. A third village named Shúmú Khel, belonging to the same people, lies one kuroh and a half farther on. The Sirka'h river, having made a bend from the left half a kuroh towards the south, joins the river of 'Alí Khel, the name of a large straggling village belonging to the 'Alí Khel section of the Dzádzís.*

"From this village of Shúmú Khel two kuroh towards the east is Spín Ghar, a lofty range of mountains, which are always covered with snow. The snow thereon, melting from the heat of the sun (in the summer season) in many places, falls down in several streams towards the south; and on the lateral ridges thereof, running in a southerly direction, the 'Alí Khel Dzádzís, and the Túrís, another tribe, have built their dwellings. In this part the cold is so intense in winter that it cannot be explained; it is beyond explanation.

"At Shúmú Khel (the last mentioned) also, two roads branch off. That on the left hand goes to Kurma'h, and the right-hand one is this. Proceeding from the last-named Shúmú Khel one kuroh and a half to the south-west, inclining south, you reach Khirmaná Khel, the name of two villages belonging to the Dzádzís, and the 'Alí Khel river lies close by, on the left-hand side. Here, likewise, two roads branch off. The left-hand one passes over the river of 'Alí Khel, and goes on to Kurma'h, over a great mountain range, the particulars respecting which will be given in the route farther on. The other road, the left-hand one, now under explanation, continues one kuroh and a half to Baghzan, a large village, the seat of government of this locality. To the west of the village is a lofty mountain range; and the 'Alí Khel river passes under the village on the east side. The rustics of this district likewise speak the Persian language as well as the Pus'hto.

*Second Route. From Kábul to Ghaznín by way of Logar,† a distance of fifty kuroh south-west, inclining south; and this route goes on to Kandahár and Hirát.*

"The road from Kábul to Zarghún S'hahr, where the route leading to Baghzan separates, has been already described.‡

"Setting out from Zarghún S'hahr, and proceeding one kuroh and a half in the direction of south-west, inclining west, you reach the Logar river, and cross it, the water being knee deep (in the winter season). Continuing onwards for another kuroh and a half in the same direction you reach Kalangar, a large village on the Logar river. South of the village, the water of the Khúshí dara'h, that is to say, the Rúd-í-Do-bandí, falls into the Logar river.§ To the north of the village is a high mountain range.

"From Kalangar three kuroh south-west is Hisárak, but rustics who cannot pronounce properly may call it Isarák. It is a large village in the tomán of Logar; and the river of that name flows on the south side of the village. From this point they style the Logar by the name of Áb-i-Gardaiz (the water or river of Gardaiz),‖ and the road follows the bank of the river.

"From Hisárak (literally, the Fortlet or Little Fort) distant two kuroh is Dih-i-Doshína'h, which is likewise a large place. From thence four kuroh, along the course of the river, is the great village of Barakkai, belonging to the Tájzík people, like the villages previously mentioned.

"Seven kuroh from Barakkai in the same direction is Sugáwand, also written Sujáwand by 'Arabs, who change *g* into *j*, now a small village, lying under the mountains. South of it, on the top of a mountain, is a great fortress founded, according to tradition, by Jamshed Bádsháh, and named Kala'-i-Sugáwand or Sujáwand and Kala'-i-Jamshed. It is wholly desolate and deserted."

Sugáwand or Sujáwand is an important and well-known place in Muhammadan history and geography, and is mentioned several times by Abú-l-Fazl-i-Baihakí, and other historians.

Among the events of the reign of 'Umro, the son of Lais, the Suffárí or Brazier, who reigned from 265 to 287 H (878 to 900 A.D.), it is stated that he conferred the government of Zábulistán, which Ya'kúb, his brother, had annexed, on one of his

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* This is the place to which our new "scientific frontier" is to extend on the west.

† This word was originally Lohgar, but Afgháns have no aspirates in their language, and reject them in words foreign to their own.

‡ That is, the Kurma'h route. *See* page 69.

§ In the most recent maps the junction is placed a great deal too far south. It is made to join the Logar even south of Hisárak.

‖ Perhaps more correctly, the Gardaiz river here meets the Logar.

chiefs named Fard-ghán, and sent him thither with a body of 4,000 cavalry. There was a great Hindú idol temple in that part, which was called the temple of Sugáwand, and pilgrims from all parts of Hind used to flock there to worship the idols. Fard-ghán, as soon as he arrived in that part, seized this idol temple, broke the idols, sacked the place, and drove out the infidels. The booty, less the share of 'Umro, their sovereign, was distributed among the troops. On this "Ráe Kamlú, a Ráe of Hind" (probably Ráe Kamlú, who is said to have been one of the Buddhist rulers of Kábul and its dependencies), "assembled a great host to avenge the insults offered to his "gods and the sack of their temple, but, on his becoming informed, through some of "the fugitive Hindús, that the Musulmán invader had received large reinforcements, "and that his object was to entice the Hindú host among the defiles and passes, and "then slaughter them, Ráe Kamlú's energy waxed cold, and he finally retired without "coming into contact with the enemy."

Násir-ud-Dín, Sabuk-Tigín, when commander of the forces of Amír Pírey, who succeeded, on the death of Amír Balká-Tigín, as ruler of the fief of Ghaznín and its dependencies under the Sámání sovereigns*—these three persons were the slaves of the Hájib or Chamberlain, Alb-Tigín, the Turk—was sent by Amír Pírey against Abú-'Alí-i-Lawík, the successor to the rights and claims of Amír Abú-Bikr-i-Lawík, who had been driven from Ghaznín by Alb-Tigín when he first took possession of it in 322 H. (934, A.D.)† Lawík is the name, apparently, of the family, or possibly of a tribe. There was also a poet of the same family or tribe.

Abú-'Alí-i-Lawík had been solicited on the part of the people of Ghaznín to come and deliver them from the tyranny of Amír Pírey, who was a great villain; and, having obtained aid from the Kábul Sháh, who sent his son along with him, and at whose court Abú-'Alí appears to have taken refuge, they marched towards Ghaznín. Násir-ud-Dín, Sabuk-Tigín, with his forces, pushed on from Ghaznín through the Sugáwand dara'h or pass before they had time to approach it, and encountered them near Charkh,‡ which is mentioned elsewhere, at page 64, and overthrew Abú-'Alí-i-Lawík, and put him and his confederate to flight. Great booty was captured, and, among other things, ten elephants.

When Sultán Mas'úd, the Martyr, son of Sultán Mahmúd-i-Sabuk-Tigín, was returning to Ghaznín from Hind, after the capture of Hánsí, he returned to Ghaznín by the dara'h or pass of Sugáwand. It was the beginning of the month of Jamádí-ul-Awwal, 429 H. (the first week in March, 1038, A.D.), and a vast quantity of snow had fallen, in such wise that the depth of it was unknown. Previous to the Sultán's arrival a letter had been despatched to the seneschal of the fortress of Sugáwand, directing him to bring out his men, and have the road cleared, which was done. Baihakí says, "Had it not been done no one would have been able to pass through it, "for the road is like a narrow street all the way from the Rabát-i-Sultán to the city."

This route by the Sugáwand pass was that followed by the first Muhammadan conquerors of India, who established [illegible] and religion therein. Mahmúd-i-Sabuk-Tigín made thirteen expeditions into Hind, and probably came through the Khaibar on one of them, when he marched against Jai-pál, in 391 H. (1001, A.D.), and encountered him in the Pes'háwar province, which was the reason for his adopting that route (if he did follow it and not that by Kohát), but he certainly did not use it on the other twelve. His son, Mas'úd, used the Sugáwand route, as we have heard above from the historian Baihakí; Sultán Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muhammad-i-Sám, the Ghúrí Sultán of Ghaznín, never once took the Khaibar route, but the Sugáwand, the route by Gardaiz to Karmán and Sankúrán, and that by Naghar on all occasions; and his mamlúks, and successors to the thrones of Ghaznín and Delhí respectively, Táj-ud-Dín, I-yal-dúz, and Kutb-ud-Dín, Í-bak, never followed the Khaibar route.

The Sugáwand pass was the direct route to Irí-áb, Karmán, and Sankúrán, subsequently, and to this day, known as Shanúzán or Shalúzán (*l* and *n* being interchangeable), the fiefs held by Sultán Táj-ud-Dín, I-yal-dúz, during his master's lifetime.

Soon after his succession to the Ghaznín throne, he had to leave Ghaznín and retire into those parts again, but s[illegible] between

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* The Gardaizí says that Amír Pírey held [illegible] "Bust."

† Dr. Bellew is quite mistaken in supposing tha[illegible] Ghaznín in 975, A.D. See Note §, page 63.

‡ The Haft Iklím, says Sujáwand and Charkh are de[illegible] venue system of Akbar Bádsháh, Gardaiz formed a separa[illegible] dáms. The Afgháns dwelling in it furnished a militia of 20[illegible] tomán, but both were under the jurisdiction of Kábul.

him and his son-in-law, Kutb-ud-Dín, Í-bak, respecting the possession of the province of Láhor, which I-yal-dúz claimed as a province of the Ghaznín empire, which it certainly had been from the time of its first conquest. Kutb-ud-Dín, Í-bak, and Táj-ud-Dín, I-yal-dúz, encountered each other in the Panjáb, the latter was defeated, and pursued by the former, who marched to Ghaznín and possessed himself of that capital for a few days, and I-yal-dúz had to retire into Karmán and Irí-áb again. His rival gave himself up to riot, and the people of Ghaznín, by whom I-yal-dúz was much beloved, sent to him secretly to make known the state of affairs, and urge him to return. I-yal-dúz did so, and came, without doubt, by the Sugáwand pass, the most direct road; and Kutb-ud-Dín, Í-bak, after forty days' possession, had to retire precipitately by the route of Sang-i-Surákh, of which more will be mentioned presently.

Before closing these remarks on Sugáwand and its fortress and pass, I must refer to the "Geographical Index" to Volume II., page 575, of Elliot's "India," edited by Mr. J. Dowson, who remarks that "the following list will probably be found useful, and may obviate the necessity of reference or inquiry." Then comes, at page 578, the following quotation from Major-General A. Cunningham:—

"Sakáwand.—In the territory of Kábul, which belonged to Kumlu. It is mentioned "by Istakhrí and Ibn Haukal as one of the dependencies of Bámián, along with Kábul, "Ghazní, and Parwán. Idrísí gives it as being seven days' journey from Kábul, and "the same distance from Khouïab, for which I would read Haríab, as I believe it to "be the Iryáb or Irjáb of Sharíf-ud-dín and the Haryúb of the present day,—which is "at the head of the Kuram valley, to the south-east of Kábul. Sakáwand would "therefore be at or near Jalálábád," etc., etc.

How erroneous this statement is, is sufficiently apparent.

To continue the account of the route.

"Proceeding four kuroh in the same direction as before (along the banks of the Áb-i-Gardaiz) you reach Haft Asiyá, or the Seven Mills, near which, on the right-hand side, the road from Kábul joins this route, and from thence another three kuroh is Shush Gáo, signifying, in the Persian language, a whitish red bullock or cow, also written Sh'níz Gáo.* It is the name of a dara'h of the mountains, and from it three kuroh is Dahan-i-Sher† (the Lion's Jaws or Mouth), a narrow, stony defile of great elevation. From thence another three kuroh, by a somewhat steep descent of about a kuroh, is the Rauzah-i-Sultán Mahmúd, son of Násir-ud-Dín, Sabuk-Tigín, which lies close to the road on the left hand, consisting of a lofty building, at the side of which are a kárez, and extensive gardens. From thence one kuroh farther south-west is Ghaznín, a large city of the Tájzík race; and the villages along the road are also inhabited by that people."

An account of Ghaznín I must defer for the last Section of these notes.

*Third Route. From Kábul to Segí, one of the chief villages of the Dara'h of Khost, a distance of ninety kuroh,‡ and consisting of two different roads.*

Before commencing with the description of the routes, it will be well to give a brief description of Khost, and also of Bangas'h or Bangak'h, in which the Khost Dara'h is included.

The particulars respecting Bangas'h, strange to say, are very meagre in all the copies of the Á'ín-i-Akbarí, the printed text edited by the late Mr. W. H. Blochmann, M.A., included. All the manuscript copies I have examined have the ruled forms for the details, but they are not filled in.

Under the head of "Sarkár-i-Kábul," Abú-l-Fazl says, that the tomán of Bangas'h has to furnish, or is assessed, rather, as being able to furnish 7,000 horsemen and 87,800 foot for militia purposes. He then enters into some details, but, from the names of the tribes given, there is evidently a misplacement of the text, for the details refer to the tomán of Bagrám or Pas'háur and Purs'háwur, as Pes'háwar was called in that day, and which was not included in Bangas'h.

*Bangas'h or Bangak'h.*

[illegible] tribes, said to amount altogether [illegible] mountainous country in which they

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*gs dwell, and the Sh'níz river, which rises a little to [illegible] mean I cannot say. Shaníz, in the old Persian, means [illegible]ere. Perhaps sh'níz and shush are synonymous.

† [illegible] the "Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society," for [illegible]r Wilson's new map, has been turned into Sher-i-Dana."

‡ [illegible]eant.

dwell. This is again subdivided into Bálá or Upper Bangas'h, and Pá'ín or Lower Bangas'h. The former name is applied to the people who dwell high up in the mountains and in the depressions of the hills, and the latter name to the people who dwell lower down, and to the tract into which the rivers flow.

"Bangas'h, so called, extends for upwards of one hundred kuroh in length from east to west, and about sixty kuroh in breadth from north to south. It consists of lofty mountain tracts, and extensive and sometimes broad dara'hs. It is situated chiefly in a cold climate, but a little of it is hot. Each dara'h is known after the name of the tribe or section of the tribe inhabiting it, while the villages are called after the name of the clans or smaller sections of such tribes as inhabit them.

"It is not necessary here to name all the smaller dara'hs, offshoots from the larger ones, as the former will be found noticed elsewhere during our route through them; but the larger dara'hs, through which the writer passed in making these surveys, are Khost, Dawar, Maidán, Sibrí, Bakr Khel, and Kohát."

*Khost.*

"Khost is the name of a great cleft of an extensive mountain range, in length from east to west thirty kuroh, and will be about eight kuroh in width from north to south; and other smaller dara'hs, mentioned farther on, as they are reached, are connected with it. In the winter season much snow falls, and in the summer the cold even does not leave the air (the air is still chilly).

"From the mountain range on the west a small river issues, which, flowing between difficult mountains lying to the east of Khost, near Palimín, joins the Kurma'h river.

The inhabitants of this dara'h belong to the Karlárni division of the Afghán nation, and are sometimes called by the general appellation of Khosti, that is, inhabitants of Khost, but there is no tribe called "Khostwals." They are held in great repute for their bravery.

"The chief and largest village or small town in this territory is called Segí, and is situated about the middle of the valley, on the south side of the Shamal river, and the district is very productive and enjoys an exceedingly cool and pleasant climate. Some of the land is lalmí (dependent on rain for irrigation), and some rúdí (irrigated from streams). The latter lands produce rice and much wheat, of which the Government share is one fourth. The lalmí lands produce barley, lentils, and cotton in large quantities, and on the produce of these lands the Government takes one tenth.

"The people are of four septs. Those who dwell to the west of the town of Segí are styled Kuwátá (*see* page 91 and next road); those on the east of it Parayá, also called Paráyá; those located in the mountains to the north of it are known by the name of Dirmán; and Akobí* is the name of a clan who dwell north of the Dirmán clan.

"These four divisions number altogether about 20,000 families, and pay 14,000 rupees yearly as a tithe or tenth to the Durrání Government, and furnish a contingent of 200 horsmen in time of war to the Bádsháh's army.

"In the mountain tracts to the south-west (called Chittí at page 89), which is about ten kuroh distant from Segí, some hundreds of the Tárarn tribe dwell.† They are a very valiant people. Hunting falcons are taken in their locality. The Tárarns have neither taxes nor revenue to pay.

*First road.*—From Kábul to Segí, by way of Gardaiz, which is over one hundred kuroh.‡

"The road from Kábul to Do-shína'h has been given in the preceding route. From thence two kuroh south is Taghraṇ, a large village in the tomán of Logar, and you proceed along the banks of the river of that name. From thence, twelve kuroh south, inclining south-east, is Gardaiz, the name of a large dara'h belonging to the Tájzíks; and by the way are numerous ascents and descents. A great mountain range lies on both the right and left hand side, and on the route there is much water (many small streams, feeders of the main river), and much population and cultivation.

"From thence, another twelve kuroh south, inclining south-east, is Dera'í-i-Míah Khel (dera'í, in Pus'hto, signifies "a mound," "a hillock," "a heap," "pile," etc.)—the hillock

* Not "Yakoobi."

† The Tárarn tribe are descended from Tárarn, otherwise Sayyid Táhir, one of the adopted sons Kákar. They are subdivided into several sections, but are not numerous. This tribe must not be mistak for Tarín.

‡ Farther on the author says, this route is not only the longest, but also the most difficult.

of the Míah Khel, inhabited by Afgháns. On the road there is scarcity of water, and excess of hilly country. From thence, another ten kuroh to the east, inclining south-east, brings you to Namárá, the name of a number of villages belonging to the Jzadrárn Afgháns.* On the way is a defile of great elevation, and out of it a river flows, which runs towards the south in the direction of the dara'h of Khost, and obtains the name of Shamal. From thence, ten kuroh farther east, is Segí of Mullá Sa'íd, a large village or small town, the seat of Government of the tomán of Khost.

"On the way thither are some thirty or forty villages lying on either side of the Shamal river, and all these villages they style by the name of Kuwátá. To the west of the village of Segí is the tomb and shrine of Mullá Sa'íd. He was a person of wisdom and knowledge, and practised them. The Shamal river passes under the village on the south side, and mountain ranges show themselves at a distance on the right and left hand.†

*Second road.*—From Kábul to Segí by way of Irí-áb and Kurma'h, consisting of four different roads.

"I. The first of these four roads from Kábul to Segí, is by way of Chakkura'í, which is the nearest of the four.

"Setting out from Kábul and proceeding four kuroh (south) you reach Masa'í, the name of a cluster of Tájzík villages on the west bank of the Logar river. Crossing it below the villages, and proceeding twelve kuroh towards the south, you reach Chakkura'í, a large village belonging to the great Afghán tribe of Ghalzí, who dwell about here leading the life of íláts or nomads. On the way there are many ascents and descents, the country being very mountainous.

"From Chakkura'í twelve kuroh (in the same direction) is Babbur, another village belonging to the Ghalzís, and the road thither is of much the same nature as the preceding, with numerous ascents and descents. Here too the Ghalzís dwell as íláts or nomads.

"Another [illegible] twelve kuroh south from thence is 'Alí Khel, previously mentioned (at page 72), at the foot of the Spín Ghar mountain range, which lies close by on the left-hand side. Three kuroh east is Balút, a large village in the territory of Kurma'h. The road is like the bed of a river, and the before-mentioned mountain range of Spín Ghar lies near by on the left hand, while on the right there is a great Kotal or pass (the Paiwar).‡

"Three kuroh east is Paiwar, which is also a large village; and by the way there is a vast cultivation, and the country is very populous. From 'Alí Khel to this place the Túrí Afgháns dwell. A river issues from the Spín Ghar range, which, passing Balút and Paiwar on the east side and flowing towards the east, joins the river of Shalúzán.

"From Paiwar five kuroh to the south-east is Istiá, a considerable village on the Kurma'h river. At this place two roads branch off. That on the left hand goes to Bázár-i-Ahmad Khán, the chief town in the Bannú district (a little south-east of the new station of Bannú). The right-hand route is as follows:—

"Having crossed the Kurma'h river from Istiá, and proceeding ten kuroh to the south-east, a large village is reached belonging to one of the Bangas'h tribes, and styled the Algad.§ On the way thither there is much ascent and descent, and the road lies over a very high defile. From the Algad two kuroh to the south is Maidán, a large village belonging to the Údzí Khel Dzádzís, who are accounted among the tribes of Bangas'h; and the dara'h in which it lies is also called the Maidán Dara'h.

"The Údzí Khel are a large section or clan, amounting to nearly 20,000 families.‖ Some portion of them dwell in the Maidán Dara'h, and a few to the west of the Kurma'h district, while a considerable number of them live in the Irí-áb district as cultivators of the soil. Some of them speak the Persian language as well as the

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* The Jzadrárn or Jzandrárn Afgháns belong to the Katlární division, and are one of the three sub-tribes of the Mangalí mentioned in note *, page 78. They spring from the same common ancestor as the Dilazáks, Wurakzís, and others.

† Near this village is the fort in which Major-General Roberts so lately left the Sadozí Sháh-zádah as our representative in Khost, which he had again to abandon.

‡ The writer must have come to what is now called the "Spin Gawe" Kotal. If a Pus'hto name is intended it must be Spín Ghwáwí, if the "White Cows'" Kotal is referred to. It was evidently not so called in the Amír's time. The name is written "Ispingwai" in the article on "The Mountain Passes of the Afghan Frontier of British India," in the "Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society," for January, 1879.

§ The word *algad* is said to mean a deep ravine, but here no ravine is mentioned, but a high defile is. What the derivation of *algad* is I am unaware.

‖ This number must refer to the whole of the Dzádzí tribe, of which the Údzí Khel are but a section. *See* page 81.

Pus'hto. They have to pay tax to the Durráni Government, amounting to about 14,000 rupees yearly, and to furnish sometimes 300 and sometimes 400 cavalry, as a contingent to Tímúr Sháh's army, when called upon.

"The Dara'h of Maidán, sometimes also called Údzí Khel, from the name of one of the clans inhabiting it, is about twelve kuroh in length, and nearly the same in breadth. On the north side it adjoins a hilly tract of country, on the west the mountains in the district occupied by the Sibrí clan, and south the low hills and mountain clefts (defiles and ravines) in the country of the Bakr Khel, which is full of ascents and descents. On the east of the Maidán Dara'h is the range of Mihtar Sulímán, or Koh-i-Siyah, and on its highest slopes some of the Údzí-Khel dwell. The dara'h is very cold. In winter much snow falls, and even in the summer one cannot pass the nights without a blanket and a fire.

"The stream issuing from this dara'h runs from west to east, and near the village of Palimín* unites with the Kurma'h river.

"From Maidán village five kuroh south is Bakr Khel, which is also called Mának Khel, and is included in Khost; and on the road thither is a great Kotal or pass. One kuroh south from Bakr Khel is a small river called the Tsamair, which comes from the right-hand side (west), and, flowing to the left, joins the Shamal river which runs through Khost. The mountains on the right and left are seen at some distance off.

"Two kuroh south of the Tsamair stream is a cluster of villages called Akobí, the name of a section of the Dirmán Afghán clan, and on the way thither are many ascents and descents. Having proceeded from thence another kuroh to the south-west you reach the dry bed of a river. After heavy rains in the mountains during the rainy season, the water comes from the right hand (westward) and, running to the left, joins the Tsamair river, which is also known as the Bakr Khel river.

"From thence (the dry bed of the river) one kuroh to the south-west and south, you reach a small cleft or defile, and, having passed it, and gone another half kuroh south, and another kuroh south-west, you reach a high plateau, which is tolerably level. You then descend half a kuroh in the direction of south-west, and reach the bed of a river which is dry, except after rains in the mountains. On either side of it are springs of pure and cool water. This river bed comes from the right hand, and runs to the left to join the Shamal river.

"From this dry river bed one kuroh to the south-west, inclining to south, is Kalaey-i-Bákir Khán (the village of Bákir Khán). This is a place of considerable size belonging to the Mo-ton Afgháns; and half a kuroh south-west from thence is the dry bed of a small river which you cross. The source of this little river is in the Dara'h of Sakra'h, or Sakrá, which is a very fruitful and productive tract. In the upper part of the dara'h the inhabitants have made cuts from the river bed, and conducted the water into their lands; and hence, lower down, the bed is dry.

"Proceeding onwards from the dry bed of this river half a kuroh south-west, you come to Mando Khel, which is a large village. The Dara'h of Sakra'h is seen from thence one kuroh west, on the right-hand side.

"From the village of Bákir Khán to this place the Mo-ton Afgháns dwell.†

"After leaving Mando Khel and advancing two kuroh south-west, you come to the Shamal river; and, proceeding from thence, in the river (in the bed of, or at the side of, the river), for one kuroh to the west, you come to Segí afore-mentioned, situated on the river, on the left hand.

"II. The second of these four roads from Kábul to Segí is by the village of Khírmaná Khel.

"From Kábul to Khírmaná Khel the road has been already given (at page 72). From thence crossing the river of 'Alí Khel, knee deep, to the east side, you proceed for two kuroh in a narrow dara'h of the mountains towards the east, at every footstep ascending, and afterwards, still ascending, after proceeding another kuroh south, you reach the crest of the range. At that point, on the south side, there is a small stream of water, which runs down for a short distance towards the south and is lost. This defile or cleft is called Mang-yár, and the boundary of the territories of Kurma'h and Irí-áb is marked by the line of watershed of these mountains. The defile is very narrow in some places, and its widest parts are not more than about one hundred or

* *See* page 75. This is turned into "Palliamone" in the Indian Atlas map.

† The town or large village of Bákir Khán would be spoken of as "the village of the Mo-ton clan," but not the village of, or called, Mo-ton.

one hundred and twenty *gaz* (ells) wide. The mountains rise precipitously on either side, in some places like a wall.*

"Having proceeded from the crest of this defile half a kuroh south, you reach the dry bed of a river, which, when the snows melt, contains water which comes from the right hand (south), and runs to the left, and enters the Kurma'h river. On the right and left hand you have lofty mountain ranges. The range on the right they call Kar-yá, and the people dwelling therein belong to the Afghán clan of Jzadrárn, one of the sections of the Bálá or Upper Bangas'h tribe of Mangalí. The mountains on the left hand they call Kurma'h. Proceeding from the river bed just mentioned one kuroh and a half south and south-east, you reach the small village of Pírán, peopled by Sayyids, and on the south side of the village is the river of Irí-áb, called the Kar-yá. It comes from the right hand, and, running to the left, obtains the name of Kurma'h. When in flood, it cannot be crossed, and at other times, although the water generally is not more than knee deep, it is, nevertheless, very cold and very rapid, in such wise that, except at the different fords, horses, camels, and strong men cannot cross.

"Having crossed the river you proceed one kuroh south-east, and reach Isárak (probably Hisárak, vitiated), the name applied to six or seven villages belonging to one of the Bálá or Upper Bangas'h tribes—the tribe of Chamkaní—and the Kar-yá, or Irí-áb river lies near by on the left-hand side. Going from thence half a kuroh to the south-east you reach the commencement of the little Dara'h of Kum-zí, which, from north to south, is about three or four kuroh in length. It contains some ten or twelve villages called by the general name of Dirmán Khel, after a clan of Afgháns. To the south of it is a high mountain range which is called Gabrá†, and the people dwelling therein, consisting of about 700 families, they also are called Gabrá.

"From that direction a considerable river flows, which runs towards the north, and joins the Kar-yá or Irí-áb river. The Dirmán Khel is a clan of one of the Upper Bangas'h tribes.

"Proceeding from Dirmán Khel or the Dara'h of Kum-zí above mentioned, two kuroh and a half along the river in question, in the direction of south-west, you reach a cluster of villages called Sikandar Khel, another section of one of the Upper Bangas'h tribes. The river lies near by on the right-hand (west) side. The people have cut canals from this river, and conducted the water into their fields.

From the Sikandar Khel villages you proceed a kuroh and a half south, inclining to the south-west, and having ascended to a plateau you reach Mangal Khel, the name of several villages belonging to and called after a clan of the Upper Bangas'h tribes, which villages lie on the left hand close to the line of route. A small river comes from the left hand, which, running to the right through the Gabrá mountain range, the abode of the Gabrá, as previously mentioned, runs into the Dara'h of Kum-zí, or Dirmán Khel. The Mangal Khel‡ consists of about 2,000 families, some of whom dwell in fixed habitations, and others roam as Ghíts or nomads, in this exceedingly cold tract of country.

"From Kábul to the Sikandar Khel villages the mountains are generally lofty, and the roads, like river beds, very narrow and often arduous, but from these villages of the Mangal Khel commences the ascent of difficult and narrow defiles and dara'hs such as cannot be described.

"From the Mangal Khel villages, four kuroh south-east, inclining east, is another cluster of villages belonging to a section of one of the Upper Bangas'h tribes, named Babbal Khel.§ Proceeding onwards from Mangal Khel you ascend up into a mountain tract towering to the clouds, where there is neither water nor inhabitants. It contains numerous forests of *chalghozah*, which the Afgháns term nak'htar and nas'htar, kashlána'h, and tahtar (*Pinus Gerardiana*).. The trees are of two species, one is exceedingly tall and straight, its leaves fine and slender, and its cone very small. Its wood is used for building purposes, and is soft and white. It burns like a torch, in such wise that the people of these parts burn strips of it in place of lamps and torches. The

* This is the scene of Major-General Roberts' skirmish with a small party of the Mangalí tribe, on the 13th of December 1878. It is fortunate on the part of our small force that the Mangalís were not very numerous on that occasion.

I may mention that the numerous and powerful tribe which has thus been turned into "Mongols" and "Mungals" is called Mangalí, and is descended from Mangalaey, the fifth son of Karlárnaey. The Mangalí are again divided into three sub-tribes, Mughbal, Jzadrárn, and Bahádur-zí, who again are subdivided into several sections. They all dwell contiguous to Khost towards the north, west, and south.

† See Note *, page 86.

‡ This must not be mistaken for the Mangalí tribe, it is but a section or clan of a tribe.

§ Such people as "Boobool" Khel are utterly unknown.

other species is less in height, and not so straight, but its leaves are still more slender, and the cones larger than those of the other. There is much similarity in the leaves of both, and the difference is scarcely noticeable except by those skilled in these matters. The *gandah fírúza'h*, or olibanum (*Boswellia serrata*), clings round and climbs upon the trees in such a manner that with axe and adze it cannot be cut away from them, and it is only after one has burnt the parasite by fire that the chalghozah itself comes forth (*i.e.*, becomes cleared). The wild apple (*seb-i-dashtí*) also grows in this part, and the *gargara'h* or sloe, in great quantities, which the people eat.

Two kuroh south-east from Babbal Khel, proceeding along the hill tops of this range, you reach a little river which comes from the right hand, and, half a kuroh towards the east, falls into the river afore-mentioned (the Sikandar Khel river). You then have to ascend on the right hand, up the mountains, in the direction of south-east towards a defile or cleft called the Traka'h Kotal or Traka'h Ghák'hí or Ghás'hí. Its ascent and descent will be about one kuroh; and two kuroh and a half from thence, in the direction of south-east and east, having entered the dry bed of a river, you reach Chína'h-i-Tsamair, the name of a small village so called after the *china'h*, the Pus'hto for a spring of water, which spouts out like a fountain, to the height of about an ell, from the dry bed of the Tsamair river, to the north of the village. The aperture is about two fists (a span) either way. Round about the spring the ground is dry, and there is no appearance of water, but on the north side of the mouth of the aperture there is a cleft, and out of that the water issues. It is perhaps enough in volume to turn a water-mill, but after running towards the south-east it becomes lost again. You are now in the Dara'h of Tsamair, which will be presently noticed.

"From Chína'h-i-Tsamair half a kuroh east is Kabr-i-Liwan,* the name of the burying place of a darwesh; and in the vicinity of it is a large graveyard. From thence half a kuroh farther east is a cluster of villages, named Liwan, belonging to the Sibrí Afgháns, who are a small clan, consisting of some 3,000 families, and dwell west of the Bakr Khel, mentioned farther on, in the dara'h or valley of the Tsamair river. Cultivation is scanty, and they are not called upon to pay tax or revenue. Their territory is named Tsamair, and is a dara'h seven kuroh in length, and on the east and west of it are lofty mountain ranges.

"From this place—the Sibrí villages—two roads diverge. That on the right hand leads to the village of Akobí, mentioned at page 75. It is the longest, being eight kuroh, but is the most level. The left hand road is this:—From Liwan half a kuroh to the east you come to the dry bed of a river, and, from thence, ascending the acclivity of the mountains for half a kuroh, you then descend on the east side of them. The highest point of these mountains is the boundary between the Dara'h of Tsamair and Bakr Khel.

"Leaving this point (the crest of the ascent marking the boundary) and proceeding half a kuroh to the east, you reach a small river, the water of which comes from the left hand and flows to the right, and joins the Tsamair river. From this small river another half kuroh farther east is Bakr Khel, which village they also call Mának Khel. The land of this dara'h they call Bak. From Bakr Khel to Segí has been already given (at page 77).

"The Bakr Khel clan of Afgháns numbers near upon 6,000 families, and the tract in which they dwell is likewise called Bakr Khel after them. The dara'h is about twelve kuroh long from north to south, and seven in width. On the south side it adjoins the territory of the Dirmán clan. It contains numerous ascents and descents, elevations and depressions, and is included in Khost. The land is for the most part lalmí, but some is rúdí; and the system of cultivation is similar to that carried on in Khost, previously described.

"The Tsamair river comes from the westward, and, flowing through this dara'h, in the direction of south-east joins the Shamal river.

"The Bakr Khel pay 3,000 rupees yearly as revenue, and have to furnish a contingent of 60 horsemen to the army of Tímúr Sháh, Durráni (when called upon).

"III. The third road is from Kábul to Segí in Khost by way of Baghzan.

"From Kábul to Baghzan, the chief place in Irí-áb, the route has been already given (at pages 68 to 72). From Baghzan, having proceeded one kuroh to the south, you turn towards the south-east, and then, having gone one kuroh and a half in that

* Probably Lewanaey (mad, insane, crazy, frenzied). The Sibrí country is mentioned at p. 82 as lying west of the Maidán Dara'h of the Údzí Khel, and south of the Bakr Khel country. A comparison of these descriptions will show its situation pretty accurately.

direction, turn south again and proceed onwards for another kuroh. You then have to turn south-east again, and continue to advance in that direction for two kuroh, when you reach the 'Alí Khel river, and here the Dara'h of Irí-áb, in this direction, terminates.

"After this you proceed about eight kuroh, or rather less, along the before-mentioned river, after which you reach the villages belonging to the Chamkaní* tribe of Afgháns, referred to at page 35, and this dara'h they call Kar-yá (*see* also page 78), which is exceedingly narrow and difficult to pass. In the ridges of these hills the Jzadrárn section of the Mangalí tribe dwell. From the Isarák villages to the village of Paiwár it is six kuroh to the north, and Istíá lies six kuroh towards the north-east.

"The route from Isárak to Segí has been already given at page 78.

"IV. The fourth road is from Kábul to Segí in Khost by the Kotal-i-Sin, or Sin Pass.†

"The route from Kábul to Khirmaná Khel has been given at page 72. Starting from thence, and proceeding one kuroh south-west, inclining west, you reach Azár Darakht,‡ a village belonging to the Údzí Khel, and the village of Baghzan lies half a kuroh to the left.

"From Azár Darakht two kuroh south-west, inclining south, is the Kotal-i-Sin, the name of a great kotal or pass. On the way are forests of chalghozah or pine, and the air is exceedingly cold. From thence ten kuroh is the manzil or stage of Gardaiz; and the route from thence to Segí has been previously given at page 75. This route is not only the most difficult but also the longest.

*Fourth Route. From Kábul to Bázár-i-Ahmad Khán, which is the seat of government of the district of Bannú, by way of Kurma'h, which is one hundred kuroh in the direction of south-east. This route also leads into the Dera'h-ját.*

"From Kábul to the village of Istíá on the Kurma'h river the route has been already described, at page 76. From Istíá five kuroh east, inclining south-east, is Údzí Khel, the name by which several villages of the Dzádzís,§ a tribe of the Bálá or Upper Bangas'h Afghán tribes, so called, are known, and the Kurma'h river lies near by on the right hand. The road is very crooked and winding.

"The waters flowing out of the Dara'hs of Paiwar, Shalúzán, also called Shanúzán, Zerán, and Karmán, having joined together, come from the left hand, and on the west side, under the village (chief village) of the Údzí Khel Dzádzís, join the Kurma'h river."‖

Before proceeding farther towards Bannú, as we are at present in the Kurma'h district, it will be well to give our author's account of it, and its adjoining Dara'hs.

## *Kurma'h*

"Kurma'h¶ is the name of a large dara'h among the mountains, from east to west over forty kuroh in length, and there is very little level ground to be found in it. Among its chief towns are Zúmik'ht or Zúmis'ht, Sadá, Buland Khel, Balímín, Údzí Khel, Shanúzán or Shalúzán, previously mentioned, Paiwar, and Istíá, sometimes called Astiyá.

"It has several considerable dara'hs on either side of it, which are very productive, yielding heavy crops, consisting of rice, barley, and wheat, and vast quantities of fruit, including cool and sweet pomegranates. Nearly every village is named after a clan, and every dara'h, generally, after a tribe. Kurma'h yields close upon one lakh of rupees to the treasury of Tímúr Sháh, Durrání, and each clan or section of a tribe has to furnish a contingent of troops, which, in time of war, have to present themselves at the bár-gáh, or place of audience of the Bádsháh.

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* The Chamkaní is a small tribe of the Ghwarí or Ghwaríah Khel, previously noticed.

† This Kotal is, I believe, what appears in the Indian Atlas map as "Kaseen (?)," and in older maps as "Kasien." Some native, probably, giving information about it in Hindústání, used the genitive particle *ká*—Sin ká Kotal—and thus *ká* became prefixed—"Kotal Kasin."

‡ This word is not written with *h*, therefore it must not be mistaken for "hazár darakht," or "thousand trees."

§ The Dzádzís, like the Túrís, claim other descent, which is referred to at page 82.

‖ This differs much from the maps of these parts, which require as much rectification here as elsewhere. From the nature of the country through which they flow these rivers could not have altered their course much.

¶ "Kurram" and "Khurram" are equally incorrect.

"On the north side of this great dara'h three distinct ranges of mountains rise, one above the other, the farthest being the loftiest, which is for the most part always covered with snow, called Spín Ghar by the Afgháns, and Safed Koh by the Persian speaking inhabitants, signifying the white or snowy mountain range. From its proximity to the territory of Tí-ráh, this range is likewise known as the Tí-ráh range. The lower ranges are clothed with forests of pine and other forest trees.

*Irí-áb.*

"The Dara'h of Irí-áb, lying west of the Paiwar kotal, is twenty kuroh in length from north to south, and, as in the case of the Kurma'h valley, very little level space is to be found in it, but it is very fruitful. The inhabitants cultivate the ground on the ridges or slopes of the mountains, and grow much rice, wheat, and barley. They are of the Dzádzí tribe, one of whose clans or sections is styled by the name of Údzí, Khel.

*Paiwar.*

"Another dara'h is Paiwar, whose inhabitants are of the Túrí tribe. They are notorious on account of their being of the faith (and mistaken for Shí'ahs) of the schismatic, the Pír-i-Ros'hán or Rok'hán, or Saint of Light, as he styled himself, but nick-named Pír-i-Tárík, or Saint of Darkness, by the Akhúnd, Darwezah, previously mentioned in note **, page 45, who lived in the reign of Akbar Bádsháh, and was the cause of many terrible misfortunes to the Afghán people, and others of these parts. The Túrís number about 6,000 or 7,000 families, and Paiwar is one of their largest places. Baghzan is their chief town.

"The east side of this dara'h joins Spín Ghar or the Tí-ráh range, out of which a considerable river issues. It passes east of the town of Baghzan, enters the Kurma'h territory, and receives the name of Kurma'h, or river of Kurma'h. It flows by Bannú and Laka'í, and at last falls into the Abáe Sind or Indus, in the country of the 'Isá Khel Afgháns.

*Shanúzán or Shalúzán.*

"East of Paiwar is the large Dara'h of Shálúzán* or Shanúzán—*n* being interchangable with *l*—about seven kuroh in length from north to south. It adjoins the Spín Ghar range on the north. A small river issues from it, through which, as the term dara'h indicates, it runs, and joins the Paiwar river. Its inhabitants are Túrís, but there are a few Awán-kárs dwelling therein. They are a Jat tribe, the majority of whom now dwell in the Sind-Ságar Do-ába'h of the Panjáb†.

*Zerán.*

"East of Shanúzán again is another Dara'h, called Zerán, running in a south-westerly direction from Spín Ghar, and five kuroh in length. A stream issuing from Spín Ghar flows through it, and unites with the river which runs through the Dara'h of Karmán. Its inhabitants also are Túrís, and some few Awán-kárs.

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* This is referred to by historians as Sankúrán, which is the name of a section of the great tribe of Ghuzz (*see* "Tabakát-i-Násirí," page 374, and note 5, and page 376), who overran great part of what is now called Afghánistán after their defeat and capture of Sultán Sanjar, the Saljúk. In 569 H. (1173–74, A.D.), Ghaznín was wrested out of the hands of the Ghuzz by the Sultán of Ghúr, Ghiyás-ud-Dín, Muhammad-i-Sám, who made his brother, Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muhammad-i-Sám, Wálí or ruler of the Ghaznín territory. In the following year, Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muhammad, acquired possession of the Dara'h of Gardaiz. In the year 571 H. (1175–76, A.D.), to quote the words of the author of the Tabakát-i-Násirí, "the Sankúrán—also written "Shalúzán in one of the oldest copies of the text of that work—tribe broke out into rebellion, and committed "great violence, until, in the year 572 H. (1176–77, A.D.), he (Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muhammad) marched an army "against them, and fell upon that people, and put the greater number of them to the sword. They have "related that most of the Sankúrán tribe were manifestly confessors of the Kur'án creed, who, on this occasion, "obtained martyrdom; but, as they had stirred up rebellion, they were put to death, as a matter of exigency, "according to sovereign prerogative."—Pages 450, 451.

† Jahán-gír Bádsháh, in his Autobiography, states:—"Mahábat Khán sent me some apples from Bangas'h by "dák chaukí (by post), and they reached me fresh and juicy; and such rare and delicious apples I had never "seen. They say that in Upper Bangas'h, near the Shakar dara'h or pass, there is a village called Shanúzán, "and that there are only three trees producing these apples; and, notwithstanding all the efforts that have "been made to propagate them, they cannot get them to grow to such perfection anywhere else."

## "*Karmán.*

"The Karmán Dara'h* is one of considerable size, lying north-east and south-west, and about nine kuroh in length. It adjoins Spín Ghar on the north, and out of it a river runs which unites with that issuing from the Zerán Dara'h, and the united streams, within three kuroh of the Údzí Khel villages, fall into the Kurma'h river. Its inhabitants are Awán-kárs."†

These districts and dara'hs formed the appanage of Malik Táj-ud-Dín, I-yal-dúz, the mamlúk, and mihtar or chief of the Turk Maliks of Sultán Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muhammad-i-Sám, the Tájzík Ghúrí, Sultán of Ghaznín and Hind, who established the Musalmán power and religion in Hindústán. Táj-ud-Dín, like his fellow mamlúk, Kutb-ud-Dín, Í-bak, and several others, was a Turk. I have already mentioned that sections of the Khalj, Kankulí, Kárlúgh, and other Turk and Ghuzz tribes were settled in those parts at the period in question, and had been there for some centuries previous, and long before the Pus'htánah or Afgháns passed beyond their tún or original country, that is to say, the tracts from the koh-páyah or hill-skirts, immediately east of Ghaznín, to the eastern slopes of the range of Mihtar Sulímán or Koh-i-Siyah —Pus'ht or Puk'ht, or Pás'ht or Pák'ht.

For the reasons above mentioned, it is not surprising that so many places still retain their Turkish names, and that the Túrís (Túrí and Túrání are synonymous terms) and Dzádzís, descended from Túrí and Dzádzí, the adopted sons of Khogí, son of Mangalí, son of Karlární, the progenitor of the Khogíání tribe, are considered, on very good grounds, to be of Turkish descent.

Táj-ud-Dín, I-yal-dúz,‡ which latter name, in Turkish, signifies "a star," succeeded to the throne of the Ghaznín kingdom, according to the wish and request of his master and sovereign, while, for the same reason, Kutb-ud-Dín, Í-bak, succeeded to the sovereignty of Hind. They were granted letters of manumission and confirmed in the sovereignties of those states by their suzerain, Sultán Ghiyás-ud-Dín, Mahmúd, son of Ghiyás-ud-Dín, Muhammad-i-Sám, who succeeded to the sovereignty of Ghúr after

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* Major (now Lieutenant-General Sir H. B.) Lumsden, K.C.S.I., when on his "Mission to Candahar" in 1857, in this very dara'h of Karmán, which he styles "Kirman," discovered "the shrine of Fahm i Allam, the "father of Nadir Shah," which is "considered very sacred by the Turi tribes." The name of Nádir's father was Imám Kulí, and he was not a saint; he did not die in Karmán, and was never there in his life.

† Afzal Khán, chief of the Khatak Afgháns, states that, in the years 1112 and 1113 H. (1700, 1702, A.D.), when Bahádur Sháh, son of Auranzeb-i-'Álam-gír, was Súbah-dár of Kábul (that is to say, of all the territory belonging to Dilhí, west of the Indus), he set out from his home to attend that Prince, as commanded. The Prince wanted to relieve a post which was held by a Bárah Sayyid, in the Dawar valley, and to settle the affairs of the Kohát district, and of Bannú. He was encamped at Angú when Afzal Khán presented himself, and subsequently broke up his camp, saying that he intended to proceed to Kábul by way of the Dara'hs of Zerán and Karmán, and would pass the remainder of the summer there. Afzal Khán then says, "I received "my *congé*, with directions to make arrangements about the safety of the Resí route. I proceeded by way of "Balah-min to Khúrmah and Khachatú, and set out to arrange about the route in question."

Bahádur Sháh spent some time in Zerán and Karmán, and employed the whole time in making the defile over the mountains to the north practicable. It is a road which leads from Zerán and Karmán through the Spín Ghar mountains, and descends from thence down to Gandamak, but, unfortunately, the work was not completed before he departed for Kábul.

Now that I have pointed out this important fact, I hope one of the surveyors attached to the Kurma'h or Jalál-ábád columns will survey it, and "*palmam qui meruit ferat.*" See also under the head of Hisárak, at page 96. The roads require to be watched in case of accident.

‡ This name is written Yal-duz by the author of the Tabakát-i-Násirí, but historians dwelling among Turks, or belonging to those people, write it I-yal-dúz, as above.

The author above named was the contemporary of these two slaves and their master, the Sultán; and every writer, without a single exception, says they were Turkish slaves. Kutb-ud-Dín, Í-bak, was first purchased by Fakhr-ud-Dín, 'Abd-ul-'Azíz, the Chief Kází of Nishápúr. When he grew up, some merchants brought I-bak to Ghaznín, and Sultán Mu-izz-ud-Dín, Muhammad-i-Sám, purchased him. General Ferrier, who wrote a "History of the Afghans," "informs us" (page 17) "that the Afghan rule in India commenced at the death "of Mahmood Gouree in 1205," and that "the Indian provinces fell to Koutoob, one of his generals of the "Afghan tribe of Lood." This is incorrect, as well as a statement by Mr. Bellew, in his book entitled "Journal of a Political Mission to Afghanistan in 1857," pages 80 and 81, where he says, "Nevertheless "another branch of this people ('Afghans of Ghor' he is referring to) conquered Hindustan, and in the person "of Ibráhim Loe, or Lodi (who belonged to an elder branch of the Ghor family of Afghans), established a "dynasty of emperors of this race at Delhi, about the year 1193, A.D.," etc., etc.

There never was but one ruler of Dihlí, named Ibráhím, and he was the son of Sikandar, son of Bah-lúl, the Lúdí, Afghán; and he succeeded his father to the soveignty of Dihlí in 923 H, (1517 A.D.). The Súr clan, which gave sovereigns to Dihlí after Humáyún's dethronement, were also Lúdís. Síání, son of Lúdí, had two sons, (1) Pranki, one section of whose descendants is called the Sháhú Khel, to which Sultán Bah-lúl belonged; and (2) Ismá'íl, from whose son, Súr, in the third degree, sprang the Shirá Khel, to which Sher Sháh and his successors belonged. The Ghúrís were Tájzíks and not Afgháns. See my paper, "Who were the 'Patan' or 'Pathán' Sultáns of Dihlí?" in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. xliv., Part 1, 1875.

the death of his uncle, Sultán Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muhammad-i-Sám, above referred to. These events will be found in detail in my "Translation of the Tabakát-i-Násirí," pages 297, 398, and 496.

Mr. Clements Markham tells us, in his paper on the "Afghán Frontier" in the first number of the "Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society," on the authority of Mr. E. Thomas, apparently, that "it was from Kurram that Ilduz advanced over the "Shutar-Gardan and *conquered* Ghazni." He may have used the Shutar-Gardana'h pass, probably, for his government extended as far as the bottom of the pass leading into Gardaiz, but *no history says so.* As to his "conquering Ghazni," the following are the facts. On the death of his master and sovereign, two sons of the late Sultán of Bámián and Tukháristán, Bahá-ud-Dín, Sám, of the house of Shansab, instigated by a faction, came and seized upon Ghaznín, and appropriated the vast treasures accumulated there. The author of the "Tabakát-i-Násirí," the contemporary of Sultán Táj-ud-Dín, I-yal-dúz, who was brought up at the court of the Princess, the daughter of Sultán Ghiyás-ud-Dín, Muhammad-i-Sám, the sovereign of Ghúr and head of the family and dynasty, and whose father was Kází of Sultán Mu'izz-ud-Dín's army in Hindústán, states in his work:—"In the last year of the reign of Sultán Mu'izz-ud-Dín, when "that monarch, on his last expedition into Hind, came into Karmán and halted there, "he conferred upon Táj-ud-Dín, Yal-duz, a black banner, and it was the desire of "his august mind that Táj-ud-Dín, Yal-duz, after himself, should succeed to the "throne of Ghaznín. When the Sultán attained martyrdom, it was the desire and "disposition of the Turk Maliks (including Yal-duz himself) and Amírs that Sultán "Ghiyás-ud-Dín, Mahmúd, son of Ghiyás-ud-Dín, Muhammad, son of Sám, should come "from the confines of the Garm-sír to Ghaznín, and ascend his uncle's throne. . . . "To this effect they wrote to the court of Fírúz-koh, and represented, saying, "'The Sultáns of Bámián are acting oppressively, and are ambitious of obtain-"'ing possession of Ghaznín. Thou art heir to the dominion, and we are thy "'slaves.' Sultán Ghiyás-ud-Dín, Mahmúd, replied, saying, 'To me the throne of "'my father, which is the capital, Fírúz-koh, and the kingdom of Ghúr, is the most "'desirable. I confer the territory of Ghaznín on you;' and he despatched a robe "of honour to Sultán Táj-ud-Dín, Yal-duz, and presented him with a letter of manu-"mission, and assigned the throne of Ghaznín unto him."—Pages 501 and 502.

'Alá-ud-Dín, Muhammad, and Jalál-ud-Dín, 'Alí, the two sons of the late Bahá-ud-Dín, Sám, of Bámián, arrived at Ghaznín two days after the corpse of the late Sultán Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muhammad, had been conveyed thither, and the former usurped the throne. I-yal-dúz had not yet left his government of Karmán. He was preparing to do so when pressing solicitations reached him from the Wazír of the late Sultán and the principal Amírs to come and deliver them from the Bámián faction. He speedily appeared. 'Alá-ud-Dín, Muhammad, was vanquished, and he and his brother, and the Ghúrí Maliks, his supporters, were made prisoners. I-yal-dúz entered Ghaznín, and shortly after allowed his captives to return to Bámián. He appears after this to have returned to Karmán, for, not long after, the two brothers again appeared before Ghaznín, and 'Alá-ud-Dín, Muhammad, despatched an army towards Karmán against Sultán Táj-ud-Dín, I-yal-dúz. He prepared to move against it, and detached part of his troops in advance, under the leadership of Aetkín, a Táttár officer, who came upon the Ghúrí Maliks at the Rabát-i-Sankúrán, otherwise Shanúzán, "drunk and senseless," seized them and put them to death, and dispersed the force. I-yal-dúz advanced to Ghaznín, and invested 'Alá-ud-Dín, Muhammad, therein for a period of four months, after which his brother, Jalál-ud-Dín, 'Alí, with an army from Bámián, arrived upon the scene, to endeavour to raise the investment. He was overthrown and captured, and 'Alá-ud-Dín, his brother, gave up Ghaznín. I-yal-dúz again allowed the brothers to depart uninjured, after having obtained from them stipulations as to their future conduct. All this can scarcely be styled his "conquering Ghaznín," or his being merely "in charge of the metropolis of Ghazní," of which he was sovereign.

Why he used his master's name on his coins, instead of his own, after he succeeded to the Ghaznín throne, is detailed in the "Tabakát-i-Násirí" (*see* "Translation," pages 526, 527).

On one occasion hostility arose between I-yal-dúz and Í-bak, who was his son-in-law, about the possession of Lábor, when I-yal-dúz was defeated by Í-bak, and had to retire from the banks of the Indus, to which he had advanced, into Karmán again. Í-bak, by another route, made a rapid march upon Ghaznín, and seized it.* He was only

* Through Khost or one of the routes farther north.

in possession of it for forty days, however, for, by this time, news of Í-bak's riotous proceedings had reached I-yal-dúz, and he had been entreated by the Maliks of the kingdom and the people of Ghaznín to come to their rescue. As the distance between Karmán and Ghaznín was short, I-yal-dúz arrived unexpectedly at the capital, from which Í-bak had to retire precipitately towards Hind, by the route of Sang-i-Surákh, or the perforated rock or stone.

I-yal-dúz, some years later, had to take this same route, when the troops of Sultán Muhammad, Khwárazm Sháh, suddenly marched an army from the side of Tukháristán and unexpectedly seized the routes leading into Hind by the Gardaiz and Karahah Dara'hs. The latter is possibly the place which appears as "Khurwur" in some of our older maps, north of Gardaiz, or Khurwur, rather, is intended to represent it.

A Sang-i-Surákh route, from the Derah-ját to Farmúl, is mentioned by Bábar Bádsháh.*

The history of the careers of I-yal-dúz and Í-bak will be found in the before-mentioned "Translation," pages 496 to 528.

These Dara'hs of Karmán, Zerán, and Shalúzán, in those days produced silk, and do so up to the present time. It is stated that every year that Sultán Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Muhammad, set out on his expeditions into Hindústán he used to halt for a time in Karmán, and Táj-ud-Dín, I-yal-dúz, on these occasions, used to feast the whole of the Amírs and Maliks, and suite of the Sultán, and used to present one thousand honorary head-dresses and quilted tunics on such occasions. It is not improbable that these or a portion of them were the manufacture of the district.

Khost, Dawar, Maidán, Sibrí, and Bakr Khel have been already described in their proper places. Kohát is included in the great division of Bangas'h, but, for convenience, it will be mentioned further on, when I am describing the routes leading to it.

I now return to the description of the route to the chief town of Bannú.

"From Údzí Khel (*see* page 80) seven or eight kuroh east is Dirárín. You proceed along by the Kurma'h river, and the village of Sada'h lies two kuroh on the left-hand side. From thence (Dirárín) one kuroh south is Mukh-zí, which is also a large village on the Kurma'h river, lying on the right-hand side. From thence one kuroh and a half is the large village of Bal-yamain,† belonging to a section of one of the Bálá Bangas'h tribes, and the river lies near by, on the right hand. From thence fifteen kuroh, keeping along the course of the river, is Bug-zí, on the river bank, and one kuroh and a half farther on is Badá Khel, also on the bank of the Kurma'h river. One kuroh still farther to the south-east is the large village of Buland Khel, peopled by a clan of one of the tribes of Bálá Bangas'h, and here the Bangas'h territory terminates.‡

"On the way to this place there are numerous villages, and the road has many ascents and descents. The Kurma'h river lies close by on the right hand, and mountain ranges, towering to the sky, lie both on the right and left hand.

"From Buland Khel, seventeen kuroh south-east, is the Bázár of Ahmad Khán, a large town on the bank of the Kurma'h river, which you have to cross by means of a raft, north of the town. On the way thither you pass through a populous and cultivated district, and the river appears near by on the right hand. The people are of the Shítak tribe of Afgháns."§

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* *See* note *, page 86.

† Afgháns write it Balah-min.

‡ Afzal Khán, Khatak, relates in his history that, subsequent to his stay in Zerán and Karmán, the Prince, Bahádur Sháh, was desirous of sending some of his people from thence by the Buland Khel route to Bannú, whither he was himself about to proceed, but that he, Afzal Khán, recommended the route by Láchí (farther north), and offered to escort them by the Chautaraey road. But no: they went by Buland Khel; and, after they had passed it, found that the Wazírí Afgháns occupied the route in their front. They defeated the Prince's party with great loss of life. All their baggage and tents fell into the hands of the Wazírís, and they had to retreat to Buland Khel again. This opposition on the part of the Wazírís was caused through the bad faith of an upstart, called 'Alí Rizá, who was in the Prince's service, and entrusted with the management of important affairs. Some time before, under the promise of effecting an accommodation with the Wazírís, he had induced several persons of that tribe to come to him, and then he put them to death; and he, who was totally unacquainted with military affairs, was made the commander of the force despatched to Bannú.

§ Places situated between these long stages here are referred to in other cross routes.

*Fifth Route. From Ghaznín to the Bázár of Ahmad Khán, by way of Dawar.**

"From Ghaznín, ten kuroh south-east, inclining east, is Rámak, a place (village?) inhabited by the Ghalzí tribe, and here the ílát or nomad Ghálzís dwell.† From them eight kuroh in the same direction is Shor Kajá, likewise a large village. East of it is a deep kol or lake, which is formed by rain water. From this lake the people have made cuts, and conducted the water to their cultivated lands.

"From thence five kuroh is Sih Rauza'h, a large village, where there are, as the name indicates, the tombs of three holy men.‡ Five kuroh farther on, in much the same direction, having crossed a lofty mountain range bounding it on the west, you reach Urgún, also written Wargún and Wargín, but the former is the most correct form of writing it, a large village belonging to the Parmúlí or Farmúlí tribe, who are Tájzíks."

The Tokhí Ghalzí Mullá, to whom I have previously referred, and who was personally acquainted with the locality, would not admit that the Parmúlís were Tájzíks. His account is that they are Afgháns; he does not mean that they are Ghalzís, and that Urgún is also the name of the country or district belonging to the Parmúlís, and also the dwelling-place of the Parmúl Maliks of the great tribe of Ghalzí, the Maliks of the Ghalzí clans of Tarakí, Andar, Sahák, Sulímán Khel, and Sáfi, of whom, and of the kochís or powandahs of this great tribe, an account will be given in its proper place.§

There are pine forests around Urgún, and near it is an iron mine. "From the "time of the Hájí, Mír Wais, from the year 1120 H. (1708-9, A.D.) down to this "day," said my Tokhí Mullá, "the year 1284 H. (1867-68, A.D.), the descendants "of the Hájí enjoy the revenues of this part year by year."

To resume, however. "From Urgún three kuroh, much in the same direction as before, is Pír Kútai (Kútaey?), and from thence another three kuroh, Kharotí. These are the names of Ghalzí villages on the Tonchí river, which issues from the mountain range west of this dara'h (of Parmúl or Farmúl). It passes west and south of Urgún, and lies near by on the right hand as you proceed along the road.‖

"From Kharotí five kuroh in the same direction is Marghah, a place inhabited by the Wazírí tribe¶ of Afgháns, and the Tonchí river lies near by on the right-hand side. From thence seven kuroh east is Kabr-i-Mullá Kalúb, and the river still lies near on the right hand. Four kuroh east is Pá'í Khel, and another three kuroh farther on in the same direction is Malakh, inhabited by the Dawar Afgháns, and here the Dawar territory begins.

"From thence two kuroh north-east is the Kalaey of Ahmad Khán, a large village on the left hand, on the Tonchí river.

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* All these routes are important, and this one in particular, for many reasons, and throw much light on the geography of the least known part of the old Afghán country. These routes are not referred to, I believe, in any accounts yet published.

† Báyazíd, the Byát, relates that the Chár-pá Hazárahs, whose temporary dwellings were situated between Tásán and Kalgháj, and distant about six kuroh from Ghaznín, had refused to pay their revenue. Humáyún Bádsháh commanded that a force should be sent against them. While a force was being moved from Ghaznín, the troops of the feudatory of Gardaiz concealed themselves behind the detached mountain of Rah or Rih, which lies between Tásán and Rámak. The latter set out, early in the night, by way of the village of Yúnán, a dependency of Gardaiz, and at midnight the force reached the village of Kalál or Kulál. The Hazárahs sent away their families and flocks to Sardah, Karáh-Bágh (the Black Garden, Karáh is Turkí), and Kal'a'h-i-Sangín, but themselves remained to withstand the Ghaznín troops, unaware of the ambuscade laid by the Gardaiz forces.

The success was but partial on the part of the former, and they returned to Ghaznín, and the Hazárahs to their temporary homes again.

‡ This [illegible]ed, Sih Rauzah, is what appears in the map of Afghanistan, in the "Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society for January, 1873, as Surifz".

§ Afgháns generally, I may say for the most part, do not admit the claim of the Parmúlís to be considered Afgháns or Patáns. During the reigns of the first Patán Sultáns of Hindústán, namely, those of Bah-lúl and Sikandar, and again in the time of Sher Sháh, this claim of the Parmúlís was frequently discussed in the assemblies of those sovereigns, but was not admitted. In the genealogical tree of the Afghán nation, which I shall shortly publish, a Parmúlí or Farmúlí, both modes of writing being synonymous, is entered among the twenty-four sons of Kákar, son of Dánaey. He was probably an adopted son.

In his last book, Afghanistan and the Afghans," Surgeon-Major Bellew, C.S.I., makes out the Kakars (page 218), as he styles them, to be the same as "the Gakar tribe of Indians in the north Panjab," the same which Major-General A. Cunningham, C.S.I., pronounces "Indo-Scythians" like the Kárlúgh Turks. There is as much difference in the two people, and their names, as there is between the Ghalzí Afgháns and the "Turk tribe of Khilich, which was anciently located in the upper course of the Jaxartes."

‖ The maps are all incorrect here, as well as defective. The river, in the map in the "Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society," is made to pass in a totally contrary direction.

¶ This great tribe will be noticed in another Section of the Notes. I may mention that "Waziristan," as their country has been recently styled, is as unknown to the Wazírís as "Kakaristan" is to the Kákars.

"From Urgún to this place you follow the course of the Tonchí, and lofty mountain ranges lie near by on either side of this broad dara'h.* As previously mentioned, this river comes from the left, passes towards the right, and flows on to the east. The Wazírí tribe infest the route for some distance, and inflict injury on travellers.

"From the Kalaey of Ahmad Khán half a kuroh east is Pírán Sháh, consisting of two or three villages belonging to Pír-zádahs (descendants of a holy man or spiritual guide) of the Wazírí tribe, on the right hand side of the river Tonchí.

"On both sides of the river are several villages, named Músarí, belonging to the Afgháns of Dawar."

Here it will be well to give a brief account of the Dawar Dara'h.

## The Dawar Tribe and Country.

"Dawar is the name of a numerous division of the Shítak tribe of Afgháns, numbering about 20,000 families, the descendants of Shítak, son of Kakí, son of Karlární. Every hamlet is called after the name of a section of the tribe. They are not under the authority of a single chief, but several, and have neither tax nor tribute to pay. This dara'h of the mountains or valley in which they dwell, in fixed dwellings as cultivators of the soil, lies in a very cold climate. It is extensive, and runs from the Bannú district up to the mountain tracts in which the Wazírís dwell, a distance of over forty kuroh in length. There is no level land in their country, it may be said, for they dwell on the acclivities, ridges, and in depressions of the hills, and cultivate such land as there is capable of cultivation. The Tonchí river comes from the left (the west), from the direction of the country of the Wazírís, and runs through the dara'h to the east, where it finally joins the Kurma'h.

"The people have cut canals from the river in all directions, and brought water for irrigation purposes into their lands. Rice, wheat, barley, lentils, múng (*Phaseolus mungo*), and cotton, are produced in considerable quantities. Wells are usual in the dara'h, nevertheless they do not irrigate their lands from them, and, on account of the stony nature of the soil, they are not able to plough, therefore they use the mattock and shovel instead in their agricultural work. They possess great herds of cattle.

"The chief place in this valley, which in ancient times was a large city, but is now totally ruined, they style S'hahr (the city).† The tomb of Malik Ajdar is in this dara'h likewise. They say that this holy man was of the Muhammadan faith, and hold his resting place in great veneration. They constantly offer up prayers there, and invoke his intercession.

"One of the choicest productions of this tract, however, is their horses, which are of two descriptions. One they call Gala'h-i-Duzd (the Stolen Herd, or Thief's Herd), which is short in stature, with large eyes, and capable of enduring immense fatigue and labour, swift-footed, and of good pace. This kind they hold most precious. The other species is called Barí Gala'h-i-Khizrí, but although they are tall animals, large-eyed, delicate skinned, and low waisted, they do not prize them nearly so much as the other kind."

Bahádur Sháh, while he held the Súbahdár-ship of the province of Kábul, under his father Aurangzeb, in 1112 H. (1700–1, A.D.), set out towards the autumn of 1113 H. (1701, A.D.), by the Khost route, for Dawar, and after entering it found the route occupied by the Wazírí, Dawar, and other Afgháns. He could not get on, and it was only after an arrangement with them, effected by the Nawwáb Násir Khán, that the Prince succeeded in reaching Bannú with his forces.

Subsequently, after having passed the winter in Bannú, the Prince set out for Kábul. On reaching the Hasan tangacy, or defile, the whole of the Afghán tribes of that part, the Wazírís, Dawars, and Khost people, came and occupied the pass to bar his progress. He sent troops in advance, who attacked them, but the Afgháns repulsed them with considerable loss, and there was much fear lest the whole force should be destroyed. The Prince was obliged to treat with the Afgháns, and, after expending

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* According to the map just referred to, between Urgún and Pá'í Khel, "the Pushtú mountains, bounding Khorasan and India, according to the natives" must be crossed, but with all the minute detail here given they are never once referred to. Indeed, the contrary may be inferred, for I do not think the writer would have neglected to mention such a fact, if the supposed range had any palpable existence.

Bábar Bádsháh mentions two routes from the Derah-ját—the Dasht or plain, as he styles it—one of which, the Sang-i-Surákh road, passes Barak (Barak-zí ? *see* page 88), and goes to Farmúl, and from thence to Ghaznín. The other route follows the banks of the Farmúl river—the Tonchí,—and on to Farmúl.

† *See* pages 87 and 92.

much gold upon them, they left the passage clear, but from thence until he reached Kábul again, every here and there, his people were plundered of their baggage and stragglers were cut off.

To return to the continuation of the route.

"From Pírán Sháh one kuroh east, inclining south-east, is Khú-zí, a village named after an Afghán clan; and one kuroh east, inclining north-east, is Nek-zí, a small village peopled by the darweshes or recluses of this territory. The tomb (of their progenitor?) and burying place of this family are situated on the south side of it. The Tonchí river lies distant on the left hand.

"Half a kuroh north of Nek-zí are a few hamlets on the banks of the same river, called Drap Khel, after a small section of an Afghán clan of this part. From opposite the Kalaey or village of Ahmad Khán* a canal has been cut from the Tonchí, and the water brought into the lands of the Drap Khel, or Drap-zí hamlets.

"From Drap Khel one kuroh and a half south is another cluster of three or four villages on either side of the river, called Mírán Sháh, and from thence having proceeded three kuroh north-east, inclining east, you reach the shrine of Malik Ajdar, previously referred to, a holy man, whom the people say was one of the as'háb or companions of the Prophet Muhammad. It lies near by (the road) on the right hand, and the Tonchí river passes it on the south, on the farther side.

"From thence half a kuroh north-east is Tap-Ya'í, another cluster of Afghán villages. The river lies some distance away, on the right hand.

"From the Mírán Sháh villages to these the route is styled Taghraṇ,† and is dangerous to travellers through fear of the Wazírís, and therefore they take a badraka'h, or escort, to secure safety.

"From Tap-Ya'í three kuroh to the north-east is Mubárak Shí, the name given to several villages, being also the name of a section of the clan from which, in ancient times, came the Sardárs, or chiefs and rulers of the tribe of Dawaṛ. The Tonchí lies near by on the right-hand side. Two kurohs and a half from thence, north-east, is another cluster of villages, called Ídak, lying on both sides of the river. Half a kuroh farther to the east is the small village of Zerkaey (probably Zerka'í) on the right-hand side, adjoining the road, and another half a kuroh east, on the left-hand side, also adjoining the road, are the villages of Khudaey,‡ and Údzí Khel. East of the village of Khudaey, on the left hand, is a ruin named by the people the S'hahr, or city, which in ancient times was the seat of government of this territory.§

"From thence (Khudaey) one kuroh east is the village of Asírí, lying on the left hand, and one kuroh east, inclining south-east, are Mai Sagaey‖ and Aor-maṛ,¶ two villages on the left-hand side in a dara'h of the mountains, and from the latter place to Buland Khel, a distance of eighteen kuroh, is sufficiently well known, and on the way is a lofty mountain range. You proceed by this route by the aid and favour of the Wazírí tribe of Afgháns.

"From Aor-maṛ half a kuroh south-east is Alú Khel, a large [redacted] on the Tonchí river, and from thence another kuroh** east is Bará Khel, also called Idir Khel, on the bank of the river on the left-hand side of the road. Here two roads branch off. The left-hand one is this. From Bará Khel two kuroh east is the village of Abí Khel, on the same river, and another kuroh and a half east is Haidar Khel,†† also on the river; and here the Dawaṛ territory terminates.

"From the mazár or tomb of Malik Ajdar to this place, the Tonchí, or river of Dawaṛ, lies near the line of route on the right hand; in fact, you follow the course of the river nearly, and the road is like a dara'h—a narrow valley—being bounded by mountain ranges, which are close by, on both the right and left hand. In them the Wazírís dwell after the manner of íláts or nomads.

"From Haidar Khel one kuroh and a half south-west is Wazírí, the name of a

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* *See* page 85.

† The "Togra Tangi" of the latest map. It is somewhat remarkable that there should be two places so called so far apart, and the name written in the peculiar manner before referred to at page 70.

‡ "Kudree" of the map.

§ This, I am inclined to believe, is the site of Naghar, of Amír Tímúr's history, hitherto incorrectly called Naghaz, through some copyist adding an extra point to the *r* in that word.

‖ Turned into "Moosukhee" in the map.

¶ In two copies of the original it is written Aor-muz, but the above is undoubtedly the most correct, which is the name of a small tribe descended from Aor-maṛ, fifth son of Sharkhabún. The copyists must have mistaken the diacritical point over the last letter, ، and made ز of ر. The correct name probably is "the Aor-maṛ village."

** *See* the note on "kuroh" at page 3. The kurohs seem less here than in other routes, judging from the distances between some of the places on our frontier here mentioned, and contained in the Indian Atlas maps.

†† This is the place which was burnt in 1870 by a force from the Panjáb Frontier Force.

halting place of that tribe, and on the way thither is a high defile called Rúchá,* which is passed with difficulty, and the river runs on the left hand close by. A canal has been cut from the bed of the river, and the water conducted into the lands of the Mírí and Barak-zí clans.

"Four kuroh east, inclining south-east, from the Wazírí halting place, are several villages of a clan of the Shítak tribe, known by the name of Mírí, and from them two roads diverge. The right-hand one leads by the Barak-zí villages to the Bázár of Ahmad Khán, the chief town of Bannú, and the left-hand route is as follows :—

"From the Mírí villages one kuroh east is the Tonchí Nahr or canal, which you pass, the water not being deep and of no great volume, coming from the right hand and running to the left. Four kuroh north-east from thence is Dá'úd Sháh, a large village on the bank of the Kurma'h river. From the north side of that village they have cut a great canal to the river, called Kuch Kit, and divided it into two parts or divisions. The one, containing a large volume of water, has been carried three or four kuroh towards the east. It passes through the cultivated lands of the district, and rejoins the Kurma'h river below the town of Bannú. The other, containing a much smaller volume of water, has been carried towards the Bázár of Ahmad Khán, into the lands and to the water-mills in that direction.†

"From the village of Dá'úd Sháh a short distance is Pírán Sháh, a small village lying near on the left-hand side of the road. The Kuch Kit canal, east of it, runs from the left hand to the right. From thence a quarter kuroh to the east is Abá-zaey, a small village on the left hand, close to the road. One kuroh and a half to the east, inclining south-east, is Fátimah Khel, the name by which several small villages of that section of the Afghán tribe of Shítak are known. The Kuch Kit canal lies near by on the left-hand side of the road, from which, having made a cut, the Fátimah Khel irrigate the lands belonging to them. On the road you pass a large dry channel (of another canal ?).

"Leaving Fátimah Khel, and proceeding a quarter kuroh east, there is another large canal, which is exceedingly deep, but containing little water, and here they have erected water-mills. The water in this canal comes from the left and flows towards the right. East of the canal just mentioned lies the Bázár of Ahmad Khán, a large town, and the seat of government of this country.

"The right-hand route from the village of Bará Khel, otherwise Idir Khel, previously referred to, is as follows :—Leaving that village and proceeding one kuroh and a half south, keeping along in the dry bed of a river, and then half a kuroh in the same direction, ascending the acclivity of a mountain, you reach Ghurghura'í, a halting place of the Wazírí tribe, where there are several large trees. It is said that, in ancient times, there was a great city here; and a deep well, which is among the indications of antiquity, still remains on the right hand. Tradition asserts that a treasure hoard from ancient times is buried therein, and preserved from the use of man, and that [illegible]es, awful noises emanate therefrom.

"This small tra[illegible]which is two kuroh in length from east to west, and about one kuroh in breadth, is called by the names Dær and Jzinda'h. On the east side of the Ghurghura'í halting place a small stream comes from the right hand and runs to the left into the Tonchí.

"Leaving the river, and proceeding two kuroh to the south-east and east, and passing through a small defile, you reach the Kewá river.‡ It contains water enough to turn ten or twelve mills, and comes from the right hand, from the mountain range of Kární-Gram§—the Stone-Town, the first word, *kární*, being 'stone' in Pus'hto, and the last is clearly derived from the Sanskrit, *grám*,—and, running into the Marwat district, obtains the name of Gamílá, sometimes written Gambílá, and Ganbílá.

"From the point above mentioned on the Kewá river, Kární-Gram lies three stages to the south, but the road thither is exceedingly rough and difficult.

"From the same point on the Kewá river one kuroh east is Sin,‖ the name of a

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* This is "Ucha" of the maps. The word may also be written Rúchah.

† Since this account was written, some ninety years since, the names of places have greatly changed in the Bannú district. The Sikh rule probably has had something to do with it, as well as other political changes.

‡ This river has no name assigned to it in our maps, unless "Khisora Algud" stands for it.

§ The name of this place also shows the necessity that exists for having names of places correctly written. Mr. Elphinstone, who is generally more correct than any other writer, calls it "Kannegoorrum;" Sir H. B. Edwards writes of the "snowy Kanagoram;" Colonel J. T. Walker calls the place "Kaneegoorum;" Mr. Clements Markham, "Kaniguram," and the maps, "Kanigoorum, Kanigoram," etc.

‖ This word also occurs in the name of the great kotal mentioned at page 80. In the map this name is turned into "Seyn."

small area, on the left hand, on the farther side of the river. Sin is the name of a Wazírí notable, or holy man, whose corpse was found buried there, on an acclivity of the hills, on the north side of this open space.

"From Sin half a kuroh north-east is Mámak, the name given to another space of open ground, on the right-hand side of the river, while on the left is another open space named Tang, and a little to the east of it is the Tangí-i-Kewá, or Kewá defile, where the Kewá river issues from the difficult mountain range.

"It must be borne in mind that as it is not the custom of the Wazírí Afgháns to live a settled life and dwell in houses, but to roam about as íláts or nomads, they cultivate only such small plots of land as can easily be brought under tillage. As there is excess of mountains in their country, and but little land capable of cultivation, almost every plot is called by the name of the clan or family who till it, and by those names such plots are known. The writer himself saw between Spín Won and Mámak, within the area of one kuroh merely, nearly fifty such plots of land, each of which was known by a separate name.

"From thence half a kuroh east is Spín Won,* the name of another of those areas of open ground, lying on either side of the Kewá river. Half a kuroh farther east is Kewá, the name of a halting place (of the Wazírís) on the Kewá river. Up to this point you proceed along by the river, and here the great mountain range terminates.

"Leaving Spín Won and proceeding one kuroh to the north-east you reach the Kabristán-i-Mírí, or Mírí Graveyard, a place where there are some large tombs, which graveyard lies near by on the left-hand side of the way.† From thence continuing two and a half kuroh north-east, inclining east, you reach the dry bed of the Tonchí river, which channel coming from the left hand runs towards the right and joins the bed of the Kewá river. Proceeding onwards another half a kuroh in the same direction, you reach Barak-zí (mentioned before on the preceding page), the name of a cluster of three or four villages belonging to the Mírís. The other villages of the Mírís, also previously mentioned, lie one kuroh and a half on the left-hand side.

"From Barak-zí four kuroh north, inclining north-east, is Dá'úd Sháh before mentioned (preceding page), and the village of Kot-kaey lies on the left hand. From Dá'úd Sháh to the Bázár of Ahmad Khán the route has been already described.

"On the way, by this right-hand route, there is but a scanty population, and little cultivation, and the Shítak tribe and the Wazírís infest the road."

*Sixth Route. From Kábul to the Bázár of Ahmad Khán by way of Khost and Dawar, which is one hundred and fifty kuroh, and consists of four different roads.*

"*First road*, from Segí to the Bázár of Ahmad Khán by way of Dawar.

"From Kábul to Segí, the chief place in the Dara'h of Khost, the route has been previously detailed, commencing at page 74.

"Having proceeded from Segí half a kuroh south, you reach the bed of a mountain torrent, or dry bed of a river, called Lalíjá, which comes from the right hand (west), from the mountain tract of Chittí, so called from being the place of residence of (a portion of) the Tárarn tribe.‡ It runs away to the left hand and joins the Shamal river. The village of Sherak, which also belongs to the Tárarns, shows itself at a distance of two kuroh on the right-hand side.

"From the said dry bed of the river Lalíjá three kuroh east is Zirka'h,§ the name of one of those plots of land belonging to the Wazírí tribe. From Segí to this point the country is tolerably level, and the mountain ranges on the left and right lie at some distance. One kuroh and a half south of this plot of land you enter a dara'h of the mountains, and there is a small defile or pass which you cross, and from thence, having proceeded a little to the south, you reach the bed of another mountain torrent, which is styled the Indirka'h. It comes from the right, and, running to the left, joins the river called Mughal M'lá,‖ which enters the Shamal.

"Proceeding from the bed of the Indirka'h half a kuroh south, and entering the bed of the Mughal M'lá, you ascend, on the right hand, the acclivity of a mountain range, and

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* Perhaps the name was originally *wand*, signifying in Pus'hto an allotment, share, division, plot of land.

† "Tomb of Hassen Shah" of the map. "Hassen" is an impossible name, but Hasan is not, neither is Husain.

‡ *See* page 75.

§ In one copy of the original Dirka'h.

‖ M'lá, in Pus'hto, signifies "the waist," "the loins." The writer does not mean to say that the river's name is Mughal M'lá, but that it is the river of the defile called Mughal M'lá.

reach a small defile, but it is difficult to cross. This river and defile they style Mughal M'lá, for this reason. They say that (a force from) the army of Nádir Sháh, the Afshár Turk-mán, when he invaded the empire of Dilhí, came into this mountain country to chastise the Afgháns, and, at this place, encountered the Wazírí tribe, and retired.* From that day forth it obtained the name of Mughal M'lá. The river comes from the southward, and, running towards the north, meets the Indirka'h, and afterwards joins the Shamal river.

"Descending the Mughal M'lá defile on the south-west side you enter Gurbuz, the name of an open plain of some extent, which is a resort of a section of the Wazírí tribe of that name, who at times take up their quarters there. From thence half a kuroh south is the Tirkhú or Tirkho, the bed of a mountain torrent, which comes from the left and runs towards the right. The Wazírí íláts are in the habit of grazing their cattle in the neighbourhood of this river.

"From thence one kuroh south-east is Ghema'h or Ghíma'h Kirá, a small defile, but difficult to pass. The rocks there are black and stratified, which, on being fused, give forth iron. In the same way, in these mountains, there are whole hills of the same description, which, by fusion, would yield iron.

"Four kuroh south-east from Ghema'h Kirá is the bed of a mountain torrent called the Kární-gur. It comes from the left, and runs towards the right hand, and near and about it the ílát or nomad Wazírís dwell. One kuroh south from thence you enter a gorge in the mountains, and, proceeding two kuroh farther to the south-east and south, descending and ascending, you reach a spring of water, which lies on the left hand.

"At this point two roads branch off; the left-hand one leads to Drap Khel, previously mentioned (*see* page 87). You take the right-hand road from the said spring, and, after proceeding one kuroh to the south-west, and, after that, half a kuroh to the south-east and south, another half a kuroh towards the south is the large Kalaey or village of Ahmad Khán, at the foot of the mountains, on the river of Dawar—the Tonchí. From this place the route to the Bázár of Ahmad Khán, has been previously given (page 85, and *see* pages 86 and 87).

"*Second road*, from Segí in Khost to the Bázár of Ahmad Khán by way of Buland Khel.

"Starting from Segí, and proceeding two kuroh to the east, you reach Ghazní, a small village on the bank of the Shamal river; and from thence another two kuroh, still farther east, is the large village of Lakhan, the river being still on the left-hand side, which, running towards the north for a distance of three kuroh, joins the river of Bakr Khel (or is joined by it), and then the Shamal makes a bend back again to the south-east.

"From Lakhan four kuroh, on the bank of the same river, is Aran, another large village; and on the way thither are many ascents and descents. Four kuroh south-east from thence are several villages belonging to the Afgháns of Khost, named Landar;† and from this point the territory of Khost in this direction terminates. On the other side of the Shamal river, opposite Aran, are several villages known by the general name of Kadam.

"From Landar four kuroh east is Hasan Khel,‡ a place inhabited by Afgháns of Khost, and the Shamal river lies near by, on the left hand.

"Proceeding from Hasan Khel three kuroh north-west you reach the point where the Shamal§ meets the Kurma'h river. From thence six kuroh south is Buland Khel, and

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* No such expedition is specifically mentioned in the different accounts of Nádir's campaign, either by Afghán or Persian writers, but it is not impossible. It might, however, refer to one of Bahádur Sháh's unsuccessful expeditions against them, perhaps that mentioned at page 84, or the one mentioned below.

† The Landar Afgháns are mentioned by Bábar Bádsháh.

‡ Afzal Khán, Khatak, says that Mubáriz Khán, Gakhar, the Fouj-dár of Bannú, had gone from Bannú into Dawar by the Hasan Tangaey (defile). Afzal Khán himself had gone into Ti-ráh, and from thence home to Saráe in the Khatak country. There he heard that Bahádur Sháh had marched towards Kábul from Khost by the Shawák route. The Afgháns of Shawák (Elphinstone's "Sahauk," possibly), however, had occupied the dara'h and ghás'haey or pass; and after a month's fighting, off and on, and in attempts to dislodge them, suffering much loss from their constant attacks upon his camp, the Prince had to turn aside and go through the pass leading to Ghaznín, not being able to proceed towards Kábul by that route, and had to proceed thither by the roundabout way of Ghaznín, where a Fouj-dár was located. Ghaznín was under the Súbah-dár of the Kábul province, and never had a separate government, as some "master of Indian history" tells us.

After reaching Kábul, Bahádur Sháh again moved from thence in the beginning of winter for Pes'háwar, where the Súbah-dárs of Kábul generally passed the cold season. At Kábul-i-Khúrd he encountered a fall of snow, and lost a number of men and animals. He succeeded in reaching Jalál-ábád, and passed the remainder of the winter there.

§ This river is called the "Shamil, in Sheet 5 of the Indian Atlas, but in Sheet 15 it is styled the "Kittee."

the road follows the course of the river. From Buland Khel to the Bázár of Ahmad Khán the road has already been described.

"*Third road*, from Segí to Urgún; and this road leads to Ghaznín.

"Ten kuroh west of Segí is a cluster of villages lying on either side of the Shamal river known by the name of Namárá, inhabited by the Jzadrarn Afgháns (*see* page 76); and on the way thither there is much cultivation, and there are several villages, styled by the general name of Kuwátá or Kuwatá (*see* pages 75 and 76). From thence twelve kuroh south-west is Paras Khel, a place also inhabited by the Jzadrárn clan of the Mangalí tribe. Eight kuroh from thence, in the direction of south-west, inclining west, is Pus'hta'í, and another six kuroh in the same direction is the considerable Purmúlí Tájzík town of Urgún. The routes from this place to Kábul and to Dawar have been previously given; and by the way are many lofty defiles to pass, over a mountain range towering to the heavens.

"From the Namárá villages ten kuroh west, inclining north-west, is Dera'í-i-Míah Khel, previously mentioned (at page 75); and twelve kuroh north, inclining north-west, is Gardaiz, the road passing as before, through a tract of very mountainous country.

"The route from Gardaiz to Kábul has been already given."

It was in the vicinity of Gardaiz that Bábar Bádsháh, on one occasion, made a raid upon the 'Abd-ur-Rahmán Afgháns.* He says in his Tuzúk that the 'Abd-ur-Rahmán Afgháns dwell on the boundary of the Gardaiz Dara'h, and that instead of paying revenue, they molested the people of kárwáns and other travellers. On Wednesday, the 29th of the month of Rajab, 925 H. (July, 1519, A.D.), he set out from Kábul, and halted to refresh at Bek wo Wughchán.† After afternoon prayer they set out again, but lost their way in the night, and suffered much annoyance and trouble, in consequence, among the hills and dales to the east and south of Pátkháb Shahnah. After a time they got out again upon the road, passed the Kotal of the Chashmah-i-Tarah or Gardaiz Kotal (Chashmah-i-Tarah lies under the Kotal on the north side), and moved towards Gardaiz by the Dara'h of Bákísh Lík, and, at the time of morning prayer, emerged on a plain, and the light troops were sent out. Another party of troops moved towards the Koh-i-Karmásh (or Karmásh range, in some copies written Karmás) which lies south-east of Gardaiz. A strong body also moved towards the east of Gardaiz, towards the upper part of a jal-gáh (a grassy plain containing springs of water, or the upper part of a dara'h where there are springs, is so called), and he despatched others after them, and after they had passed followed himself, as the upper part of the jal-gáh was the greatest distance off. Only about forty or fifty Afgháns showed themselves in the plain, and most of these were killed, and a tower was made of their heads. That portion of the force which went towards Karmásh obtained a little plunder, in the shape of some sheep, and other property, but not much. Bábar set out for Kábul the following day, and, sending the bulk of the force by the regular route (which, unfortunately, is not named, except that the Chashmah-i-Tarah Kotal is again mentioned, where the troops were to wait for him), he determined to proceed himself, slightly attended, by way of the Maidán-i-Rustam,‡ or Rustam's Plain, which is different from the Maidán Dara'h referred to at page 76.

The Bádsháh says that this Maidán lies in the midst of, or between two mountain ranges, near the head or top where they meet, and that it is an exceedingly pleasant and broad jal-gáh. On the south side of the maidán, at the skirt of a detached hill or bluff, there is a spring, around which are several large poplar trees. On the way that leads from the direction of Gardaiz, and comes out upon the Maidán-i-Rustam, there are also some springs, and the trees are numerous, but not very large. Although the jal-gáh on that side is the most contracted, nevertheless, lower down, the trees are exceedingly green and fresh, and the jal-gáh, altogether, is an extremely pleasant *ulang*—the Turkí for a mead or jal-gáh. The exit from this place lies over the mountain range bounding the Maidán-i-Rustam on the south; and from it the Kohistan (hill tract) of Karmásh and the Kohistan of Bangas'h, which are in that direction, lie

* There is more than one tribe, sub-tribe, and clan styled 'Abd-ur-Rahmán, but the one here referred to seems to be the Khogíání sub-tribe of 'Abd-ur-Rahmán. The Khogíánís spring from the same ancestor as the Mangalí tribes.

† These names can scarcely be depended on, and are certainly not to be identified at present. I have used three manuscripts here, as follows:—The Khán-i-Khánán's translation has تنك و عجان , بارخاب شحنه , and باقيش respectively; the other Persian version has بيك ووغچان , پانجاب شحنه , and ياقيش ليق as above; and the Turkí original, Kázán edition تنك و عجان , پانجاب شحنه , and باقيش ليق. The translation by Leyden and Erskine has "Tang Waghchân," "Pânjâb Shekhneh, which is Patkhât Shekhneh in the Persian," and "Yakishlik."

‡ Báyazíd, the Byát, distinctly says it is called Maidán-i-Rustam Koh—the maidán of the Rustam mountain range.

spread out at your feet like a carpet. Bábar says there is no rainy season in this part, and no clouds.

This jal-gáh is probably the source of the Shamal river.

Having rejoined his forces, he set out and reached Honí and halted. Next morning he again marched by way of the dih or village of Muhammad Aghá (or Aká, both forms are right), and reached Kábul on Sunday, the 3rd of Shabán.

He says nothing of having crossed any river, and therefore, it is evident that the Logar was not crossed, and that his route was quite to the east of that river.

One of Humáyún Bádsháh's expeditions into these parts throws much light upon this expedition of his father, and contains much valuable geographical information, which is nowhere else to be found except in Báyazíd's work.* It took place during Humáyún's residence in his territories west of the Indus, before his restoration to the throne of Hindústán. Báyazíd's account is as follows:—

"The Bádsháh again set out towards Hind in 959 H. (1552, A.D), from Kábul. On reaching Pánká and Shahnah, belonging to the tomán or district of Logar, he encamped there. A body of troops was despatched in advance by way of the Gardaiz Kotal for Naghar, the same place as is mentioned in the Tímúr Náma'h. When the troops arrived there they found a vast quantity of provisions abandoned by the 'Abd-ur-Rahmán clan of Afgháns; and they, and the Wardag tribe, and Búbú Khel, and others who resided in the vicinity, fled with their families towards Buland Khel.

"Without halting at Naghar, the force pushed on towards Buland Khel. Early in the forenoon of that day the Sardár of the 'Abd-ur-Rahmán Afgháns made a stand with his fighting men in the Kotal which is called Atáwah, which lies at the head of (the road leading to) Bangas'h, Naghar, Dawar, and Sunbala'h; and Báyazíd, the Byát, was present. The Mughals did not obtain any booty, although the Afgháns were repulsed.

"The Darsamand people knew nothing of what was going on, and therefore it was determined to beat up their quarters. Setting out at the time of afternoon prayer from near Buland Khel, they reached the dara'h of Darsamand† at dawn the next morning. The people had, however, got wind of the affair, and were found collected from all parts around, and posted on the hills and on their skirts. They received the invading party with shouts of defiance.

"Darsamand is so situated that on one side of it is Tí-ráh, on another Bangas'h, and on another Dawar, Sunbala'h, and Dín-kot."

The Afgháns, on this occasion, were defeated, partially driven back, and some cattle, flocks, and other property taken. It is not said that Darsamand was actually captured, but it is to be presumed that the people had evacuated it beforehand.

The Mughal troops continued in this part for three days, when the rest of the advance force, previously alluded to, joined them. "The feudatory or governor of "Nangrahár prepared to set out in order to join the royal forces by way of Tí-ráh; and "the Sháh,‡ Abú-l-Ma'álí, who commanded the advance troops, hearing that the "Bádsháh had reached Bútak-zí-i-Pá'ín (perhaps Búbak-zí—the words are without "the diacritical points),§ which is a village of Lower Bangas'h, and had halted there, "set out with his force to join the Bádsháh, and the feudatory of Nangrahár accom-"panied him. At this place (Bútak-zí-i-Pá'ín) the Khwájah, Jalál-ud-Dín, Mahmúd, "was appointed governor of Kábul, and was despatched thither to assume his duties. "Báyazíd, the Byát, accompanied him. Having set out, they reached, at the time of "afternoon prayer, the kot, or fortlet, of Matah-i-Zakhmí, or Matah the Wounded, so "called from a legend that the Khalífah, 'Alí, struck with his famous sword, Zú-l-"fakár, an infidel named Matah at this spot. It lies on the west frontier of Upper "Bangas'h."

Báyazíd also says:—"We proceeded from thence by the Dara'h of Irí-áb, and reached "the fort of Safed Gáh, a dependency of Gardaiz, and from thence pushed on to Chash-

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* The history by Báyazíd, the Byát Mughal, has never been translated, and moreover it is very rare (I know but of one copy of it). The other historical extracts contained in these "notes" are from original manuscript works, not from any translations.

Báyazíd may be considered a very good and trustworthy authority. He had been long in Humáyún's service, and his brother, Sháh Bardí Beg, had held the government of Gardaiz, Naghar, and Bangas'h under Mírzá Kámrán, Humáyún's ingrate brother.

† This appears as "Upper Meeranzai" in our maps and in official reports, but that is not really correct, and that name is simply the name of the sub-tribe of Mírán-zí, which will be noticed hereafter. Had it been styled "the dara'h of the Mírán-zís," it would have been more correct, for they dwell in it.

‡ Sháh, as well as Bádsháh, is a title by which Sayyids are styled, not to be mistaken as indicating the possession of sovereign power, which has caused some ridiculous errors.

§ Possibly Búg-zí, meant for Bug-zí, mentioned at page 84, the Boghzi of our maps.

" mah-i-Tarah, which lies under or below the Kotal of Gardaiz (the same as Bábar, " Humáyún's father, mentions) on the Kábul side."

From this place Báyazíd was sent on, in advance, to Kábul, but he does not say by what road, so we must presume it was the ordinary one. In the meantime the Khwájah, Jalál-ud-Dín, Mahmúd, moved into the Lághrí Hazárah tomán or district, which lies between Wardag and the Maidán of Rustam Koh (this is the same place as is mentioned by Bábar), and returned, after a successful expedition, to Kábul.

" Humáyún Bádsháh did not proceed farther into Hind during this year, 959 H. (1551, A.D.), than the Sind-Ságar Do-ába'h; and returned from thence, crossing the Sind or Indus between the manára'h of Khán Kajú*, now known as Prata'h Manára'h, or the Fallen Manár, and the mountains of Buner."

" *Fourth road*, from Buland Khel to Maidán; and this road likewise goes on to Ghaznín.

" The road from Buland Khel to Kadam has been previously given (at page 90). From thence 15 kuroh north-west is Bakr Khel (*see* page 75); and by the way, along the bank of the Bakr Khel river, you pass many villages and much cultivation. The route from Bakr Khel to the Maidán villages and dara'h, and thence to Kábul, has been already detailed (at page 77, which see)."

*Seventh Route. From Kábul to Kohát by way of Kurma'h, one hundred and ten kuroh east; and this route leads into Dera'h-ját and Hind.*

" The route from Kábul to Údzí Khel has been already described (at page 80. *See* also page 77). From thence proceeding twelve kuroh to the east, and passing numerous villages by the way, on the left-hand bank of the Kurma'h river, is Sada'h,† the seat of government of the Kurma'h province. A small river comes fron the north-east, and passing immediately north of Sada'h, joins the Kurma'h river. Twelve kuroh farther east is the large village of Zúmus'ht, or Zúmuk'ht (by eastern Afgháns), so named after a clan of the Afgháns of the Bálá Bangas'h; and by the way are several high defiles and lofty mountains towering to the heavens.

" From thence ten kuroh farther east is Turáwarí, a considerable place; and from thence another three kuroh, in the same direction, is the large village of Nara'í Aoba'h,‡ signifying, in Pus'hto, the narrow or slender stream, the name of a little river so called, giving name to the village. Another twelve kuroh east, inclining north, is Angú, also called Hangú,§ another large place. It is a small town with numerous orchards and fruit gardens, lying in a recess of the hills, and has a small stone fort. The lands around are well watered. It contains about 1,500 inhabitants. West of it is a white tomb, which can be seen from a great distance. Ten kuroh farther east is Kákh-zí, also called Kágh-zi,‖ a large village and small dara'h called after a section of one of the Bangas'h tribes;¶ and, from the Tí-ráh mountains, a small river flows through the dara'h, and runs on towards Kohát.

" Three kuroh east from thence is the town of Kohát, the place of residence of the Nawwáb, the Khán of Bangas'h, and seat of government of the district.

" From Údzí Khel to Angú the road to this place lies through a succession of dara'hs and beds of small streams. On the left hand towers the great range of Spín Ghar, covered with perpetual snow, and on the right hand likewise are great mountain ranges. The cold in these parts is very great, and the defiles are much elevated.

" The territory of Bálá or Upper Bangas'h ends at Angú, and here you enter Pá'ín or Lower Bangas'h, in which Kohát lies."

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* This is the famous Chief of all the Yúsufzí tribe, both Yúsuf and Mandar, the Chief of the 100,000 spearmen. In Pus'hto *one* is written *yow*, and this was read by Elphinstone for *nau*, which is *nine* in Hindí. and so he made out that "the whole numbers of the Eusof-zyes are reckoned by the Afghauns at 900,000." "Caubul," vol. ii., page 32. State Councillor Von Dorn, in his translation of Ni'mat Ullah's History, followed him, but the original is ۹. This is how errors are handed down.

† Turned into "Suddur" in the maps. I may mention here, once for all, that words like this ending in ه (*há-i-hawwaz*) were, by command of Aurangzeb-i'-Alam-gír, directed to be written with ا (*alif*) instead, hence the apparent discrepancy in Sada'h and Sadá, Dhákah and Dháká, Nímla'h and Nímlá.

‡ "Nuriab" and "Nariol," in the maps and official reports.

§ "Hungoo" in the maps.

‖ Now "Samilzi," according to the maps. The names of places, as well as the people who inhabit them, are different now, or the names have been greatly changed. The correct name is Shámil-zí, not "Samil-zi," and is the designation of one of the sub-tribes of the Bangas'h tribe of Kohát.

¶ The Kágh-zí clan are descended from a daughter of Malik Mír, son of Sulímán, son of Kakí. Sulímán was the progenitor of the Wazírís, Bá-í-zís, Malik Mírís, and others, who are styled the tribes of Bangas'h.

*Eighth Route. From Kábul to Kohát* by way of the Kohistán or Highlands of Tí-ráh, a distance of one hundred kuroh. This route is very difficult.*

" From Kábul to Bhatí-Kot the route has been previously given (page 48). From thence six kuroh south-east is Bísh-Bulák† or Bulágh, two Turkí words signifying five springs of water; and in that language *k* is often changed into *gh*, and *vice versá*. From this point two roads diverge. The right-hand road is as follows:—From Bísh Bulák eighteen kuroh east is the Kalaey or village of Shafí' Khán, one of the large villages in the Dara'h of Tí-ráh, belonging to the Afrídí Afgháns. On the way thither the towering mountain range of Spín Ghar or, as it is also called, the Tí-ráh range, covered with perpetual snow, has to be crossed; and you have to pass through lofty defiles, the sides of which are well wooded with forests of oak, wild olive, ilex, and other trees. One great mountain, higher than the rest in this direction, lies near by on the right-hand side of the route, which, from the excess of snow thereon, looks clearer and whiter than crystal.‡

" From thence Kákh-zí or Kágh-zí is twenty kuroh south-east, inclining east. The road from thence to Kohát has been previously mentioned."

By this route, although so difficult, the Khaibar can be turned from the south.

" Between the Kalaey of Shafí Khán and Kákh-zí or Kágh-zi is another (branch of this) mountain range, also covered with perpetual snow; and some water flows from it towards that small dara'h, but such water as falls down towards the Kalaey of Shafí' Khán forms the river, which, having passed Yalam Guzr,§ receives the name of Bárah, and its water having been drawn off by means of canals it is expended in the irrigation of part of the western portion of the Pes'háwar district.

" There is a route from Pes'háwar to this place, which is as follows. From the city of Pes'háwar eight kuroh south-west is Yalam Guzr, the name of a small village called after the ford just named, belonging to the Afrídís. On the way you pass through vast cultivation; and the Bárah river, coming from the Tí-ráh mountains, flows to the east of the village, and is expended in irrigating the rice fields and gardens of Pes'háwar, and cultivated lands of Mataní. The best description of rice, which is famous, is produced by the water of this river. Jam-rúd lies from this place four kuroh on the right hand.

" Proceeding along the course of the river into a dara'h in the mountains for a distance of four kuroh south-west, you reach the small village of Gand-áb, also belonging to the Afrídís, and from thence six kuroh west is the large Kalaey or village of Shafí' Khán. You follow, as before, the course of the stream, and have high mountains near by both on the right and left hand. The Koh-i-Tí-ráh—the Tí-ráh range or Spín Ghar—covered with perpetual snow, lies adjoining on the south and west.

" It may be well to give here a brief notice of the Afrídís, Wurakzís, and Shinwárís inhabiting these parts.

### *Afrídí.*

" This is the name of a large and valiant tribe descended from Mánaey, son of Kodaey, son of Karlárnaey, and it numbers near upon 40,000 families. They dwell on the east and north of the mountain tract of country, lying in a cold climate, part of which is situated south of Pes'háwar, and some part to the west of it. Some live in permanent dwellings, but others lead the life of íláts or nomads. The western portion of their territory is called Tí-ráh, which is a large Dara'h, and exceedingly cold in winter. It is about thirty-two kuroh long and nearly twelve broad.

" Another portion of the Afrídís dwell as íláts or nomads, in the Dara'h of Khaibar (which perhaps leads some people to imagine, because they see no houses, that the " Khyberies," as they call them, " live in caves like savages "), and they hold a jágír or grant from the Bádsháh of Kábul for guarding a portion of the route. They have

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* This might, with more propriety, be called the route from Bísh-Bulák to Kohát.
† Turned into " Peshbolak," in maps and Gazetteers.
‡ This is the Spín Ghar, or White Mountain, giving name to the range.
§ This is sometimes written 'Alam Guzr.

consequently neither tax nor tribute to pay. Their knives and swords are remarkable for the keen edge they take.*

*Wurakzí or Urakzí.*

"This Afghán tribe contains some thousands of families, and they dwell in the mountain tracts of Tí-ráh, the Khaibar, and Jalál-ábád. They have to furnish a contingent of soldiers to the Bádsháh of Kábul, and their Sardárs hold jágírs or fiefs in the Pes'háwar district for guarding and keeping open the passes within their boundaries."†

In the reign of Akbar Bádsháh the Wurakzís, or Urakzís, as they are also styled, were included in the tomán of Kohát, and are estimated as being able to furnish 300 horsemen and 5,000 foot for militia purposes.

*Shinwárí.*

"This tribe numbers about 12,000 families, and they dwell to the west of the Khaibar Dara'h, and in the mountains south of the Nangrahár Dara'hs, called Shíwí (*see* page 52), as íláts or nomads. Some 3,000 or 4,000 families dwell in fixed habitations, in villages, in the Dara'h of Shigal, a dependency of Kúnar. The nomad portion, who roam about the hills bounding Nangrahár to the south (south of the Bísh-Bulák), have to furnish a contingent to the army of the Bádsháh, but those dwelling on the northern side of the Kábul river pay obedience to the Sayyids of Kúnar.

"The Shinwáris are famed as being a very valiant tribe, and, in alliance with the Afrídís, gave infinite trouble to the Mughal rulers of Dilhí in former times. They are bounded on the west by the Khogíánís.

"The Tí-ráh range of mountains, also called Spín Ghar, extending from near Kohát to Irí-áb, is nearly eighty kuroh in length, and on its summits snow constantly falls. Out of this range four rivers flow,—the Surkh Rúd, so called from the colour of the earth with which it is impregnated, which, passing through the Gandamak district, a few miles west of Jalál-ábád, joins the river of Kábul; the Kurma'h, already described, which runs through the districts of Irí-áb, Kurma'h, Bannú, and Laka'í, and joins the Sind or Indus; the small river, which issues from the dara'h of the Kágh-zí, runs through Kohát and Shá lí Khel, and also joins the Sind, and is known as the Kohát To-e (from the Pus'hto intransitive verb, *to-yedal*, to flow, to well, to glide along, etc.); and the Bárah, which rises a little farther north, and issues from the mountains near the village called Yalam Guzr, from the ford near by, and is expended by means of canals in the irrigation of a portion of the Pes'háwar district.

"The left-hand road is called the Tahtarah, and Tatarah route, and leads to Jam-rúd and Pes'háwar; and some say this was the route by which Nádir Sháh, the Afshár, sent a force and surprised the Nawwáb, Násir Khán (*see* page 37), who, having closed the Khaibar route, had taken post at Jam-rúd. It is also called the Báz Dara'h—the Falcon Dara'h—route.

*Ninth Route. From Kábul to Jalál-ábád, by way of the Áb-i-Zindagání (Water of Existence, or River of Life).*

"Leaving the Láhor gate of the city of Kábul you proceed to But-Khák, an account of which, and the road from thence to Kábul, has been given (at page 60). On the way thither, the villages of Kala'-chah, Shewah, the Dih-i-Ya'kúb, Gamrí, and other

* The Afrídís and the Wurakzís were not considered very orthodox in former days, and were followers of the Pír-i-Tárik, or Saint of Darkness, the nickname given by the Akhúnd, Darwezah, to Báyazíd, Ansárí, the arch-heretic previously alluded to, who assumed the name of Pír-i-Ros'hán, or Saint of Light.

Khushhál Khán, Khatak, says of these two tribes in one of his poems:—

"The call of the mu'azzin is not to be heard throughout Tí-ráh,
Unless thou listen to the crowing of the cock, at the dawn of day.
As to the Wurakzís, they are altogether from orthodoxy astray;
And the Afrídís, than those heretical ones, are more heretical still.
They neither say prayers over the dead, nor ministers have they;
Nor alms, nor offerings, nor the fear of God within their hearts," etc., etc.

(*See* my "Poetry of the Afgháns," page 212.)

† Surgeon-Major Bellew, in his last new book, "Afghanistan and its People," states that the "Arakzai," as he styles them, are "Afridis." They are a totally distinct tribe. The Wurakzís are descended from Kodaey, son of Karlárnaey, and the Afrídís from Mánaey, son of Kodaey.

villages of the Dáman-i-Koh, or Hill Skirt (east of Kábul), and famous for the fruitfulness of their lands, appear in the distance on the right hand.

"At But-Khák two roads diverge. The left-hand road leads to the Latah Band pass, previously mentioned (at page 60), and the river of Kábul lies on the left.

"The right-hand road is this. From But-Khák, three kuroh south-east, is Kábul-i-Khúrd—Little or Lesser Kábul—a large village of the Tájzíks, situated in a dara'h, or valley, between the mountains, and from which a direct route leads into the Logar tomán.

"From Kábul-i-Khúrd eighteen kuroh east, inclining south-east, is the Kalaey or village of Muhammad Amín Khán, a place inhabited by Ghalzís; and you pass through a very mountainous tract in which, by the way, there are deep ravines and gorges, and lofty mountains, some covered with pine forests. For the first half of the way you proceed along in the bed of the Tezín river (*see* page 60), and hereabouts the Ghalzí tribe dwell after the manner of íláts or nomads.

"Fourteen kuroh from the Kalaey of Muhammad Amín Khán are several villages belonging to the same tribe, and styled by the general name of Hisárak,* signifying, in Persian, the little hisár or fort,† the final *k* being used to express contempt or to form diminutives.

"At this important point a road, on the left hand, comes from the direction of Karkachá, or Karkacha'h,‡ and Jagdálík; and another, on the right hand, from the side of the Dara'h of Irí-áb, and they meet here. There is also a road from Hisárak to the bridge over the Surkh Rúd, or Red River. (*See* page 56.)

"From Hisárak, three kuroh in the direction of east, are several villages lying on either side of the Surkh Rúd, or Red River, which comes from the right hand (the southwards). Proceeding along that river for a kuroh and a half you reach some other villages known as Hisárak-i-Sháhí (the Sháh's, or the Royal Hisárak), situated on either side of the Surkh Rúd, and inhabited by the Mahmad (Mandú ?) section of the Khogíání tribe of Afgháns. The above-mentioned river runs to the left hand, and enters an exceedingly difficult mountain tract.

Proceeding another kuroh and a half, almost in the same direction, you reach some two or three more villages belonging to the same tribe, and known as Ashpán—(this is how a non-Afghán would write Shpán§—the correct name of the place; it is a word which foreigners, Persians or Hindís, cannot pronounce without the aid of an initial vowel),‖ and in the route are many deep gorges. Through this dara'h likewise a stream falls from the mountain range to the right, and flows on towards Gandamak.¶

"From Ashpán (Shpán) another kuroh and a half, still in the same direction, is another cluster of villages, on the river just named, called Tútú, and the village of Gandamak lies three kuroh distant on the left hand. From these villages there is a way to the bridge over the Surkh Rúd (mentioned at page 56), which is about three kuroh distant, and in going thither some *smats* or caves are passed.

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* Mentioned previously, at page 56, and note †, page 82.

† This name is incorrectly spelt "Izharuk" in the Indian Atlas map, and in several others; indeed, not only is this and many other names spelt after the same fashion, but the course of rivers and the position of mountains in this direction are, for the most part therein, purely imaginary. The Surkh Rúd, in particular, has been incorrectly laid down from its source downwards, except possibly at the very points crossed by our troops in the first Afghán war.

‡ *See also* page 56.

This is the road taken by Wood, who says, with respect to surveying the route by the Karkacha'h pass:—"That of the Karkatcha, the highest and most northerly" (there is an error here in Wood's account, a printer's error probably. He says, at page 107, that the Lattaband is the most "southerly," and the Karkatcha "the most northerly." The reverse is the fact) "was allotted to me. Parting with my companions, I turned "off to the left, and, having passed through the vale of Hisarak, entered the bed of a stream tributary to the "Surkh Rud river. Up this we wound our path to near the summit of Karkatcha. On entering among "the mountains the bed of the stream contracted to a narrow defile not more than ten feet in width, the "sides of which were naked, craggy, and precipitous, while its bottom was encumbered by the trunks of "huge fir trees, and here and there crossed by ledges of rock. On nearing the ridge of the pass, we "quitted the defile and kept to the right, along the face of mountains which here assumes a more open "character."

§ On one occasion, Sháh Shujá'-ul-Mulk was defeated near these villages, on the 10th of September, 1801, by the rebel Bárakzís, who had set up Sháh Mahmúd.

‖ There are scores of words of this description in the Pus'hto language, which a Hindí cannot pronounce correctly.

¶ This is the Áb-i-Zindagání. Masson, in his journeys, on one occasion, crossed over from the high road between Nímla'h and Jagdálík on his way by the Karkacha'h Kotal to this stream. He came to a place (vol. i., page 184) where there was a mill, a dwelling, and the tents of some nomads, and to this applied the name of the river which he turned into "Hávízângání." This is a fair specimen of the manner in which names get altered by persons who have a mere colloquial smattering of a language.

"Two kuroh from Tútú, in the direction of north-east, is Nímla'h, a large village belonging to the Tájzíks.* From this place to Jalál-ábád, by way of Fath-ábád, the road has been already described (page 53).

"From Kábul to Jalál-ábád, the route which has just been detailed, is very difficult, and the air and wind cold and piercing. Even in the hottest part of summer a fire is required at night."

*Tenth Route. From Kábul to Jalál-ábád, by way of the Dara'h of Kaj-hah, or Kaj-há (the plural form of Kaj).*†

The route from Kábul to Jagdálík has been already described, and from the latter place to the Kímah Chaukí, and Báwalí Chaukí (page 56).

This Dara'h of Kaj-hah is of considerable extent. Proceeding from the Kímah Chaukí, from which point the kalaey or village of Karkacha'h can be distinguished, situated on the slope of the mountains at some distance on the right hand (south), three kuroh east, is the Báwalí Chaukí, the name of a desolate halting place, and the road thither is like the bed of a river.

From this place, three kuroh east, is a small defile called the Surkh Rúd Kotal, the road continuing the same as before. Here the Surkh Rúd or river issues from the mountains on the right hand, and runs towards the east. One kuroh east of this kotal is the Kaj-i-Bábá, or Bábá's Kaj, the name given to a plot of ground,‡ like those mentioned as being tilled by the Wazírí íláts or nomads (page 89), on a ridge of the mountains. The river lies near by on the right hand.

Another half kuroh farther east is the Kaj-i-Anwar, or Anwar's Kaj, another of these plots of land; and the river runs on the right hand in a depression of the mountains. From thence one kuroh east, inclining south-east, is the Kaj-i-Yúsuf, the name of another piece of land on a slope of the mountains; and half way on the road you cross the Surkh Rúd. Proceeding from thence (Kaj-i-Yúsuf), one kuroh in the same direction, you reach another of these plots, called the Kaj-i-Muhammad Amín, or Muhammad Amín's Kaj. The river runs near by on the left hand. After proceeding from this kaj half a kuroh farther east you reach the small river called the Nauyán§ flowing on the right hand. It comes from the direction of Gandamak, and joins the Surkh Rúd.

Half a kuroh east from thence is Kangḳrak-i-'Ulyá, or Higher Kangḳrak (lit. Most High), the name of a small village; and the river, as before, runs on the left hand. From this place Gandamak is five kuroh distant, and Nímla'h three.

At this point, in particular, you notice plants and shrubs, and vegetation of the warmer climate, and such as are unknown from Jagdálík to Kábul.

There is a road from this place (Kangḳrak-i-'Ulyá) to Bálá-Bágh along the skirt of the narrow valley in which it lies.

From the Surkh Rúd Kotal to the Nauyán river some clans of the Ghalzí tribe are located; and they pay one tenth of the produce (of their flocks and crops?) as revenue to Tímúr Sháh, Bádsháh of Kábul. From Kangḳrak-i-'Ulyá the villages of the Tájzíks begin again; and the Surkh Rúd, after flowing about nine kuroh farther to the eastward, joins the river of Kábul near the mountain of Darúntha'h. On the northern bank of the river of Kábul, close to the Lamghán mountains, are two villages known by the name of Mastí Khel.

East of Kangḳrak-i-'Ulyá one kuroh is Kangḳrak-i-Pá'ín, or Lower Kangḳrak, a large village also belonging to the Tájzíks. The Surkh Rúd, as before, lies on the left hand. From this village two kuroh east is Bálá-Bágh, literally signifying the Higher or Upper Garden, a large garden, in circuit about one kuroh. It is celebrated for the number of its canals, and the quantity of fruits it produces. Its laying out is attributed to one of the Gurgániah Sultáns. Fath-ábád lies about two kuroh on the right hand from Bálá Bágh.

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* In Zí-Ka'dah, the eleventh month, 1109 H. (June, 1698, A.D.), Amír Khán, Súbah-dár of the province of Kábul, that is to say, all the possessions of the Dihlí sovereigns west of the Indus, died at Nímla'h, having held the government for several years. He was the most efficient ruler that had held the government for a very long time previous, and more so than any other who followed. On account of the Afgháns, however, the fact of his death was not made known until his corpse reached Kábul.

† *See* pages 51 and 53.

‡ The term "kaj" is also applied to the strips or plots of land, available for cultivation, lying between the Siyah Koh range and the Kábul river.

§ Previously mentioned at page 56.

From thence six kuroh east is Chhár Bágh-i-Safá, previously referred to at page 53, in the route from Jalál-ábád to Kábul. It is a large village of the Tájzíks, and near it are four gardens (or, a garden divided into four quarters by walks); hence its name. A large canal has been cut from the Surkh Rúd, and carried on to Bálá-Bágh and Chhár-Bágh. The confluence of the Surkh Rúd and the river of Kábul lies rather less than two kuroh on the left hand (north). East of the Surkh Rúd is a large village celebrated for its fruitfulness, called Sabz-ábád (the Verdant Abode).

One kuroh east, inclining north-east, is the Kalaey or village of Madad Khán, which lies near the road on the left-hand side. To the west of the village is a small river called the Rúd-i-Rustam Khán,* which comes from the right hand, and, running to the left, joins the Surkh Rúd.

A little farther to the left is the mazár or tomb of Rustam Khán, a brick mausoleum; and from thence one kuroh and a half is the town of Jalál-ábád.

As previously mentioned at the head of this Section, there are several other very important routes remaining to be described leading from Bázár-i-Ahmad Khán into the Dera'h-ját, and from thence west towards Ghaznín through the range of Mihtar Sulímán or Koh-i-Siyah, but as these routes bear no special reference to the parts in which our troops are now operating, I think it will be better to leave them for a subsequent Section, wherein I shall bring these notes to a close at the point at which I commenced them,—at the most northern pass in the Dera'h-i-Ghází Khán district.

The next Section of these notes will describe the routes north of the Khaibar road to Kábul, including the Karappa'h and Tahtarah routes, and various others both from Kábul and Pes'háwar, extending from Káfiristán to the Abáe Sind.

21st March, 1879.

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* Previously mentioned at page 53.

# NOTES

ON

# AFGHÁNISTÁN AND PART OF BALÚCHISTÁN,

## GEOGRAPHICAL, ETHNOGRAPHICAL, AND HISTORICAL,

EXTRACTED FROM THE WRITINGS OF LITTLE KNOWN AFGHÁN AND TÁJZÍK HISTORIANS, GEOGRAPHERS, AND GENEALOGISTS; THE HISTORIES OF THE GHÚRÍS, THE TURK SOVEREIGNS OF THE DIHLÍ KINGDOM, THE MUGHAL SOVEREIGNS OF THE HOUSE OF TÍMÚR, AND OTHER MUHAMMADAN CHRONICLES; AND FROM PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS.

BY


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## SECTION THIRD.

I now propose giving an account of the various routes leading from the city of Kábul into the countries and districts north of the river of Kábul, as far as Badakhshán and Káshghar, with a brief description of them and their inhabitants.

### *Eleventh Route. From Kábul to Jalál-ábád by way of Lamghán, a distance of sixty kuroh west.**

"The route from Kábul to Báríḳ-Áb has been already given at page 59 of Section Second. From thence proceeding one kuroh and a half east you reach a place where two roads diverge. That on the right hand goes to Jagdálík, and that on the left is as follows:—From the point where the two roads separate four kuroh east is Sar Aobey,† signifying Cold Water—The Place of Cold Water—the name of a halting place towards the head of the river of Kábul, and the road (track) is like the dry bed of a river. The place named Tang-Ghár (تنگ غار),‡ where the river of the Ghúr-Band—which derives its name from the *band* or pass leading into Ghúr—joins the river of Kábul, lies ten kuroh to the left hand from this point.

"Leaving Sar Aobey, you proceed in the direction of east into a dara'h of the mountains, and continue to advance for a distance of four kuroh. You then go three kuroh to the south, then turn two kuroh east again, when the route runs for another three kuroh north-east, then four kuroh to the south-east, inclining south, one kuroh east, two kuroh north, and ten (two?) kuroh to the south-east; and, after proceeding in this winding manner for another four kuroh in the direction of north-east, you reach Mandrawar,§ also written Mandráwar and Mandrawal, *r* and *l* being interchangeable, which is a large village, and the seat of government of the district of Lamghán.

"The route just described winds through a narrow dara'h of the mountains, which re lofty, and rise on either side, along the banks of the river of Kábul, which, east of Mandrawar, joins the river of Tigharí,‖ also well known as the river of Lamghán.¶

"Three kuroh east from thence (Mandrawar) is Chhár-Bágh-i-Mas'úd, signifying Mas'úd's Four Gardens,** the name of a large village, the chief place of the district, and the before-mentioned river lies near by on the left hand.

"From thence distant seven kuroh, inclining southwardly, is Darúnṭha'h, a little mountain on the right hand, on the other (the south) side of the afore-mentioned river. Although the river of Kábul contains but a small volume of water (at this point), nevertheless, it is rather dangerous, and is forded with difficulty, and rafts are used for crossing it.†† Half a kuroh south from thence (Darúnṭha'h) is the large village of

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* This is by far the best and easiest route between Jalál-ábád and Kábul, and a good one to adopt. With the exception of some few difficulties between Sar Aobey and Mandrawar there is little to be overcome, while all the difficulties between the bridge over the Surkh Áb and Kábul, and the passes by the other route, would be avoided. The Kábul river and some others would have to be bridged, but the posts necessary for guarding them would guard the road also.

† This does not appear in Major Wilson's new map of Afghánistán. Báyazíd, the Byát, calls it Sar-i-Áo, which would signify "head of the water," or "source of the stream or river."

‡ Báyazíd, the Byát, says that the Kotal or Pass of Tang-Gáh (تنگ گاه), as he writes it, was, previous to the time of Bábar Bádsháh, called the Kún (podex) Kotal; but when, on one occasion, this name was mentioned in the Bádsháh's council chamber, he remarked that the name was not a nice one for ears polite, and that it should be thereafter called instead, the Tang-Gáh Kotal, or Kotal of the Narrow Place.

§ The author must have crossed the Áb-i-Bárán or River of Kábul, but he does not say so. This name is not spelt "Mandarawar."

‖ This name is written "Tirgadi" in Major-General Walker's map, "Tirgari" in Major Wilson's, and "Tigadee" in others, and all three are incorrect.

¶ There is also a road from Báríḳ-Áb to Kábul by way of the *Kotal* of Tang-Gáh or Tang-Ghár, and another from Mandrawar by way of Dabrí.

** A garden divided by walks into four parts or quarters is also called a Chhár-Bágh. It has the addition of Mas'úd to distinguish it from Chhár-Bágh-i-Ṣafá on the south side of the river, and mentioned in Section Second, page 53. Akbar Bádsháh, on his way back from Kábul in 997 H. (1589 A.D.), visited this place, which appears to have been also known as Mas'úd-ábád. From thence he went on to Mandrawar.

†† Bábar Bádsháh, referring to the routes into the Lamghánát (the plural form of Lamghán), says: "In "proceeding from Kábul down into the Lamghánát one road goes from Ḳúrúḳ-Ṣá'í and the Kotal of Dabrí by "Púlán (پولان—in some copies of his *Tuzúk*, Búlán بولان)." Another road leads from Ḳúrúḳ-Ṣá'í, and

Sabz-ábád, from which a large canal has been cut from the river of Kábul, and carried on to Jalál-ábád. From Sabz-ábád three kuroh south-east is Jalál-ábád. The canal lies near on the left-hand side of the way, and the river of Kábul flows about two kuroh on the left hand, close to the mountains.

"From Sar Aobey to near Mandrawar, opening out on the right hand and on the left, are several large dara'hs, in which dwell nomad Afgháns of the Ghálzí tribe."

Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím, brother of Akbar Bádsháh, having taken forcible possession of the city of Kábul in 970 H.* (1562-63 A.D.), and dispossessed the Deputy Governor of his authority, the Khán-i-Khánán, Mun'im Khán, who was then employed in the provinces east of Ágrah, was recalled to proceed to Kábul to operate against the Mírzá, and reduce him to submission. Mun'im Khán having reached Pas'haur, without waiting for the troops told off to accompany him, set out through the Khaibar with his own personal attendants, and a small body of retainers, in order to secure Jalál-ábád, refusing the aid offered to him by the Khalíl and Mahmand Afgháns. Before he reached Jalál-ábád, however, one of Muḥammad Ḥakím's partisans had taken possession of it.

Mun'im Khán pushed on, and invested it as well as he could; but Muḥammad Ḥakím had moved from Kábul with his adherents, and the troops of Kábul, who had joined him, for the purpose of securing Jalál-ábád, by the route just described, and had reached Mandrawar. Before Mun'im Khán had time to attempt to carry Jalál-ábád by assault, which he proposed to do, or, at least, attempt, he found that Muḥammad Ḥakím, with his forces, was then at the Darúntha'h Kotal, distant only about two kuroh west of Jalál-ábád, and was engaged in crossing the river. The Khán-i-Khánán was consequently defeated, and had to retire precipitately to Pas'haur again.

I have mentioned this circumstance here in order to show that Jalál-ábád is liable to attack from that quarter, unless precautions are taken to guard the passage of the river in the direction indicated.

"It is now necessary that I should give some account of Lamghán."

### *The Dara'h of Lamghán.*

"Lamghán is one of the six provinces or territories of Faristán,† the ancient seats of the Tájzík race. Although some of these territories have been overrun and occupied by some of the tribes of Afgháns from time to time, more particularly from the period that Mírzá Ulugh Beg, ruler of Kábul, expelled the Khas'hí sept of Afgháns from the territory of Kábul proper, nevertheless, the Tájzík element still predominates in them, and some are still wholly possessed by the Tájzík people.

"These six territories are:—1. Káshkár; 2. Kúnar; 3. Kámán; 4. Nangrahár, or Nek Anhár; 5. Lamghán; and 6. Kábul."

The latter has been briefly noticed in Section Second of these "Notes," as well as Nangrahár.

"The name Lamghán was originally Lamakán (لمكان), because (according to tradition) it is the place of sepulture of the Patriarch Lamak, the father of Núḥ—on whom be peace! In the dialect of these Tájzík people there is no letter equivalent to the Arabic *káf*—ك, and they use *gh* غ in lieu of it, and thus the word became Lamaghán (لمغان). By degrees, through constant use, the word became shortened to Lamghán, and also to Laghmán.

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runs lower down than Kúrátú; and, having crossed the Áb-i-Bárán (which we incorrectly call "the Kábul river") from Úlúḳ-Núr, you proceed by the Bád-Paj or Bád Faj Kotal (Bád-íj—بادیج—in some copies, is merely an error for بادپیج or بادفیج), Faj or Paj signifying a Pass, and Bád Paj or Bád Faj, "the Wind or Windy Pass," on account of the strong wind generally prevailing there, and which, at times, renders its passage impracticable.

Mírzá Kámrán, Bábar's son, after he had been defeated by his sovereign and brother, Humáyún Bádsháh, at Shutar-Grám in 957 H., fled by the Máhí Purojzaláh and this very Bád Faj, and took shelter in Lamghán with Malik Muḥammad, the Mandrawarí, and got him to assemble the men of his *tomán* to begin sedition anew. Humáyún sent a force to operate against him, upon which, Mírzá Kámrán fled to the dara'hs of Alingár and 'Alí Shang, which lie above Mandrawar, but, considering the locality not a good one, he left it, and took shelter with his friends and adherents, the Khalíl and Mahmand tribes of Afgháns.

* The year 970 H. commenced on the 3rd August, 1562 A.D.

† This is the name given to these parts by the author of these surveys. Lamghán is sometimes written Laghmán, but there is no *u* in the word: "Lúghmán" cannot be made out of it by any one who can read it in the vernacular.

A recent compiler assures us that the word "Tájak" and "Taujak," as he writes Tájzík, "is rather loosely used." In this I can heartily concur. In no Persian Dictionary will such a word be found as "Tájak," any more than "Káfar." The origin and signification of the word Tájzík, Tájí, or Tázík, will be found in my Translation of the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 304, note 3.

"Lamghán is a large dara'h, extending in the direction of north-west and south-east, from Nijr-Áb or Nijr-Áo to the mountain of Darúnṭha'h, to the immediate east of, and under which, the rivers of 'Alí Shang and Alingár, the Lohgar and its tributaries, including the Áb-i-Bárání (*i. e.*, The Bárání River),* the rivers of the Ghúr-Band, and the Panj-her or Panj-sher Dara'h, the Tag-Áb or Tag-Áo, and the Surkh Rúd, become one stream, and then receives the name of 'River of Kábul,' that is to say, the river of the province of Kábul, and which junction of so many streams is said (as already mentioned at page 49, Section Second) to be the origin of the name of the territory of Nek-Anhár, otherwise Nangrahár.

"The Dara'h of Lamghán is about forty kuroh in length, and has lofty mountain ranges on either side, and into it other minor, but still extensive, Dara'hs open.

"The chief town of Lamghán is Chhár-Bágh-i-Mas'úd ; † and Mandrawar and Tigharí are both large villages, or rather small towns, enclosed with walls. The lands of this territory are famous for their productiveness. It contains about 12,000 Tájzík families, who pay taxes to the Bádsháh of Kábul, Tímúr Sháh, Sadozí, and have to furnish a contingent of troops to his army.

"Lands artificially irrigated from rivers, which yield large crops, pay from one half to one fourth of the produce to the State, while lands dependent on rain for irrigation are assessed at from one fifth to one tenth.

"The language spoken by the people of Lamghán is called the Lamghání dialect, and is not quickly understood; but most of the people speak Tájzík (Persian), and they also profess some proficiency in Pus'hto and Turkí.‡

"Two kuroh distant from the town of Tigharí, in the direction of south-west, on the top of a hill, is the sepulchre, which, according to the tradition, is that of the Patriarch Lamak. They also call him by the name of Mihtar Lám, and No-Lakhí-Bábá.

"On the north and north-east Lamghán is bounded by a mighty mountain range clothed with perpetual snow, which the Afghán people call Kund,§ and in the dara'hs around about it (on its sides), the Sáfí or Sápí tribe of Afgháns, and some Ghalzís dwell, some of whom reside in permanent dwellings, and others lead the life of *ilátis* or nomads.‖

"Although all the lesser dara'hs dependent on this larger one cannot be enumerated (here), six of the largest, which are well known, require to be mentioned in detail."

### 1. *The Dara'h of Alingár.*

"This is a considerable dara'h, and also the name of a large village in it. The dara'h is about sixteen kuroh in length from east to west, and on the east terminates at the mountains of perpetual snow, from which side you can enter the Dara'h of Núr.¶ On the west (south-west) side it lies near the village of Tigharí, also called Tirgharí.

"Out of this Dara'h of Alingár a river issues, which rises in the mountain range of Hindú Koh, Tíraj-Mír, or Kund,** as it is also called, and in the neighbourhood of

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* Also called Áb-i-Bárán, and applied to the united streams until after their junction with the Surkh Rúd.

† It is said to be a very ancient place.

‡ Several of the non-Afghán races dwelling in these parts are, without doubt, of Turkish descent. A considerable tract of country between Kábul and Pes'háwar, and north of the river of Kábul, as well as south of the Spín-Ghar range, was, up to the advent of the Afgháns in this direction, inhabited by Turks, as I have previously mentioned, and this accounts for the numerous Turkish names of places in these territories, and the existence of the Turkish language. *See* page 51, and note §, page 45, Section Second.

§ *See* page 51, Section Second.

‖ Consequently the inhabitants of Lamghán are "nôt all Ghilzáes and Tájaks."

Nomads are known by the Afgháns, and in the Afghán language, by the general names of Kochí and Powandah, which terms certain writers—the latter nomads under the impossible names of "Provindás" and "Povindiahs"—imagine to be the names of as many tribes of "Pathans proper"; indeed, one writer asserts that they are "*the great trading tribe* of Afghánistan." The former name comes from the Pus'hto verb, *kochedal*, "to march," "to decamp," &c., derived, probably, from the Tájzík word کوچ, signifying "migration," "decamping," "marching," and which is likewise used in Pus'hto as an adjective, to signify nomadic, or wandering. Powandah is derived from the Pus'hto verb *powul*, "to graze," engrafted on the language, apparently, from Tájzík پویدن, and this term is applied to certain Afghán tribes and portions of tribes, hereafter to be referred to, who move about with their herds and flocks, and act as carriers between their own country and India. See my "Pus'hto Dictionary," new edit., pages 199, 1106, and 1153, and Section First of these "Notes," note ¶, page 6, Section First.

¶ *See* page 108.

** In Major Wilson's map the source of the Alingár appears far away in the north-east, in what is marked as "Kantor" (meant for Kator probably), but Abú-l-Fazl, as well as the author of these surveys, say its source is much lower down, and Bábar Bádsháh says it is in Giwár. *See* pages 104 and 137. When we come to know

Tigharí unites with the river of 'Alí Shang. The lowest part of the dara'h is peopled by Tájzíks, higher up by the people styled Kohistánís, and the uppermost parts are held by the Tor Káfirís or Sí'áh-Poshán, who lead the life of *íláts* or nomads."

Soon after the death of Humáyún Bádsháh, Mun'im Khán, who had been left in charge of the province of Kábul and its dependencies when that monarch set out to recover his kingdom and entered India, repaired to Nangrahár. Báyazíd, the Byát, was despatched by Mun' im Khán at the period in question to collect the revenue or tribute from the people of Alingár, and the tribe of Hazár Meshí,* which people, he says, dwelt in the vicinity of and round the tomb of Mihtar Lám.

Báyazíd went accordingly, and reached Shajarí (شجري) in Alingár, which place is situated in the *jal-gáh*,† or verdant plain, of Chal-maní, which belonged to Alingár, and which tomán had been previously held in fief by Sulṭán Muḥammad, Ḳarawul. He had laid out a fine garden there, and in it Báyazíd took up his quarters, and began his duties.

"The next day the Ḳázís of Alingár presented themselves, and brought along with them a little wine, sweetmeats, several wild (game) birds, and some fruit. It is customary with these Ḳázís, when they visit the authorities or ruler of the district, to take wine and sweetmeats as a present, and, if people have any disputes to settle, the Ḳázís are sent for, instead of the disputants going to the Ḳázís. If any among the people of this part die, the corpse is washed and placed in a coffin, and when taking it to the burying-ground they set it on the ground in order to change the bearers, which is directly contrary to the custom of the Muḥammadans, who relieve each other as bearers without setting down the coffin. The funeral party having set it down, drink wine or some other fermented liquor (búza'h), and dance round it, after which they take it up again, and the corpse is committed to the earth."

Having collected the amount of tribute due, Báyazíd returned to Jú-e Sháhí, afterwards styled Jalál-ábád, in honour of Jalál-ud-Dín Muḥammad, Akbar Bádsháh.

### 2. *The Dara'h of 'Alí Shang.*

"'Alí Shang is the name of two large villages, as well as of the dara'h in which they are situated. It is about fifteen kuroh in length, and on the north and north-east terminates at the mountain range of perpetual snow. As in the case of Alingár, the Tájzíks occupy the lower, the Kohistánís the middle, and the Tor Káfirís the uppermost parts. A considerable river issues from this dara'h, which, flowing towards the south, passes east of Tigharí, and joins the river of the Alingár dara'h."

The Shaikh, Abú-l-Faẓl, in the Á'ín-i-Akbarí, states that round about the tomán of 'Alí Shang are lofty mountains covered with snow, out of which issues the river, and that the dwellers in those mountains are called Káfirs, that is, Unbelievers. He also states that the grave of Lám, also called Lamak, is situated near by (in the hill at its entrance, and about two miles to the east of Tigharí), and that "*án*, in the word "Lamakán, or Lamagán, means 'riches,' 'property,' 'possessions,' and 'juice,' or "'milk,' and that the word Lamakán means 'the milk of Lamak.'"‡

### 3. *The Dara'h of Nijr-Áb, or Nijr-Áo.*

"This is a large dara'h,§ nearly twenty kuroh in length. In the direction of north-west it pierces a difficult mountain range, and adjoins the Dara'h of Panj-her or Panj-sher. In this valley of Nijr-Áb several thousand Tájzík families dwell, some in permanent dwellings, and some as nomads. Out of it also issues a river which, near Tigharí,‖ unites with the river of 'Alí-Shang."

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more of these tracts it will be found, if I am not much mistaken, that what appears in the above map as the source of the Alingár river, is no other than the source of the Chaghán-Saráe river, or one of its tributaries. *See* page 145, and note ††. *See* also my paper on "Káfiristán," page 7.

In Major-General Walker's map (last edit.) the junction of the Alingár and 'Alí-Shang is laid down some ten or twelve miles below Tigharí, but, in Major Wilson's, it is correctly shown.

* These people are Tájzíks, and are still to be found in these parts.

† I have already described, at page 45, Section Second, what a jal-gáh is, but it constantly appears in our maps as though it was the proper name of a place.

‡ This last clause of the sentence is wanting in Blochmann's printed text, but is contained in several MS. copies.

§ The name signifies the Dara'h or Valley of the Nijr-Áb, or Nijr river.

‖ *Sic* in MS. It must be an error for Tang-Ghár, still the writer is not in the habit of making errors of this kind. Our latest surveyors have misunderstood these names: they have turned Nijr-Áb into *Nijran*, and Tag-Áb into *Tagan*. *See* Major-General Walker's Report for 1878-79, Part 2, page 46.

Bábar Bádsháh says:—"Another tomán is Nijr-Áb, or Nijr-Áo, lying north-east "from Kábul in a mountain tract, and behind it, in the same mountains, all (the "people) are Káfirs, and it is a Káfiristán. It is rather an out of the way corner."

The author of these surveys does not mention the Dara'h of Panj-her, or Panj-sher, as it is also written, among these other dara'hs, his survey not extending so far. Bábar, however, says:—"Another tomán is Panj-her. It lies on the high road (*see* "page 140) into Badakhshán, and the Káfiristán lies close adjoining it. Panj-her "is a thoroughfare for the Káfir robbers, and they obtain a livelihood from it. On "account of their proximity the people of Panj-her pay perquisites to them. At the "time that I advanced into Hindústán and conquered it, the Káfirs entered Panj-her, "slew a number of its people, and committed great ravages." This could not have been because the inhabitants of the dara'h were Musalmáns, for, in another place, the Bádsháh says, "they were a heathenish people."

Abú-l-Faẓl says that the kohistán of the tomán of Nijr-Áo is full of Káfirs, and that instead of lamps the people of this dara'h burn strips of the pine tree, which furnishes them with light.

### 4. *The Dara'h of Wálá-Sá'ú, and* 5. *The Dara'h of Budr-Áo.**

"These are both dara'hs of considerable size, and are inhabited by the Sáfí or Sápí Afgháns. They extend on the north to the kohistán of Nijr-Áo, and, on the south, terminate at the united rivers of Lohgar and the Ghúr-Band, which join in the district of Tang-Ghár." (*See* page 1.)

The Dara'h of Wálá-Sá'ú is what Bábar Bádsháh calls Álah-Sá'í, which, he says, "lies two or three *farsangs* east of Nijr-Áb or Nijr-Áo," and that "on the side of Álah-Sá'í, the hills are full of Káfirs."

The tract east of Álah-Sá'í is now called Tag-Áb or Tag-Áo, after the river of that name, but it is strange that, neither Bábar nor the author of these surveys, ever allude to that tract or its river, although the latter is so minutely particular in his description of rivers.

### 6. *The Dara'h of Mandrawaṛ or Mandráwaṛ.*

"This is another extensive dara'h, consisting of several clefts or branches among the mountains, constituting minor dara'hs; and from the village of Mandrawaṛ† to Saṛ Aobey it is more than twenty kuroh in length. The Áb-i-Bárán flows out of the middle of it, and, south of the village of Mandrawaṛ, joins the river of Tigharí (the united river of Alingár and 'Alí Shang), also known as the river of Lamghán. The united rivers of all these dara'hs issue from the mountains of Lamghán near Darúnṭha'h, and meet the Surkh Rúd from the south-west, flow on towards the east, and east of Jalál-ábád, passing near the Kámáṇ district, unite with the river of Chitrál, Chitrár, or Ḳáshḳár, and finally enter the Abáe Sín (or Indus).

"This Dara'h of Mandrawaṛ is inhabited by Tájzíks chiefly, but, in the clefts of the mountains or minor dara'hs, some clans of the great Afghán tribe of Ghalzí dwell, who lead the life of *íláts* or nomads."

Abú-l-Faẓl says respecting Mandráwaṛ, as he writes it, that the rivers of Alingár and 'Alí Shang, having united, join the Bárán river—as he styles the Lohgar, Bárán, Ghúr-Band, and others, their tributaries—at the point in question.

Under the revenue system instituted in Akbar Bádsháh's reign, each of these six dara'hs formed separate tománs or districts, but Nijr-Áb or Nijr-Áo is called a bulúk, the term applied to a small district, instead of tomán.

Alingár yielded a revenue in cash (naḳd) of 15 lakhs, 44,670 dáms, and the inhabitants (in some copies of the text only), are set down as Lamghánís. They had to furnish a contingent of 500 horsemen, and 1,000 foot for militia purposes.

'Alí Shang yielded, or was rated at, 37 lakhs, 1,150 dáms; but, out of this, 1,948 dáms had to be deducted for free grants. The people are styled the *ḳom* (tribe or clan) of 'Alí Shang, and had to furnish 500 horsemen and 5,000 foot. The latter number is probably an error for 1,000, but it appears in several copies of the Á'ín-i-Akbarí.

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* These do not appear in our maps.

† In the year 913 H. (1507-8 A.D.), Bábar Bádsháh conferred the fiefs of Nek-Nihár or Nangrahár, Mandráwaṛ, the Dara'hs of Núr, Kúnar, and Núr-Gal, upon Mírzá 'Abd-ur-Razzák, son of the late Mírzá Ulugh Beg, ruler of Kábul, his paternal uncle, who expelled the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs from Kábul.

The Nijr-Áb or Nijr-Áo bulúk was assessed at 20 lakhs, and 45,451 dáms. The inhabitants are all styled Káfirs, and are set down as able to bring into the field, for we are not told that the Káfirs were subjects, and it is by no means probable that they were, 3,000 foot and 3,000 horsemen.

The Wálá-Sá'ú tomán, which, in various copies of the text of Abú-l-Fazl's Á'ín-i-Akbarí, is styled by the various names of tomán of Ala-sá, Ala-sáe, and Ísárí, and which he says is so called because it is situated between the hot and cold climates, was rated at 6 lakhs of dáms. The inhabitants are said to be Dilazák Afgháns, and are assessed as being able to furnish 5,000 foot soldiers.*

The Budr-Áo tomán is set down as yielding 4 lakhs, and 13,855 dáms. Its inhabitants are not named, but are rated at 50 horsemen and 500 foot.

The Mandrawar tomán was assessed at 26 lakhs, and 84,880 dáms. Its inhabitants are not specified, but the number of men it furnished, or could furnish, is set down at 50 horsemen and 500 foot soldiers.

Abú-l-Fazl, it will be noticed, from what I have extracted below, copies a great deal respecting these parts from the Tuzúk of Bábar Bádsháh, which I have thought it well to quote here, as I have the advantage, at present, of possessing several copies of both translations of his Persian work for comparison and verification, as well as the Turkí text. He says:—

"The territory of Kábul is divided into fourteen tománs. . . . . To the east of Kábul are the Lamghánát (*i.e.* the Lamgháns). This territory consists of five tománs and two bulúks, and the largest of them is Nek-Nihár, which, in some histories, is styled Nangrahár and Nangnahár.† . . . . Although of the five tománs of Lamghán one is Nek-Nihár, nevertheless, there are but three which appertain to it. One of these tománs is 'Alí Shang, which, on the north, adjoins Hindú-Kush, which are vast mountains full of (covered with) snow. The whole of these mountain tracts is a Káfiristán,‡ and the nearest part of the Káfiristán to 'Alí Shang is Míl, and, from this Míl, the 'Alí Shang river issues. The grave of Mihtár Lám, the father of the Patriarch Núh, is in the tomán of 'Alí Shang. . . . . Another tomán is Alingár, and the Káfiristán nearest to Alingár is Giwár, and the river of Alingár issues from Giwár.§ Both these rivers, after flowing through Alingár and 'Alí Shang, unite, and then passing through another tomán, which is Mandráwar, lower down, unite with the Áb-i-Bárán. As to the two bulúks, before referred to, one is the Dara'h of Núr," etc., etc.

*Twelfth Route. From Jalál-ábád to Tigharí and 'Alí Shang and Alingár.*

"The road from Jalál-ábád to Mandrawar or Mandráwar has been described in the preceding route. From thence five kuroh north-west is Tigharí, a large walled village, and the seat of government of the territory of Lamghán.

"From thence three roads diverge. One goes to the west, to Nijr-Áb or Nijr-Áo and Panj-her or Panj-sher, and the second to the north, to 'Alí Shang.‖ This latter is the name applied to two large villages belonging to the Tájzík race, and this great cleft in the mountains or dara'h is also called the Dara'h of 'Alí Shang, and is near upon ten kurohs in length. At the extremity or higher parts of it the Sáfí or Sápí Afgháns, and a people known as Kohistání, dwell; and on the west and north it adjoins the mountains of perpetual snow.

"There is another dara'h to the north-east of that of 'Alí Shang, known as the Dara'h of Alingár, which is about eleven kuroh in length. On the north it likewise terminates at the mountains of perpetual snow. The lower part of this dara'h, like the others, is peopled by Tájzíks, and the upper part by Sáfí Afgháns and Kohistánís.

"The distance from Tigharí to the villages of 'Alí Shang is four kuroh north, and to the village of Alingár seven kuroh north-east.

"Out of each of these dara'hs a river issues, which, having combined a little to the east of Tigharí, flows on to Mandrawar. In proceeding into those dara'hs you follow the courses of the rivers."

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* *See* note *, page 35.

† *See* my Translation of the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 1016. I notice that the Afghán historian, Afẓal Khán, the Khaṭak chief, always writes the name of this tomán Nangahár (ننگهار) instead of Nangrahár.

‡ *See* note ‖, page 41.

§ *See* note **, page 3.

‖ The third is the Jalál-ábád road already described.

*The Sáfí or Sápí Afgháns.*

In this name, as in many others, *f* and *p* are interchangeable. As this numerous tribe is repeatedly mentioned in these pages, and holds a large portion of some of the territories through which these routes run, it will be well to give a brief account of them.

"The Sáfís or Sápís* consist of three septs or subdivisions,—1, Gurbuz; 2, Mas'úd;† and 3, Wader; and amount to nearly 20,000 families. Some dwell in the hill tracts of Saur Kamar, but the majority dwell in the Dara'hs of Lamghán or Laghmán and Pích, and in Kúnaṛ and Kámáṇ. There is a small clan of Afgháns also called Gurbuz, dwelling in the eastern parts of Khost, between the rivers Toṇchí and Shamal, but they belong to the great tribe of Wáẓírí, and are not connected with the Sáfís.

"The Sáfís‡ dwelling in Saur Kamar have to pay a tenth of the produce of their lands to the Ṭarkalární Afghán Chief of Bájawṛ; but those dwelling in and close to the mountains in the Dara'h of Lamghán, in Pích, and the mountain tracts of Kúnaṛ and Kámáṇ, have neither tax nor tribute to pay, and are wholly independent. The Sáfís are not under the authority of a single chief, nevertheless, there is perfect accord among all three divisions of the tribe; in fact, there is neither a village, nor are there cultivated lands, in which all three are not partners together to a greater or less extent. They are also confederates in war, and are remarkable for their energy and perseverance. A specimen of this is thus related:—

"A Sáfí having become annoyed and aggrieved with the Tarkalární ruler of Bájawṛ, vowed that he would never again dwell under any one's rule, or be subject to any one in future. With this determination he girded up his loins and set out, and reached Báḍel.§ Arrived there, he got some other bold spirits to join him, and determined to take forcible possession of some of the hill country, then held by the Tor Káfirís or Sí'áh-Poshán. Several severe encounters took place between them; but the Ṣáfís, by their valour, overcame the Tor Káfirís, and possessed themselves of the territory of Pích, which is an extensive dara'h, nearly twenty-five kuroh in length, and very productive; and there the Sáfí in question, and his confederates, took up their residence in independence."

The Sáfí Afgháns suffered much cruelty at the hands of Nádir‖ Sháh, Afshár. After having obtained possession of Ḳandahár, he determined to take vengeance for the insults he had received from the court of Dihlí, in its delaying to take any notice of his demands, made through his envoys, and their detention in that city, by invading the dominions of the Mughal Bádsháh of India, who was still in possession of the Kábul province or Ṣúba'h, which also included the Ghaznín district. Before doing so and investing Kábul, however, Nádir Sháh determined to attack the Sáfí Afgháns, a

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* Major H. C. B. Tanner, R.E., who recently undertook a journey into these parts, with the object of getting into the Káfiristán, in a letter to the Surveyor General of India, contained in the "Proceedings of the "Bengal Asiatic Society" for March, 1879, page 76, referring to the Dara'h of Mazár, which he calls "Mázár Dara," says, "it is the inhabitants of this valley who are my stumbling-block. They are "Pathans *and* Sáfis." As the Sáfís are Afgháns, they are, as a matter of course, Paṭáns, the terms being synonymous; and those acquainted with Afghán genealogies know that they are Afgháns.

I notice a slight error respecting the Sáfís in my "Notes on Káfiristán," which I should have corrected had I noticed it before. At page 24, describing the dara'hs now occupied by the Mandul tribe, I say, "They "are now held by the Sáfís of the Ismá'íl clan, a small and independent tribe of Afgháns, but accounted "among the Sulímán Khel of the Ghalzís." It should have been "the Sáfís *and* the Ismá'ílzí clan," etc. The "and" was omitted, and "of" substituted by mistake. *See* Major-General Walker's Report for 1878–79, Part II., page 47.

† "Músawíd" is an utterly impossible name, and "Gorbáz" and "Wadín" are equally erroneous, and such names could only have occurred to a person who could not read them in the original, or had never seen them written.

‡ It was an insult offered to a Sáfí woman which brought about a rising of the Afghán tribes, which overthrew Muḥammad Amín Khán, and annihilated the Mughal army, in the Gharíb Khána'h Kotal, now sometimes called the Landey Kotal, in the Khaibar. *See* page 40, Section Second.

Masson's theory that these Afgháns "are descended from the Káfars, and that the designation Sáfí may have "been given them by the Mahammadans on their secession from their religion, for saf, meaning pure," was too illogical for comment, had it not been recently reproduced. If they are called Sáfí from Sáf, what are they also called Sápí for, for Sáp does not mean pure? It so happens, however, that *ṣáf* "pure," is written with the 'Arabic letter ص—صاف, while the name of this Afghán tribe is written with Persian and Pus'hto س—ساپي or سافي. The Sáfís belong to the Ghúrghast division of the Afghán race, and came from the south.—"*Ea sub oculis posita negligimus: proximorum incuriosi, longinqua sectamur.*"

Masson also remarks erroneously of the Sáfís, that they do not understand Pus'hto.

§ *See* page 144.

‖ Colonel C. M. MacGregor styles him "Nádar," but Nádir نادر—in the Arabic language, and the title by which he is known, signifies "rare," "uncommon," "precious," "excellent," etc. There is no such word as "Nádar." Any Persian, or even Hindústání, dictionary would show the correct pronunciation.

numerous and powerful *ulús* or tribe, located in the districts of Shah-Makh (the Nádir Náma'h has Nijr-Áo), Cháría-kah (Cháríah-kár), and other parts of the Kábul province, the whole of which districts were very productive.

During the investment of Ḳandahár even, bodies of the Sáfí tribe, whenever opportunity offered, assailed Nádir Sháh's camp; and on his march to Kábul they fell upon detachments, plundered convoys, and harassed the Í-rání troops by annoying the camp at night. They had strengthened their own villages, and fully expected to be attacked, but were determined to resist to the utmost, which fact, considering the want of patriotic spirit recently ascribed to the Afgháns, is suggestive. This expedition occupied Nádir Sháh about six months. During this period, as well as previous to the fall of Ḳandahár, Náṣir Khán, the Ṣúba'h-dár of Kábul, constantly sent in petitions to the court of Dihlí, as did also Sharzah Khán, the governor of the citadel of Kábul (the commander of this fortress, it will be observed, held an independent command), reporting these occurrences, and the ruin likely to befall a powerful and warlike tribe, subjects of the empire of Hindústán, and urging the despatch of succour, for that, as soon as the Sáfís should be reduced, the time for Kábul to be assailed would arrive, and that they (the Ṣúba'h-dár and Governor) had not the means of holding out against the army of the ruler of Í-rán.

The Nádir Náma'h, the author of which was Nádir Sháh's secretary, states that the Sáfís submitted, and that they did so after the Sháh obtained possession of the city and citadel of Kábul; and on finding that the parts immediately round the city could not furnish supplies to his army, he set out towards Cháríah-kár and the Sáfí territory, on the 12th of Rabí'-uṣ-Ṣání, 1151 H. (middle of August, 1738 A.D.). After the Sáfís submitted, and twenty-two days had been spent in those parts, Nádir Sháh returned from thence on the 20th of Jamádí-ul-Awwal, the following month, and moved to Gandamak.

As to the Sáfís submitting, they certainly did to main force, and their very eyes were torn out; and *manns* weight of eyes were brought in, and laid before the Afshár tyrant for his inspection.

*Thirteenth Route. From Kábul to Kúnaṛ and Pashat, a distance of one hundred kuroh east, inclining north-east. By this route travellers proceed into Ḳáshḳár and to Yár-ḳand.*

Previous to entering into an account of the different routes through the Kúnaṛ territory it will be well to give our author's account of it and its five dependent Dara'hs.

*The Territory or Dara'h of Kúnaṛ or Kunaṛ.*

"This territory is included among the six dara'hs peopled by, and belonging to, the Tájzík race, which have been previously mentioned at page 100.

"Its name originally was Koh Nar* (کوہ نَر), but through constant use it became Kúnaṛ (کُونَر) and Kunaṛ (کُنَر), and it is a great Dara'h or valley, with numerous branches or minor dara'hs of considerable size opening into it. The former is inhabited by Tájzíks, who are the most numerous, and the higher or upper parts of the latter by Afgháns.

"Kúnaṛ, from Shí-Gal to S'hewa'h,† and the commencement of the Kámáṇ territory, is about forty kuroh in length from south-west to north-east, and is surrounded on all sides by lofty mountain ranges. The river of Chitrál, or Chitrár as it is also called, as well as river of Ḳáshḳár,‡ flows through the valley into Kámáṇ, and joins the river of Jalál-ábád, otherwise the river of Kábul. Canals have been cut in several places, and the water of the river has been brought into the cultivated lands for a considerable distance on both sides the river.

"The inhabitants pay submission to the Sayyid, Najíf, son of the Sayyid, Laṭíf, son of the Mír (a title by which Sayyids are known), 'Abd-ullah (who, however, is called 'Ubaid-ullah at pages 110 and 143), son of the Mír, 'Abbás Ṣáḥib. Previous to the predominance of the Afghán tribes over these parts, the Tájzík population paid allegiance to the Ḥákims or rulers of Bájawṛ, of the tribe called 'Arab, then the ruling race. But when the affairs of Ḥatím Khán, the 'Arab, became disordered, and his

* The author does not mention what meaning is assigned to the last word, but *nar* signifies, among other meanings, "rough," "rugged," "broken," and *koh* "mountain."

† Eastern Afgháns would pronounce this K'hewa'h. *See* pages 109 and 147.

‡ "All the affluents" of this river, miscalled the "Kunár" and "Koonur," throughout the whole length of its course, certainly "come from the Hindú-Koh range," as well as the main stream. *See* pages 119 and 187.

sway weakened, and the power of the Tarkalární Afgháns became greater than he could withstand, as referred to in the account of Bájawr, the Mír, 'Abbás Ṣáḥib, who was a Darwesh, came forth from his recluse's cell, and stretched forth his arm to acquire territory and temporal authority for himself. In a short time he became possessed of a large tract of country and considerable power.

• " At the present time (when the author of these surveys wrote) the Sayyids of this part render allegiance to the Afghán Bádsháh of Kábul, Tímúr Sháh, Sadozí, and pay a small sum into his treasury by way of *pesh-kash*, or offering, as an acknowledgment of allegiance, and have to furnish a small contingent to the Bádsháh's forces.

" The yearly revenue of the Kúnaṛ valley is about 70,000 rúpís. Some of the lands are artificially irrigated, the produce of which is assessed at one half, and the other lands are assessed at a tenth. The first is collected in money, the latter in kind. The seat of government in former times was the town of Kúnaṛ, but now Pashat is; and in this latter town the valuable commodities of Kábul, Ḳáshḳár, and Pes'háwar are brought and disposed of. The river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár passes on the north side of the town.

" Of the branches or minor dara'hs opening out into, and subordinate to, the Dara'h of Kúnaṛ, the following five are the best known and most important."

Bábar Bádsháh accounts Kúnaṛ one of the dependencies of the Lamghánát. He says: " Another tomán is Kunaṛ and Núr-Gal. These two districts are dependencies of the " Lamgháns. One lies farther off (than the other) in the midst of the Káfiristán, on " the extreme border of the (Lamghán) territory. Its extent is equal to that of the " other tománs, but, on account of its distant situation, its revenue is less, and its " people pay but little."

### 1. *The Dara'h of Shí-Gal.**

" This Dara'h is of considerable size, and faces opposite to the territory of Ḳáshḳár. The Tor Káfirís, or Sí'áh-Poshán, dwell in the higher parts of this dara'h, but, in the lower parts, there are ten or twelve villages belonging to the Afghán tribe of Shinwárí, who pay obedience to the Sayyids of Kúnaṛ. The Tor Káfirís are independent."

### 2. *The Dara'h of Chaghán-Saráe.*†

" This Dara'h contains several large villages belonging to the race of people called Dihgán, or Dikhan,‡ the former being the Í-rání or Tájzík, and the latter the 'Arab mode of writing the word (and which literally signifies a peasant or agriculturist, not the name of a tribe or race), and lies on the west side of the river of Chitrál or Chitrár. These people pay allegiance to the Sayyids of Kúnaṛ.

" West of these villages is another dara'h of considerable extent, called the Dara'h of Pích,§ which is about twenty-five kuroh in length. It is inhabited by the Sáfí tribe of Afgháns, who are wholly independent, and acknowledge no one's authority. Its largest village is Goslak. A considerable river issues from this dara'h, which, from Chaghán-Saráe, flows towards the east, and unites with the Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár river.

" The husbandmen of the dara'h have made cuts from the former river in every direction, and brought water to their lands.

" North of Chaghán-Saráe rises a lofty mountain range, in the upper parts of which are two villages belonging to the Tor Káfirís, or Sí'áh-Poshán, one named Kaṭár, the

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* If the "Shigar" north of "Khewa" of Major Wilson's map is intended to represent the Shí-Gal Dara'h, it is much too far south. There is a *village*, however, marked "Shigal" on the map, on the west bank of the river of Chitrál, higher up.—*See* page 148.

† Chaghán, in Turkí, signifies *white*—the White Saráe, or White Caravansary, or White Garden-house—the Dara'h of the White Caravansary.—*See* note †, page 101. This is another of the numerous places in this part bearing Turkish names, as Bísh-Buláḳ, for example. This is not surprising, however, knowing as we do that a considerable extent of country, both north and south of the river of Kábul, was held by Turkish tribes long before the appearance of the Afgháns therein.—*See* page 51, Section Second.

This place appears in Major-General Walker's map as "Chagar Sarai;" in the map contained in the "Geographical Magazine" for November, 1878 as "Chigar Serai," also in the map contained in the "Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society" for January, 1879, and in the map accompanying the "Mulla's" explorations; but, in the map illustrating the "Havildar's" travels, and in Major C. W. Wilson's new map, it is "Chigur Serai." Not one is correct. In every instance the guttural *gh* (غ) has been eschewed and simple *g* substituted, as well as incorrect vowels. Colonel C. M. MacGregor makes a similar mistake in his Gazetteer, and writes it "Chigar Serae."

‡ At page 144 the author explains, and says they are Tájzíks.

§ This appears as "Pegh" in the map contained in the "Geographical Magazine" above referred to. In Major Wilson's map it is "Pech."

other Gambhír,* the inhabitants of which have no other occupation, apparently, than the slaying of Musalmáns.

"To the north-west of the Dara'h of Pích is a very lofty mountain range, always enveloped in snow, called Koh-i-Kunḍ (or, as described at page 156, Tíraj-Mír, or Sarowar)."

Bábar Bádsháh states, in his "Tuzúk,"—"Another bulúk dependant on the Lam-"ghánát is Chaghán-Saráe.† It consists of but a single *mauza'* (a village with its "lands), and it is a contemptible place, lying in the very jaws of the Káfiristán. A "considerable river, called the Áb-i-Chaghán-Saráe, issues from the north-east side "of it, from behind Bájawṛ. On the west side of Chaghán-Saráe, through the midst "of the Káfiristán named Pích,‡ another smaller stream flows, and joins the above-"mentioned river. . . . . There are neither grapes nor gardens in Chaghán-"Saráe. Grapes are brought from higher up the river, from the Káfiristán of Pích. "When I took Chaghán-Saráe (in 920 H., 1514 A.D.) the Káfirs came down into "Pích to the aid of its people."

In another place the Mughal monarch says:—"The river called the Áb-i-Chaghán-"Saráe, issuing from the Káfiristán to the north-east, flows through this territory "(Kúnaṛ and Núr-Gal), and unites with the Áb-i-Bárán in the bulúk of Kámah, and "then flows towards the east. Núr-Gal lies on the west side of this river, and Kúnar "on the east. About a *farsang* (league) above Kúnar, the Sayyid 'Alí, the Hamadání, "died. When I took Chaghán-Saráe I visited his tomb.

"The lower part of this tomán (Kúnaṛ and Núr-Gal) is called Lamta'h Kandey (in some copies of the text it is thus written, and, in others, Malta'h or Miltah Kandey), and lower down it is connected with the dara'hs of Núr and Atar (اتر ?)."

### 3. *The Dara'h of Mazár.*§

"This dara'h is also extensive. From Núr-Gal to the village of Sho-másh it is about seventeen kuroh in length, and out of it a small river flows, the water of which is expended in Núr-Gal for irrigation purposes. The dara'h terminates in the direction of north-west, at the mountain range of perpetual snow called Koh-i-Kunḍ¶ (or Tíraj-Mír), and in it dwell Sáfí Afgháns and Kohistánís. They are bounded on the west by the Tor Káfirís, are wholly independent, and pay neither tax nor tribute to any one."

### 4. *The Dara'h of Dew-Gal.*

"Dew-Gal,‖ which is another dara'h of some extent, now belongs to the Sáfí Afgháns. It terminates, on the north-west, like several others, at the Koh-i-Kunḍ range of mountains, and is nearly twelve kuroh in length. Out of that mountain range a small river flows, the water of which is drawn off for irrigation purposes. The Sáfís of this dara'h are also independent."

### 5. *The Dara'h of Núr.***

"This is another of the dara'hs which terminate on the north-west at the range of Koh-i-Kunḍ. On the west side it adjoins the kohistán or hill tracts of Lamghán, and on the east it is contiguous to the Dara'h of Mazár. Its inhabitants are Kohistánís chiefly, and they are wholly independent.

"In the north-west part of this dara'h are several villages called Sarúṛ, belonging to

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* The Kampar of others, which is an error seemingly. The word is also written "Gamanbhír," in one copy, in all places.

† There is no particular village now known by this name: it is now applied to the dara'h, and one part of it, with its villages, is called Bar, or Upper, and the other Kúz, or Lower, Chaghán-Saráe.—*See* note §, page 144.

Abú-l-Faẓl appears to mistake the river of the Chaghán-Saráe dara'h for the river of Chitrál. He says that the river of Chaghán-Saráe flows from the direction of north-east and enters Kúnaṛ, but it comes instead from the north-west: the river of Chitrál comes from the north-east.

It is remarkable that neither Bábar nor Abú-l-Faẓl refer to the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár.

A serious error occurs in Blochmann's printed text of Abú-l-Faẓl's Á'ín-i-Akbarí. He has mistaken Kúnaṛ for Kaṭor, and, as the passage therein at present stands, the river of Chaghán-Saráe "enters Kaṭor."

‡ The Sáfís obtained possession of Pích a long time after Bábar's day.

§ *See* page 147. Mazár means the tomb and shrine of a saint.

‖ This possibly is the Wai-Kal or Wai-Gal of others. In MS. the words might be mistaken one for the other. *See* page 132.

¶ *See* page 156.

** Called "Noor Durrah" in the Indian Atlas Map, but in the map contained in the "Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society" for January, 1879, the whole tract of country comprising the six dara'hs of Lamghán, in which the dara'h of Núr is not included, it being, as above shown, a dependency of Kúnaṛ, appears as "Nurdarra." In some other maps and notices on these parts it appears as "Dura Nur," and "Duranur."

the people styled Spín* Káfiríṣ or Safed-Poshán, numbering between 2,000 and 3,000 families. They do not nourish such hostility towards the Musalmáns as the Tor Káfiríṣ do, especially towards the Afgháns. The village of Sarúṛ is also known as Khandaey.†

"In this dara'h likewise, from Núr-Gal to Chaghán-Saráe, on both sides of the Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár river, about 6,000 or 7,000 Tájzík families dwell."

Respecting this dara'h of Núr, Bábar Bádsháh says:—

"Of these two *bulúks* (previously referred to as dependencies of Lamghán) one is the Dara'h-i-Núr. At the entrance of it, on a projecting spur (*lit.* nose) of mountain, its fort is situated, and on both sides of it runs a river. Below it is much rice ground, which cannot be crossed save by the road."

I now return to the account of the route to Kúnaṛ and Pashat.

"The routes from Kábul to Jalál-ábád have been already detailed.‡

"From Jalál-ábád you proceed one kuroh and a half south-east and reach the river of Kábul, or river of Jalál-ábád as it is also sometimes styled, and, having crossed it by means of a raft, you reach Manjha'h Bela'h, a small village on the right hand, close to the road. This village is also styled Jálawánah, that is to say, the habitation of the ála'h-wánán, or navigators of rafts.

"At this place two routes branch off. The left-hand one they style the 'Ráh-i-Páe-i-Koh,' that is, 'the road at the foot of the mountains,' which is very difficult, and water is scarce. The right-hand route is as follows. Half a kuroh from Manjha'h Bela'h or Jálawánah is Kalaey-i-Wiláyatí,§ a village in the territory of Kámáṇ. The most populous part of the Dara'h of Kámáṇ, which will be described farther on, is that on the right-hand (east) side of the river of Ḳáshḳár or Chitrál.

"From the above-mentioned village half a kuroh to the east is Palangar, another large village of this district. The Chitrál river lies distant a quarter kuroh on the right-hand. Another quarter of a kuroh north, inclining north-east, is Kalaey-i-Ẓamír Khán, lying near on the left-hand side of the route; and from it another half kuroh east is Kalaey-i-Bíní Ghar, also written Biní Ghar, lying near by on the left-hand side of the way.

"After this you enter a gorge of the mountains, and the river of Chitrár or Chitrál lies distant on the right hand, on the other side of the mountains. Having proceeded from this gorge a short distance towards the north-east into the mountains, you reach two villages, named Tangaey‖ and Ghwachaey (غوچي—probably Ghwatsaey—غوځي), on the right and left hand adjoining the road. Half a kuroh farther north from thence is Kalaey-i-'Aṣrá Khán (عصرا خان—or more probably, as contained in one of the original MSS., Kalaey-i-'Aṭar Khán—عطر خان), on the right hand, near by the road. A farther half kuroh north brings you to the Kalaey-i-Balúch Khán, also on the right hand, near the road.

"Half a kuroh from thence, in the direction of north-east, inclining east, is Shegey, the name by which three or four villages belonging to the Bá'ízí clan of the Afghán tribe of Mahmand are known. At this place water melons of various descriptions are produced in great plenty.

"One kuroh north-east, inclining north, from Shegey, is Kalaey-i-Ákhúnd—The Ákhúnd's Village—which lies near by on the left hand, and half a kuroh farther on in the same direction, is the large village or town of S'hewa'h, also pronounced K'hewa'h¶ by the Eastern Afgháns, under the sway of the Sayyid, Najíf. On the left-hand side of it is a river, which comes down from the direction of the Dara'h of Núr,** and is expended in the irrigation of the lands belonging to the town. The river of Kámáṇ, otherwise the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár, lies distant on the right hand.

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* Hindústánís and Persian speaking people, and other non-Afgháns—"the Aryan stock"—who cannot pronounce a Pus'hto word commencing with a consonant without the aid of an initial vowel, invariably speak and write this word "Is-pín." *See* page 130.

† The chief village probably, as it has been previously stated, and again repeated at page 147, that Sarúṛ is the name applied to several villages.

‡ *See* Section Second, page 48.

§ As before mentioned, *kalaey* is the Pus'hto for a village. Inflected it becomes *kalí*. The above is the Tájzík mode of styling the village. Afgháns among themselves would say "Da Wiláyatí Kalaey."

‖ Inflected the word becomes Tangí, like all other words ending in ي. *See* my "Pus'hto Dictionary," page 1077.

¶ This name appears in the Indian Atlas map as "Shaiwa," but Colonel C. M. MacGregor, on the contrary, writes it "Sheva." Neither is correct. In Major Wilson's map it is "Khewa," which is more like the name. *See* pages 106 and 147.

** Described on preceding page.

"The country between Manjha'h Bela'h and this place is contained within the Jalál-ábád province, and from the village of Bíní Ghar to this town of S'hewa'h, the Mahmand Afgháns dwell. The Ráh-i-Páe-i-Koh, mentioned previously, which comes from the left hand, joins this, the right-hand route, at the Shegey villages.

"Half a kuroh east of the town of S'hewa'h is Kalaey-i-Bádsháh, a village peopled by Sayyids, lying on the left hand as you proceed. You can, by going in that direction, reach the Dara'h of Núr. From this last-named village, half a kuroh to the east, is Islám-púr,* which is a large village, near by, on the right-hand side of the road. North of it is the large Dara'h of Núr,† already referred to, and the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár flows some distance off on the right hand. The territory of Kámáṇ lies adjoining the mountains, on the other (east) side of the aforesaid river. It is stated that, in former times, there were two villages east of Islám-púr, which were named respectively Dihlí and Láhor, but they are both destroyed, and nothing is now left of them.

"From Islám-púr, one kuroh north-east, is Kunḍa'í, the name of a pass through the mountains, which is so narrow that there is only sufficient room for one person to pass along. The river of Ḳáshḳár flows at the foot of the mountains, their crest being on the left-hand side of the way. In this difficult pass the Tor Káfirís, or Sí'áh-Poshán, lie in ambush for travellers.

"Two kuroh to the north-east of the Kunḍa'í Pass is Núr-Gal, the name applied to two large villages, the eastern one of which lies on the banks of the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár, and the western one is situated on a slight declivity of the mountains. The Dara'h of Mazár (described at page 108) lies adjoining it, on the left hand. The stream which issues from the dara'h is expended in irrigating the lands belonging to it. The river of Ḳáshḳár lies at a distance on the right hand as you proceed along, while a lofty mountain range towers upwards from the left.

"Half way on the road to these two villages of Núr-Gal, and on the other (east) side of the river, are two stone-built forts named Kásh-Koṭ, on the frontier of the Kámáṇ territory or district. During the time of the Dihlí Sulṭáns of the Mughal dynasty (of the house of Tímúr), a large garrison was stationed in these two forts to guard the frontier in that direction. At present the forts are in ruins.

"A canal of considerable size has been cut from the river of Ḳáshḳár, and thence brought between these two ruined forts, and carried on still farther into the Kámáṇ district.

"Under the villages of Núr-Gal there is an established ferry, and two or three rafts are always available for crossing. Having crossed over to the east side of the Ḳáshḳár river you find two roads. The right-hand one they call Sar-Khanḍ, and travellers from Kámáṇ pass to and fro by this route, as it is well known, and famous. For instance, when the Mír, 'Ubaid-ullah (in one copy 'Abd-ullah) Ṣáḥib, caused the wakíl or envoy of Nádir Sháh, the Afshár, who was proceeding *cháp*ár (*i.e.*, post-haste) into Hindústán, to be murdered in the Jalál-ábád district, he seized firm hold of the Káfir Galí, Gor-Khanḍ, and other routes, and sat down in self-complacency and security in Pashat. When he reached Jalál-ábád, on his way to Dihlí, Nádir Sháh despatched a considerable force from his army, guided by an Afghán of the Mahmand tribe, to make a raid upon the Mír, 'Ubaid-ullah Ṣáḥib, and chastise him, by way of Kámáṇ and this very Sar-Khanḍ route. Kúnaṛ and its lands, Kulí-Grám, and other villages, under the supposition that they formed part of or were dependencies of Pashat, were plundered by Nádir Sháh's troops. They carried away much booty from them, but the Mír Ṣáḥib escaped unscathed and uninjured, and the people of Pashat sustained no injury.‡

"East of the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár are two villages, that on the right hand being called Guṛá-Paṛí,§ which lies half a kuroh away. By proceeding to that village you can, from thence, get into the Sar-Khanḍ road, and come down to the village of Chamyárí. From Guṛá-Paṛí to Chamyárí is a distance of seven kuroh, which road is

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* Incorrectly styled "Salámpur," and "Salampur" in the maps.

† This part, in Major Wilson's map, appears under the name of "Shigar."

‡ The Nádir Náma'h says that Jalál-ábád was reached, and that place surrendered, on the 20th of Jamádí-ul-Ákhir, 1151 H. (early in September, 1739), after which a considerable force was sent against the son of the Mír 'Abbás, "the Afghán," as he is styled, but which is a mistake, who had caused the Yasáwul of the Court of Nádir, on his way to Dihlí with despatches, to be put to death. This son of the Mír 'Abbás had fled to the mountains where he had taken up a strong position, and had gathered a large following around him, but the Í-rání troops entered these parts, devastated them, the men were slaughtered, and their females, together with the sister and wives of the son of the Mír 'Abbás, *i.e.*, the Mír 'Ubaid-ullah, were carried away captive, and brought to Nádir Sháh's camp, but the Mír did not "fly to Swát," as some have imagined: he remained in his stronghold.

§ This is the "Gulaprai" of the Mullá's map.

well known, but it is exceedingly difficult. The oth[er] Kalaey-i-Do-Bela'h, which also lies near the road on the [left] village is a lofty mountain (range) called Káfir Galí. [It] and proceeding towards the north, you go a short distance af[ter] and that they call T'ra'í; and, in the Pus'hto or Afghán languag[e] (track) lying at the foot of a mountain (on one side), and the high ba[nk] the other, or cliffs overhanging it, is termed *t'ra'í*.

"From thence, having ascended in an easterly direction, and descen[ded] distance farther to the east, the whole distance being about a kuroh, you [go] another two kuroh, in the direction of south, along the mountain side, and descend[ing] in the direction of east. The crest of the mountain range lies on the right hand, [and] the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár on the left, at the foot of the mountains (that is to say, [as] the mountains rise up, as it were, directly from the river, with cliffs overhanging). Proceeding another half kuroh east you reach Chamyárí, a large village, on the right hand, near the road. West of it is the Mazár—tomb and shrine—of the Fá'iz-ul-Anwár, Ḥazrat-i-Abú-l-Khair (the name of a Musalmán saint).

"From Chamyárí, two kuroh east, inclining north-east, is Káwaṛ, a large village of the Tájzíks, which lies near by on the right-hand side of the road. A little farther east, also near by on the right-hand side, is the village of Chand-rá'í. Another kuroh and a half north-east is Kúnaṛ, a large town, and, from ancient times, the seat of government of this dara'h.

"One kuroh north-east from the town is the village of Arází, which lies near by on the left-hand side of the route; and about the same distance farther on, in the same direction, is Kulí-Grám, also on the left-hand side. From thence three kuroh north-east is Sháḍ-lám, a small village* adjoining the road on the left hand. On the right is a dara'h of the mountains called Shún-krí, which stretches away towards Chinárí and Saur Kamar.† A kuroh and a half north-east, inclining north, from Sháḍ-lám is Pashat, a considerable town, and the place of residence of the Sayyid, Najíf.‡ On the road thither, the Tor Káfirís or Sí'áh-Poshán are wont to lie in ambush and slay travellers.

"It has been previously mentioned (preceding page) that, having crossed the ferry at Núr-Gal, two roads diverge. One, the right-hand route, has been just described: the description of the other is as follows:—

"Passing Núr-Gal on the left hand is another road, known as Gor-Khanḍ. From Núr-Gal you proceed three kuroh north-east and reach the Paṭan, a ferry over the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár, as the name indicates, and two or three rafts are always ready for crossing. Having passed over the river you proceed towards Chamyárí. From thence (the ferry) a little to the east, at the foot of the mountains, on the west bank of the said river, is a small village called Paṭan, after the ferry. To the east of it is a defile, very difficult to pass, named Gor-Khanḍ; and from thence twelve kuroh distant is Shaloṭaey,§ a large village belonging to the Sáfí Afgháns. There is great scarcity of water by this route; and the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár lies on the right hand (the east), in a hollow of the mountains, and a great mountain range lies on the left hand. Koṭ-kaey‖ also lies on the left hand, and, on the right hand, on the other side of the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár, Kulí-Grám, and other villages, can be seen.

"From Shaloṭaey, three kuroh farther on, is Pashat. The fort of Tarhang lies on the left-hand (west) side of the river, and below the town of Pashat you cross over from Tarhang by raft to that place. From the fort of Tarhang you can proceed to Chaghán-Saráe, and into Pích."

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* The road from Kábul to the S'hahr or K'hahr of Bájawṛ by way of Kúnaṛ turns off eastward from this village, and the route from Pes'háwar by Bar or Upper Chinárí to Kúnaṛ and Núr-Gal here joins the road by which we have just come from Kúnaṛ. *See* following page.

† *See* pages 113 and 116.

‡ I may be permitted to observe that the correct name of this place is Pashat as above, and not, and never was "Pishút"; there is no ú (ـُـ) in the word. "The Mullá," who visited it, spells it correctly. Further, that "Sayyid" (سيّد), with the ي doubled, is the title by which the descendants of the Prophet, Muḥammad, through his daughter Fáṭima'h, are styled, and not "Sayad," "Syad," or "Saiyid."

During our first occupation of Afghánistán an expedition was sent up the Kúnaṛ valley, and Pashat was unsuccessfully assaulted, but its defenders soon after evacuated it. It was in the family of the son and successor of this Sayyid, Najíf, that the so-called John Campbell, *alias* the "Farangí Bachah," who came to England under my charge in 1860, was brought up. The Sayyid Najíf died at an advanced age in 1825.

§ The "Shúlút" of Major-General Walker's map, but not in Major Wilson's.

‖ This is the "Koteghi" of Major Wilson's map. The word above signifies "the Fortlet."

*Kábul to the Shahr or K'hahr, the seat of government of the ... way of Kúnar, a distance of one hundred and three kuroh ... direction of east, and consisting of two routes.*

This is the right-hand, or most westerly one. The details from ...-lám have been already given in the preceding route (preceding page). ...ád-lám three kuroh south-east, having entered a dara'h of the mountains, ... the China'h-i-Gúr-gúrí, which is the name of a spring of water, *china'h* in ...ghán language signifying a spring,* situated in a grove of gúr-gúrí trees (*...ptonia buxifolia*), which is one among the fruit-bearing forest trees. The fruit is sweet and pleasant to the taste like the fálsa'h.

"One kuroh and a half south-east from the Gúr-gúrí China'h is Ghwas'h or† Ghwak'h Tangaey, a place inhabited by the Sáfí Afgháns. Another kuroh south-east from thence there are two villages. That on the right hand is called Durdána'h, and that on the left-hand side Aoṭa'h or Úṭa'h, both belonging to the Sáfís. Half a kuroh from thence in the same direction is Háẓár-Náo, the name of another spring (*lit.* 'the 'thousand springs' or 'place of a thousand springs'), and also of a large village belonging to the same tribe of people. From this place you begin to ascend, and proceed for a distance of three kuroh south, up the mountain range till you reach the crest of the Kotal, and descend for a distance of four kuroh in the direction of south-east, when you reach two villages at the foot of the mountains, which are known by the name of Shún-krí, previously mentioned (preceding page), belonging to the Sáfí Afgháns. This Kotal they call the Shún-krí Ghás'haey or Ghák'haey, or Shún-krí Pass. West of the Shún-krí villages there is a vast *smats* or cavern, the extent of which no one knows or pretends to know, and its height extends as far as the height of the mountains (*sic* in manuscript). It is known as Kábul Tsapar, and referred to farther on."

This is a well known and famous place. A peak of the range of mountains, which, in the Indian Atlas Map (sheet No. 14), and in Major Wilson's, runs up northwards from La'l-púra'h, is marked as "Kabul Suppur,"‡ or "Peak, No. 10," but Mullá ——, or "the Mullah," as he is generally styled, who recently made explorations in connection with the operations of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India, a map of whose explorations has been given in the "Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal," Part I., for 1878, and who is said to have "surveyed the road to Nawágai and on to "Pashat in the valley of Kunar, and finally, returning to Nawágai, surveyed the "road from thence down to British fort of Abazai," does not enter Kábul Tsapar in his map, nor is one word said about this famous place in the summary of his surveys. If we may judge of the Mullá's travels from this instance, and some others I shall notice, many matters appear to have escaped his observation.

Soon after Muṭallab Khán's expedition into Bangas'h against the Ros'hánís *alias* Táríkís, in 995 H. (1587 A.D.), another expedition was organized. Zain Khán, the Kokal-Tásh, set out from Jalál-ábád by way of Kámáṇ and Gwashta'h, for the Smats, this very point. The Táríkís, and the Yúsufzí Afgháns who had joined them, fortified the Náwa'h-ga'í§ Dara'h, consequently, Zain Khán turned aside with his forces in the direction of Dánish-Kol (*see* page 182), and a fortification was raised at the point where three roads diverge, leading respectively into Bájawṛ, 'Ash-naghar (now known as Hasht-nagar), and Tí-ṛáh, and was named Fatḥ-ábád. Stores and provisions were brought from the Lamghánát or Lamgháns and stored there, and the troops then entered Bájawṛ by a little known, and unfrequented route.

I shall refer to this expedition again farther on, and now return to my author's route again.

"From Shún-krí two kuroh east is Bar (Upper in Pus'hto) Chinárí, a large village belonging to the Sáfí Afgháns, and from thence another three kuroh in the same direction is Kúz (Lower) Chinárí, which is also called the Chinárí of Namshirín Khán

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* And a pool formed by it.

† The conjunction "or" here is not intended to indicate any doubt as to the correct pronunciation, but merely to show that the most eastern Afghán tribes pronounce the letter غ as *k'h*, while the other tribes pronounce it *s'h*, but differing in pronunciation from the Persian غ. It is probable that the correct name, however, is Ghwats (غوچ) Tangaey.

‡ This is another specimen of the vitiation of proper names. Elphinstone too, who is generally correct in his statements, sometimes vitiates names. He styles this place "Caubul Suffur."

§ The "Nawágai" of the Mullá, but "Naoghai" of Major Wilson's map. The meaning of Náwa'h-ga'í will be found farther on.

(probably Tamshírín or Taramshírín Khán, a well known Mughal name),* another village belonging to the Sáfis. From this point two roads diverge. That on the right hand (east or south-east) goes to Pes'háwar; the left-hand one is as follows:—

"Leaving Kúz Chinárí, or the Chinárí of Naramshírín (or Taramshírín) Khán, and proceeding for a distance of three kuroh to the east, you reach Do-Ráhah, signifying 'the Two Roads.' The right-hand one comes from the direction of Chamar Khandey. From the point where these two roads meet, two kuroh and a half east, inclining south-east, there is a small defile or pass, named the Alingár Ghás'haey, and on reaching the summit of it you come to two villages. The right-hand one is called Alingár, from which the pass takes its name, and is peopled by Shinwárí Afgháns; and the left-hand one is named Zaṛán. The village of Saur Kamar lies about half way (*see* page 116) on the road between the Alingár Ghás'haey and these two villages, a little way on the right hand. This tract of country they also call by the name of Saur Kamar.†

"One kuroh and a half north-east of Zaṛán is Náwa'h-ga'í, the name of a stone-built fort‡ on the right-hand side of the road, on an eminence or bluff. On the crest of the mountains, east of the fort, is a large village of the Shinwárí Afgháns, but under the rule of the chief of the Tarkalární tribe of Afgháns. The road leading to it is like the dry bed of a river. East of the fort, at the foot of the mountains (that is below the fort), is a spring of water called a náwa'h,§ which lies near the road on the left-hand side.

"One kuroh and a half east, inclining north-east, from Náwa'h-ga'í, two roads diverge. The right-hand road the people call Khuṭa'h Lár (لار خټه), and also L'waṛ-gaey.‖

"In the Pus'hto language, a road like a river bed, which here and there contains water and boggy ground, is called a Khuṭah Lár, from *khuṭ*, signifying "bubbling out," "bubbling up," and the like, and *lár*, a road. L'waṛ literally signifies "high," "lofty," "beetling," etc., and a small extent of ground which is depressed every here and there, or worn into small channels, is called l'waṛ-gaey (the *gaey* being the masculine form of the same termination as in Náwa'h-ga'í).

"The place referred to is a small plateau on the mountains, but exceedingly level; and the water which falls from the eastern side of this mountain range enters the rivers of Khalúzí¶ and Khaṭa'h, and what falls from the western side of it, having passed Náwa'h-ga'í, flows on to the Yakh-Ḍanḍ.** Ḍanḍ in the Afghán language signifies a "pond," "mere," or "pool," and yakh "cold," "icy," etc., and, in Tájzík, "ice."

"From L'waṛ-gaey one kuroh and a half north-west are two villages named

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* In the reign of Sulṭán Muḥammad, Tughlak Sháh of Dihlí (725–752 H., 1325–1351 A.D.), and before he became firmly established on the throne, the Mughals, who, from the time of Sultán Jalál-ud-Dín, Khwárazm Sháh's defeat on the banks of the Indus, continued to make raids into the present Panj-áb, and as far as the banks of the Bíáh, the then western boundary of the Dihlí kingdom (*see* Translation of the "Ṭabakát-i-Náṣirí," page 850), again invaded it under a Prince named Taramshírín Khán, son of Dowá Khán. He issued from Máwará-un-Nahr, entered the countries on the Indus, and carried his devastations from Lamghán as far as Multán, and even within sight of Dihlí, plundering and destroying in all directions. He had to be bought off, and retired by crossing the Indus near Multán. The name of the place here mentioned points to the name of this very leader and his doings. Ibn Baṭúṭah knew him. *See* his "Travels," page 89.

† The Mullá has "Alíngár" and "Jarán" (for Zaṛán), lying on either side of the road, as my author mentions, but he leaves out all mention of Saur Kamar, or did not hear of it, although it is the name by which that tract, not a district, is known as well as the name of a village. Persons unaware how the words are spelt have turned them into "Súrkh Kúnar." *See* page 116. Neither this route, nor the names given above, are shown in Major Wilson's map.

‡ Náwa'h-ga'í is no more the site of Aornos than any hill fort hereabouts. The fort of Gibarí, the stronghold taken by Bábar Bádsháh from the Sulṭán, Ḥaidar 'Alí, the Gibarí, is a much more likely site, or Láshoṛa'h, but neither come up to the description of that stronghold as told in the histories of Alexander's campaigns. *See* page 117.

§ In Pus'hto, náwa'h signifies a "canal," a "water-course," a "trough," a "pipe," or "tube of wood," and the like; and the feminine termination ga'í added, namely, náwa'h-ga'í, by which name this fort is known, literally signifies "The Little Pipe or Tube,"—The Fort near the Little Pipe or Tube. The name evidently originated from the fact of this spring being conducted through a small wooden trough or pipe. "Nawágí," therefore, as in the Mullá's map, is not correct—it is "Naoghai" in Major Wilson's,—while any one acquainted with Pus'hto would at once know what it means; but "Náwágái," with all the vowels long, is even more incorrect.

I cannot help noticing here some serious discrepancies (out of many) in our latest maps with regard to the distance between Pashat and Náwa'h-ga'í. The distance in a straight line between the two places in the Indian Atlas map is 21½ miles; according to the Mullá's map it is 17½ miles; in Major-General Walker's it is 14 miles; and in Major Wilson's it is but 7½ miles!

‖ "Lakare," of the Mullá's map, appears to be meant for L'waṛ-gaey. *See* pages 116 and 144.

¶ *See* pages 124 and 163.

** Yakh-Ḍanḍ appears in the Mullá's map, but not in Major Wilson's. It is well known. *See* page 179.

respectively Búkaey, and Inziṛa'h (انزره probably Anjiṛa'h انجره), lying separated from the road, which road, if it can be so termed, is like a river bed, and on every side, every here and there, a little water bubbles out, which, flowing towards the north-east, joins the Khalúzí river.*

"From thence (Búkaey and Anjiṛa'h) three kuroh north-east are two other villages, named Jamál Kaj and Túllá, lying on either bank of the Khaṭa'h river, the water of which, flowing towards the east, joins the before-mentioned Khalúzí river. Four kuroh north-east, inclining east, from the last-named villages, is Láshoṛa'h, a strong fort, on the right hand, adjoining the road and commanding it, and the last-named river also lies near by on the left-hand side.

"Half a kuroh east from Láshoṛa'h is Ḥasan Koṭ, a large village on the same river; and from this village one kuroh to the east is Shahr-i-Bájawṛ, a considerable town, which the Afgháns call 'the S'hahr' or 'the K'hahr.'† In ancient times this was the place of residence of the 'Arab (عرب) tribe, and, at present, it is in the possession of Manṣúr 'Alí Khán, chief of the Tarkalární Afgháns. The Khalúzí river lies close to it on the left-hand (north) side. East of the town is a spring of water (forming a pond) named Náwa'h Ḍand,‡ and the 'Arab people dwelling there in former times planted plane trees round about it, and built it round with stone and lime-mortar. Water about sufficient to turn a water-mill issues from it, and joins the before-mentioned river.

"It will be well here to give an account of the territory of Bájawṛ and the Tarkalární Afgháns."

### The Tarkalární Tribe.

"The Tarkalární§ tribe of Afgháns are of the Khas'hí or Khak'hí sept, Tark, their progenitor, being one of the sons of Khas'haey or Khak'haey, son of Kand, son of Kharshabún. They are divided into two sub-tribes, named Mámún and Sih-Ṣada'h, which again are subdivided into several clans and branches. They number about 21,000 families, and dwell in an exceedingly mountainous country, which, on that account, and the difficulty of the routes leading into it, is very strong.‖

"Previous to their obtaining supremacy in this tract of country, a people who are styled by the name of 'Arab (عرب), was the ruling race,¶ and their chief was the Ḥákim or ruler of Bájawṛ. To him and his successors, the Tarkalárnís were in the habit of paying allegiance up to the time that the authority of the Gúrgániah sovereigns (of Hindústán) over these parts became weakened, and their administration disordered.**

"The 'Arab people threw off all allegiance—it had been but nominal for a long time past—and entered into confederacy with other septs to maintain their independence; and the Tarkalární tribe, acting in the same manner, under Mauzah Khán, determined to exterminate the 'Arab people altogether. Mauzah Khán and his tribe defeated Mulúk Khán and Kamál-ud-Dín Khán, sons of Ḥatím Khán, chief of the 'Arab tribe, in several successive actions, completely cleared Bájawṛ of them, and took possession of it for themselves."

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* At page 116 it is called also the Láshoṛa'h river. *See* also pages 124, 163, and 181. The Mullá styles it the "Khár N."=*nálah*, but that means a watercourse or canal—artificial rather than natural, and is not generally applied to a river. The streams in the Mullá's map all flow from the mountain range forming the boundary of Bájawṛ and Ḳáshḳár, and nearly from north to south into another or main river, which runs from west to east to join the river of the Panj-Kora'h territory and its tributaries; but, in Major Wilson's map, the streams run in totally contrary directions! It is therefore evident that both cannot be right, and these routes will tend to correct them. The Indian Atlas map is very much out indeed.

† That is to say "*the* town *in* or *of* Bájawṛ," for there is no town, and never was, called Bájawṛ, which is the name of the district or territory. The Mullá has "Khár," which is incorrect. The name is merely the Tájzík or Í-rání word شهر, *shahr*, signifying a city or town, but which Afgháns pronounce K'hahr and S'hahr.

Although the Mullá has the position of this well known place correctly entered in his map, and appears to have actually been there, it seems strange that neither the S'hahr nor Láshoṛa'h appear in Major Wilson's extensive and elaborate map just finished, nor do they appear in Major-General Walker's last map, but this is on a much smaller scale.

‡ Ḍand, in Pus'hto, signifies "a pond," "a pool," "a cistern," etc.

§ It will be seen from the way the name is written in the Afghán language, with the peculiar Pus'hto ړ, that "Túrkolání" is not their correct name. To notice Túrk in the word would be quite a sufficient proof, in the opinion of some of the "masters of the subject," of their being of Turkish descent, like the "Turk tribe of Khilich," which has lately been promoted to "Ghilzi."

‖ *See* note *, page 116, and page 152.

¶ These so called 'Arabs are not, by any means, a "mongrel" race, but an ancient people.

** Towards the close of the reign of Aurang-zeb, and after his decease. Gúrgániah refers, of course, to Tímúr, the Gúrgán, or Son-in-Law, the title by which he became known after he espoused the daughter of his confederate, Amír Ḥusain, as related in the histories of their lives and exploits. Such a term as "Köreken," meaning "handsome," will not be found I think in any oriental history applied to Amír Tímúr.

The Ákhúnd, Darwezah, states that the original inhabitants of Lamghán complained of the oppression of the Tarkalárnís, who had overran their country, to the governor on the part of the Mughal rulers (after Bábar's time, in the reign of Humáyún, in all probability, when Mírzá Kámrán, his rebellious brother, held the fief of Kábul and its dependencies). An inroad was made upon the Tarkalárnís, and their lands and property were plundered, some of them carried off into captivity, and the rest fled for shelter into Bájawṛ.* The Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs, their kinsmen of the Khas'hí sept, would not assign them any land in their newly acquired territory, because the Tarkalárnís had never helped them in their difficulties and their wars; and, being unable to continue in Bájáwṛ, they pushed onwards towards Chaghán-Saráe, but were repulsed from there likewise. At last, they seized on the lands held by the Gagyánís, the other tribe of the Khas'hí sept, in Bájawṛ; and, having encountered the latter on two occasions, in which some thousands of the Gagyánís are said to have fallen, reduced them to great misery, and occupied Bájawṛ for themselves. It must have been these misfortunes which induced the Gagyánís to apply to Malik Aḥmad, chief of the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs, for lands, when he assigned them the Do-Ábah, in which they still dwell. From the Yúsufzí account, they were compelled to leave their lands in the neighbourhood of Kábul, and seek a home elsewhere, on account of Bábar Bádsháh's hostility towards them, and took up their quarters around Báṣaul.†

Khushḥál Khán, the renowned Khaṭak chief, also mentions the 'Arabs of Bájawṛ. When Fidáe Khán, Ṣúba'h-dár of Kábul, by Aurang-zeb Bádsháh's orders, attempted to force the Khaibar in 1085 H. (1673 A.D.), the Mughal troops stationed in the Do-Ábah, under Mukarram Khán and Shamsher Khán, sons of Shaikh Mír, which formed a large army, entered the hills by the Karappa'h route to distract and draw off the attention of the Afghán confederates from Fidáe Khán and his army. At Kháfash‡ or Kháṗash, Mukarram Khán and Shamsher Khán were encountered by Ae-mal Khán and Daryá Khán, the Afrídí leaders, and the other Afghán confederates, and completely overthrown.

"Both of whom, at Kháṗash, Ae-mal scattered to the winds."

Shamsher Khán fell, killed by the hand of Daryá Khán, and Mukarram Khán, who was wounded in three places, with the remnant of that fine army, in an utterly disorganized state, was conducted to Jawaṛí by the 'Arabs of Bájawṛ, where they had to remain for a considerable time before they could get back again into the Mughal territory.

This is the battle referred to by Khushḥál Khán in his "Ode to Spring," previously quoted at page 42, Section Second.

"At the present time (when the author wrote, about ninety years since), Manṣúr 'Alí Khán, son of Mauzah Khán, son of Shamsher Khán, son of Ibráhím Khán, rules in entire independence over Bájawṛ, with the sole exception of having to furnish a contingent (the amount of which is not stated) to the army of the Durráni sovereigns when called upon."

The statements put forth by certain "masters of the subject," consequently, respecting "the Pathans never having been subject to the Afghans," of which people the Tarkalárnís are a tribe, are so extravagant as to require no further comment.

## The Territory of Bájawṛ.

"The territory or country of Bájawṛ comprises eight dara'hs of considerable size.§ The lands are chiefly dependent on rain for irrigation, but some are artificially irri-

* The Tarkalárnís were located in the neighbourhood of Mandrawaṛ in Lamghán in Bábar Bádsháh's time. He was entertained by a Tarkalární chief in Lamghán. *See* under the events of the year 926 H.

† *See* page 45, Section Second.

‡ Also written Kháṗash, *f* and *p* being interchangeable. To style this well known place "Kharfash" or "Kharpash" is like styling the celebrated Páindah Khán, Bárakzí, "Payandar," and a Powandah, "Provindiar." The word in question contains no *r*.

§ The name of this territory is neither spelt "Bajáwar," "Bujawar," nor "Bajáwár," but "Bájawṛ," (باجوڑ), and there is no division of it called Mahmúd, but there is a place called the Kalaey (village) of Mahmúd Khán.

The Bájawṛ territory is generally correctly indicated in our maps, as in the Mullá's for example, but I must point out a serious error in Major Wilson's. Therein, only one of the eight dara'hs here described, and which is the Dara'h of Chanḍawul, is marked as constituting the whole of "Bajaur," while Birawal, under the name of "Baraol," which is also one out of eight, is made to appear as altogether a different territory from Bájawṛ, and to encroach considerably on the Ḳáshḳár State, whereas the crest of the lofty mountain range, running parallel to the Ḳáshḳár river on the east, marks the boundary between Ḳáshḳár, Kúnaṛ, Bájawṛ, and Panj-Korah, as mentioned at page 119, and note †. *See also* page 152.

gated from rivers, and wells are unusual in the country. The rulers levy a tax of one tenth on the produce of the former lands, and one fourth on the latter; and the revenue derived is very large.

"Bájawṛ is enclosed on every side by lofty and difficult mountain ranges, in such wise that, save by the specified routes, there is no entering that territory; and by these roads, artillery and similar heavy materials cannot be taken, there being no means of passage for such."*

"I now proceed to describe the eight dara'hs constituting the territory of Bájawṛ.†"

### 1. *The Dara'h of Rúd.*

"Of all the dara'hs comprising the territory of Bájawṛ, that of Rúd is the largest, most populous, and best cultivated, and in bygone times it was the dwelling-place of the 'Arab people, the ruling race. From Luhár-gaey (لہارگی, probably L'waṛ-gaey—لوڑگی)‡ to the village of Khema'h, it extends for twenty kuroh in length, but it is comparatively narrow, being in some places only about two and three kuroh in breadth. South of it (and bounding it) is an exceedingly difficult mountain range, in which no routes are to be found. The chief town of Bájawṛ, which was the place of residence of the 'Arab Sardárs or Chiefs, and which place the Afghán tribes call by the name of 'the S'hahr' or 'the K'hahr,' that is, the town or city, is situated in the Dara'h of Rúd, in the southern part of it. West of the S'hahr or K'hahr, and distant one kuroh and a half, is the fort of Láshoṛa'h, a very strong place on the south bank of the rúd or river (giving name to the dara'h).§ It is stated that, from the time of its first foundation up to this day, no one has been able to possess himself of this fortress by force of arms."

This fort and dara'h, indeed the Bájawṛ territory generally, is historic ground in the history of the Khas'hí or Khak'hí sept, and their rivals the Ghwarí or Ghwaríah Khel, subsequent to the expulsion of the former from the neighbourhood of Kábul, which I shall give a short account of farther on.

### 2. *The Dara'h of Saur Kamar.*

"This dara'h is extensive, and from north to south, from Dánish-Kol to Chamar Khandey, it is just twelve kuroh in length; and from east to west, from Chinárí of Namshírín Khán‖ to Náwa'h-ga'í, about seven kuroh in breadth. Its inhabitants are Afgháns of four different tribes, Sáfís, Tarkalárnís, Mahmands, and Shinwárís, and they pay allegiance to Manṣúr 'Alí Khán, the Tarkalární chief.

"The dara'h is not very productive, the lands being dependent on rain for irrigation. The drainage water of the valley finds its way by the river bed, which is dry except after rains in the mountains. It runs through Dánish-Kol and Anbhár (the 'Anbar of the Afghán writers¶), and, passing through mountain tracts, joins the Suwád or Suwát river near the village of Tangaey."

### 3. *The Chhár-mang Dara'h.*

"The Chhár-mang Dara'h is much about the same length as the preceding, extending from north to south for a distance of twelve kuroh, and in breadth, from east to west, from near Náwa'h-ga'í to Koṭ-kaey, seven kuroh. The whole of the cultivated lands depend on rain for moisture, but the valley is nevertheless fruitful. The whole of the inhabitants are Tarkalárnís, under the sway of the before-mentioned Khán."

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* This, of course, is according to the author's private opinion, and that of some of his informants probably, but some of the routes herein described are evidently tolerably practicable for light guns, or, at least, might be made so.

Compare the account of "Bajáwar" contained in Colonel C. M. MacGregor's "Central Asia," Part I., page 145.

† *See also* page 163.

‡ The same place as mentioned at page 144.

§ This dara'h is evidently named Rúd on account of the considerable river which runs through it, and which receives several smaller streams. The word also means a torrent; and rúd-bár signifies a river in a valley, a channel formed by a torrent, a tract in which several streams flow. *See* note *, page 164.

‖ *See* note *, page 113. In one copy this name appears as Tamshírí; but ڈ and ڑ are very liable to be mistaken in MSS., the two points being often run into one in writing quickly.

¶ *See* page 123.

### 3. *The Útlaey Dara'h.*

"This is another dara'h of considerable size, extending in length, from the village of Nakhtar to Changází,* ten kuroh, and in breadth, from the village of Konkaey (کونکی†, Koṭ-kaey?) to that of Tarín, four kuroh. Its inhabitants are all Tarkalárnís.

"A small river issues from the mountain range north of this dara'h, near the village of Khirḳa'h,‡ which, running through this valley, near Changází, joins the rúd or river (of the dara'h of that name). The land in this valley is exceedingly fruitful. Its chief and largest villages are Gaṭ (probably Ghaṭ) and Ḍer."§

### 4. *The Dara'h of Bábú-Ḳará, or Bábá-Ḳara'h.*‖

"This dara'h extends from the village of Rághaey to that of Baganḍel, for fifteen kuroh in length from north to south, and is four kuroh in breadth from east to west. It is peopled by Tarkalární Afgháns, and is now included in Panj-Korah¶ (politically, he means), but belongs properly to Bájawṛ. In the extreme northern part of this dara'h there is a cleft or gorge in the mountains named Gibar, where, in ancient times, stood a fortress of great strength and of great height, the place of residence of the former Sardárs or Chiefs of Bájawṛ.

"When Bábar Bádsháh acquired predominance over it, after carrying on hostilities against Sulṭán, Ḥaidar 'Alí, the Suwádí or Suwátí (Gibarí), by attacking and capturing that fortress, he caused it to be demolished.** Up to this day they call that place Gibar. Near by it (*i.e.*, in that neighbourhood) is a small village called Kán-Baṭ,†† in which a few hundred families of the former ruling race—the 'Arab—dwell, who are styled Iskandarí.‡‡ They are subjects of the Tarkalárnís.

"From the mountains bounding this dara'h on the north a considerable river also issues, which, east of the village of Jár (جار), joins the Bájawṛ river."

### 5. *The Dara'h of Chanḍawul.*§§

"From the large village known as Kalaey-i-Míá-gán, or 'Village of the Míás, or Holy Men,' to Bánḍa'h-i-Khaṭak, or 'the Khaṭak Hamlet,'‖‖ this dara'h is sixteen kuroh in length and about five kuroh in breadth. It is inhabited exclusively by Tarkalárnís. From the mountains on its northern part a river issues, which, below the village of Jár, joins the river of the S'hahr or K'hahr, which is also known as the river of Bájawṛ."

### 6. *The Dara'h of Maidán.*

"This dara'h is much about the same extent as the preceding, being just sixteen kuroh in length, but it is not quite so broad as the Chanḍawul Dara'h, being only about three or four kuroh in breadth. The surface drainage water of this valley also flows towards the south, and below (the village of) Aogúsum¶¶ joins the river of the

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* *See* page 169.

† In all the copies of the MSS. it is کونکي, but it is possibly کوټکيَ or کوټ کيَ.

‡ Mentioned at page 152.

§ Gaṭ in P'us'hto signifies a large round stone or rock, but Ghaṭ means, large, stout, bulky, etc., and Ḍer signifies, much, in quantity or degree, and also in duration of time. The former village is referred to at page 143, and the latter at page 151.

‖ Ḳará or Ḳarah is the Turkish for black.

¶ *See* my account of Panj-Korah, which is contained in the "Account of Upper and Lower Ḳáshḳár," "Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society," No. 294, for 1864, page 18.

** This differs from Bábar's account. *See* page 128, note ††, page 225, and my Translation of the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 1042.

†† "Baṭ," in Pus'hto, signifies a "kiln," and "kán" is a Persian or Tájzík word, signifying a "quarry," or "mine."

‡‡ *See* pages 151, 162, note †, page 156, para. 14, and note † page 203, para. 5.

§§ This name is sometimes written, or, at least, appears to be written, Janḍawul, the three points of چ being run into one,—ج The word is evidently Turkish, signifying the rear, or the rear-guard, etc.

‖‖ These names are as Tájzíks would style them, but Afgháns would call the former "Kalaey da Míágáno," or "da Míágáno Kalaey," and the latter, "da Khaṭak Bánḍa'h." The former is the Mullá's "Miánkalái," as a person might write who did not understand its Pus'hto meaning, and the latter his "Bandái." They both appear in Major Wilson's map.

It was from this dara'h that Bábar Bádsháh advanced to attack the stronghold of the Gibarí Sulṭán, the Mír, Ḥaidar 'Alí, as related farther on, at page 30.

¶¶ *See* page 250. The Yúsufzís extend as far west as this point.

S'hahr, or Bájawṛ. Each of the five last-mentioned dara'hs are contiguous to each other, and the rivers flowing out of them all come from the northward, and, flowing south, unite with the river of the S'hahr, or of Bájawṛ, as it is also called.

"To the north of these dara'hs is a mountain range of vast elevation (about 10,000 feet), the climate of which is exceedingly cold; and from near the Kámáṇ territory (on the south-west) to the commencement of the country of Ḳáshḳár (in the direction of north-east) the range runs contiguously.* In it are routes difficult to pass, and which, save to the inhabitants of those districts, are impracticable, and horses and camels seldom proceed by them. That mountain range is moreover infested by the Tor Káfirís, or Sí'áh-Poshán, who cross the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár, and lie in ambush near the routes, to waylay travellers, whom they put to death."

### 8. *The Dara'h of Birawal or Biráhwol.*†

"This dara'h extends from east to west for about sixteen kuroh, and on the north and south is bounded by lofty mountain tracts. Its climate is very severe. The drainage water of the dara'h joins the Báshḳár river, or river of Báshḳár,‡ more correctly, below Chugyá-ṭan, and flows on to Panj-Korah.

"Between the Birawal Dara'h and the previously mentioned dara'hs or valleys constituting the territory of Bájawṛ there is a lofty mountain range intervening,§ nevertheless, as the Tarkalární tribe of Afgháns inhabit it (the Birawal Dara'h), it is accounted in Bájawṛ, and not in Panj-Korah, but, when the former territory was under the rule of the 'Arab people, Birawal did not own allegiance to the Ḥákims or rulers of Bájawṛ."‖

### *Second Route. From Kábul to the S'hahr or K'hahr of Bájawṛ.*

"This is the left-hand route, and is as follows. From Sháḍ-Lám distant two kuroh (north-east?) is Dahana'h-i-Koh, signifying 'the Mountain Jaw,' or 'Jaw of the Mountain,' a place so called, and the town of Pashat lies on the left hand. From thence (Dahana'h-i-Koh) you proceed two kuroh east, then about the same distance north-east, and one kuroh north, after which, proceeding for another half a kuroh in the direction of south-east, you reach Kúz Danúhí, or Lower Danúhí, a large village belonging to the Tájzíks, on the banks of the river of Chitrál, or Ḳáshḳár.

"From this point two roads diverge. The left-hand road leads into Chitrál or Chitrár, the other to the S'hahr or K'hahr. From the before-mentioned Kúz Danúhí, having proceeded one kuroh north, you enter a narrow dara'h or defile of the mountains, and, wending your way through it for about half a kuroh in the direction of south-east, you begin to ascend the mountain range. Going upwards for the distance of a kuroh in the same direction of south-east, you reach a náwa'h, that is to say, a wooden spout, and the water from the mountain flows down through it.

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* This is the range previously alluded to as separating Bájawṛ and Panj-Korah from the Káshḳár State, also known, or at least that portion of it north of Náwa'h-ga'í, as Hindú-Ráj. (*See* pages 119 and 124.) This range can be distinctly seen from Pes'háwar. I have often noticed, towards sunset, three distinct ranges from it, rising one over the other, the first of which, and the nearest, was the range forming the southern boundary of Bájawṛ (the ranges run almost parallel to the Ḳáshḳár river, from north-east to south-west), the second, that separating Kúnaṛ and Ḳáshḳár from Bájawṛ, in which is Kábul-Tsapar and Náwa'h-ga'í, here referred to; and the loftiest and most distant, the easternmost waves, in all probability, form the mighty range of Tíraj-Mír, Kunḍ, or Sarowar.

† Afgháns reject the aspirate in the word.

‡ An account of the Báshḳár Dara'h will be found at page 192. This dara'h is not laid down in our maps; indeed, I may safely say that this is the first time it has been noticed, for, although well known, it has escaped the notice of the native explorers, the Ḥawál-dár and Mullá. Chugyá-ṭan does not appear in the Mullá's map, nor in Major Wilson's, although it is a place of some importance. This Báshḳár is not contained in the "Kohistán of Swát," and is a totally different territory.

§ This range was crossed by the Ḥawál-dár, who calls it "the Jan battai mountains," probably on account of the village of Ján-Baṭcy being immediately north of them. *See* page 167.

‖ Abú-l-Faẓl, in the Á'in-i-Akbarí, says, Bájawṛ is twenty-five kuroh in length, and from five to ten in breadth (in which he is rather mistaken, but perhaps he merely refers to that part under the nominal sway of the Mughals). It has Suwád on the east, Kaṭor and Káshghar (Ḳáshḳár in the Akbar Náma'h) on the north, south, Bagrám (the Pes'háwar district), and west Kúnaṛ and Núr-Gal. It contains a number of dara'hs, and numerous ancient cupolas (*see* page 180, note *). It has a strong fort, the seat of the ruler of the territory. Its climate resembles that of Suwád, but its cold and heat is a little more. There are but three routes leading into it. One goes from Hindústán, and that they call the Dánish-Kol route; the other two are on the Kábul side, one called the Smats road (*see* page 120), and the other, the Kúnaṛ Núr-Gal route. The easiest is the Dánish-Kol road. *See* also note † at page 203.

This route they also call the Náwa'h route* (from this *náwa'h* or wooden spout), and it is exceedingly narrow, and lies through dense *jangal*, which is infested by the Tor Káfirís, or Sí'áh-Poshán, who are in the habit of lying in ambush therein, and slaying travellers. Continuing to ascend from this point (the *náwa'h*) one kuroh farther in the direction of east, you reach the crest of the mountain range, and from that crest the Kúnaṛ territory terminates in that direction, and Bájawṛ begins.†

"There are two or three heaps of small stones or gravel here, and when travellers reach them they repeat the *fátihah* (the first chapter of the Ḳur'án, repeated when praying for the souls of the departed, or undertaking any momentous affair), for the place is very dangerous on account of the Tor Káfirís. They say that where a Káfirí has slain a Musalmán, there a heap of pebbles or gravel is raised to mark the spot, in order that wayfarers, who pass that way, may offer up a prayer for the defunct Musalmán's pardon.

"From these gravel or pebble heaps you begin to descend towards the east for half a kuroh, the road being exceedingly difficult. From the left hand a small rivulet comes, which, passing Chamar-Khandey, is expended in the irrigation of lands. On the right-hand side of the way is a deep basin or pool, and in it likewise is water, which, running to the south, is lost. Having proceeded from thence (the pool) one kuroh towards the south, you reach Bar or Upper Chamar-Khand, the name of a small village, on the left-hand side of the road, belonging to the Tarkalární Afgháns, situated on a crag or acclivity of the mountains.

"Having descended from this village for half a kuroh in the direction of south, and then proceeding onward, in the same direction, for the distance of another kuroh in a river bed, you come to Kúz or Lower Chamar Khand, which is also a small village belonging to the Shinwárí Afgháns, lying on the left-hand side of the way, on a hill or mountain ridge.

"Proceeding for the distance of half a kuroh to the south from the last-named village, you reach the Do-Ráhah—"The Two Roads"—and the village called Kalaey-i-Bahádur‡ shows itself on the crest of the mountains on the right hand.

"The road from the Do-Ráhah to the S'hahr or K'hahr of Bájawṛ has been previously described."§

*Fifteenth Route. From Kábul to the S'hahr or K'hahr of Bajawṛ by way of Gwashtah, a distance of one hundred and ten kuroh east.*

"The different roads between Kábul and Jalál-ábád have been already described.

"Setting out from the latter place and proceeding three kuroh east, you come to Ílah-Baghá or 'Alí Baghán (*see* page 48, Section Second), a deserted place, the site of an ancient Tájzík town or city, on the banks of the river of Jalál-ábád (*i.e.*, the river of Kábul). You cross by means of a raft—for to ford it at any time is dangerous‖—to the east (opposite) bank. A little farther to the east¶ is the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár,** which you must also cross on a raft if you desire to pass to the opposite bank.

"East of the before-mentioned river (the river of Kábul), and close to the mountains, are several villages, belonging to the Bá'ízí clan of the Mahmand tribe of Afgháns, named Gwashtah,†† and both rivers, the river of Jalál-ábád and the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár, having flowed towards the right hand, unite. The Kámáṇ territory lies close by on the left-hand side."

According to this description, which agrees in all the copies of the author's work, our maps require considerable rectification.

Respecting Gwashtah there is a well-known saying among the Afgháns, "*Pah* "*Gwashtah k's'hey dzwánán shtah*"—"There are valiant youths in Gwashtah." In these days Gwashtah belongs chiefly to the descendants of a Musalmán saint of Sirhind in the north-west provinces of India, known as the Ḥaẓrat-i-Sirhindí, and Imám-i-Rabbání, Shaikh Ahmad.

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* This is not the Náwa'h-ga'í,—the little náwa'h,—and the fort mentioned at page 113, but another Náwa'h farther north in the same range, which makes a bend to the east, and is known as Hindú-Ráj. *See* the account of the war between the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs and the Khalíls, related at page 124, and page 126.

† To those who are acquainted with them, the boundaries of all these States are well defined, and are the natural boundaries likewise.

‡ *See* following page and page 182.

§ *See* page 113.

‖ As the 10th Hussars found to their cost.

¶ *Sic* in MSS., but according to our maps it would be west. Such it is in four copies of the text, however.

** Our geographers persist in calling this river "the Koonur" even as far up as Mastúch, which is quite incorrect. *See* pages 121 and 172.

†† Incorrectly written "Gushtia," and "Goshti," in our maps, and by writers "Ghoshter" and "Goshter."

When Aḥmad Sháh, Abdálí, Durr-i-Durrán, upon one occasion entered Hind (in 1756), the territory of Sirhind, which the Gúrgáníah Sulṭáns (the descendants of Amír Tímúr), especially Aurang-zeb Bádsháh, had granted as an endowment to the family of that holy man, was resumed and taken possession of by the Afghán monarch, and the holy man's descendants thus became deprived of their possessions, and dispersed every here and there. When the Sháh-i-Zamán, Aḥmad Sháh's grandson, came to the throne of the Durráni kingdom, he, who was a disciple of the sect of the saint of Sirhind, conferred upon his descendants the territory of Gwashtah, and brought the dispersed members of the family there; and, up to this time, that small tract of territory is in their possession.

This grant was made subsequent to the time this survey was made, in the reign of the father of the Sháh-i-Zamán, Tímúr Sháh.

To resume the account of the route.

"From Gwashtah you proceed two kuroh east to Da Musáfiro Chína'h—'The Traveller's Spring,'—the name of a halting place, where there is a small spring of water, as the name indicates. The road consists of excess. of ascents and descents. Nine kuroh farther east from thence is Bed Maní, the name given to a cluster of villages belonging to the Mahmand tribe of Afgháns, and the road thither is much the same as already described, full of ascents and descents. One kuroh east from these villages is a small defile known as the Bed Maní Ghás'haey or Ghák'haey, and the villages lie on the left-hand side.

"Three kuroh farther east from thence are two villages belonging to the Sáfí Afghán tribe. The village on the right-hand side of the way is called Anjiṛah, in some copies Inziṛa'h,* and on the left, Bar (Upper) Chinárí, and the Dara'h of Shún-krí,† and the *smats* or cavern of Kábul Tsapar lie near by, on the left-hand side of the route.

"The remainder of the route from Bar Chinárí to the S'hahr or K'hahr of Bájawṛ has been described at pages 112 to 114."

*Sixteenth Route. From Pes'háwar to Kúnaṛ, or Kunaṛ, and Núr-Gal.*

"The route from Pes'háwar, and also from Kábul, to Bar or Upper Chinárí, and other routes leading from Kábul to the same point, have been described above.

"From Bar Chinárí two roads branch off. The left-hand one leads by Shún-krí to Kúnaṛ, as has been already mentioned: the right-hand route is as follows:—

"Setting out from Bar Chinárí you proceed four kuroh north, inclining north-west, to Kalaey-i-Bahádur,‡ or 'Bahádur's Village,' belonging to the Shinwári Afgháns, situated on a hill or spur of the mountains. On the way thither you pass a large lake, known as the Júhaṛ of Mullá Baní. Júhaṛ signifies, in the Hindí language, a hollow or depression at the foot of a mountain, which, after heavy rains, is filled with water from the mountain torrents.§ The village of Liwanaey lies on the right hand, and the village of Shún-krí on the left.

"You then proceed from the júhaṛ in question for a distance of two kuroh in the direction of north, ascending the mountain range by a pass, and reach the crest. This pass is known as the Soṛán Ghás'haey, and it is a difficult one. The village of Chamar Khand, mentioned at pages 119 and 173, lies about four kuroh distant on the right hand. Having descended from the crest of the range‖ on the other side for a distance of three kuroh in the direction of north, and then going another kuroh and a half north, inclining north-west, you reach Shád-Lám. From thence you proceed towards Pashat, Kúnaṛ, and Núr-Gal, by the route described at page 111."

*Seventeenth Route. From Pes'háwar to Kámán, by way of the River of Kábul.*

"Leaving the city of Pes'háwar and proceeding four kuroh to the north-west you reach Matharah Khel, and from thence go on another kuroh west to Gárá or Gára'h,¶

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* *See* page 114.

† *See* pages 111 and 112.

‡ *See* preceding page and page 182.

§ In the Pus'hto language a similar word, evidently derived from the Hindí, namely جوئیر, pronounced *jo-eyṛ*, signifies a hollow or ditch in which rain water accumulates. This lake or mere is mentioned at page 182. There was another *jo-eyṛ* in the Langar-Koṭ Dara'h, in the Sama'h, but it is only a marsh now.

‖ This is the range separating Bájawṛ from Kúnaṛ and Ḳáshḳár. Here you cross it between the *smats* or cavern of Kábul Tsapar and Náwa'h-ga'í.

¶ Not "Mutthra," nor "Igara."

a village so called after a clan of the Khalíl Afgháns. Another two kuroh in the direction of north-west brings you to the Gaṛhí or Fortlet of Sher Dád, and from thence you proceed to Mícharna'í, distant between two and three kuroh, allowing for the winding of the road, in the direction of north, inclining north-west. It lies on the other (north) side of the river of Kábul, which you have to cross, and is a large village under the sway of Arsalá Khán, Mahmand.*

"From this village Shab Ḳadr† lies about five kuroh away on the right hand; and from Mícharna'í to La'l-púr Ḍhákah the distance is about twenty-five kuroh in the direction of west. Gwashtah lies on the right hand as you proceed towards Kámáṇ, and Bhaṭí-Koṭ on the left. Travellers coming from Kámáṇ, down the river, embark on rafts, and go on to Pes'háwar, but, in some places, there is danger of losing one's life, on account of the surging and dashing of the waters. You cannot proceed up the river from Pes'háwar to Kámáṇ by raft: it is impossible."

"It will be necessary here to give a brief account of Kámáṇ, and the Mahmand tribe, before resuming the route."

### The Territory of Kámáṇ.

"The Kámáṇ territory,‡ or Dara'h, as it is also called, which is about seventeen kuroh in length, contains sixty large villages, inhabited by the Tájzíks, under the sway of Dín-dár Khán, chief of the Bái'zí division of the Mahmand tribe, who dwells at Gwashtah, and which villages are situated on either side of the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár, which, on its entering the Kámáṇ territory, is there sometimes called 'the river of Kámáṇ,' in the same way as it is at times styled 'the river of Kúnaṛ' when it reaches that Dara'h.§ Although some Afgháns of the Sáfí and Mahmand tribes‖ dwell in the Kámáṇ Dara'h, nevertheless the Tájzíks were the ancient landowners and proprietors.

"From opposite Núr-Gal a great canal has been cut from the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár, and brought into their lands. On such as are irrigated from canals, from one third to one fourth of the value of the crops produced is collected in money, but on other lands one tenth of the produce in kind is assessed. The total amount of revenue is computed at 60,000 rúpís yearly. All descriptions of fruit are produced in this district. The river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár flows through it, and unites with the river of Kábul about two kuroh or more east of Jalál-ábád. Kámáṇ lies parallel to the latter river for a distance of eighteen kuroh, on its northern bank.

"The number of Tájzík inhabitants amounts to between 10,000 and 12,000 families; and the people have to furnish a contingent of troops to the army of the Durrání sovereign."

Bábar Bádsháh, in his Tuzúk, says, "Kámah (as he writes it) gets the name of a "*bulúk*, although it is a dependency of Nek-Nihár (Nangrahár), and not a distinct "district."

Under the revenue system of Akbar Bádsháh's reign there was no fixed assessment for this *bulúk* or district.

### The Mahmand Tribe.

"The Mahmands are one of the five Afghán tribes constituting the Ghwarí sept, also known as the Ghwaríah Khel,¶ the rivals of the Khas'hís or Khak'hís, as already mentioned. They are a numerous tribe, and said to number, in all, about 20,000 families. A large portion of them dwell within the Sirkár or Province of Pes'háwar, but those particularly referred to here dwell immediately west of it, and on the northern bank of the river of Kábul. The Mahmands contain a number of sub-

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* Arsalá is the shortened form of Arsalán, the Turkish for lion. *See* page 43.

† *See* Thirty-sixth Route, page 182.

‡ *See* MacGregor's "Central Asia," Part II., "Afghanistan," page 488, and compare. Kúnaṛ and Kámáṇ are totally different districts, or rather territories.

§ *See* page 119, and note **, and page 154.

‖ Chiefly Sáfís and Mahmands, but there are a few others, as will be found mentioned in the routes leading through Kámáṇ.

¶ Col. C. M. MacGregor, in his "Central Asia," Part I., Vol. II., page 140, says: "Elphinstone says they "(the Khalíls), with the Mohmands and Daúdzáis, formed the Ghoríá Khél *clan* of Afgháns." Elphinstone, on the contrary, says, "the Mehmends, Dawoodzyes, and Khullels formed the Ghoree or Ghoreea *khail*," not *clan*. Elphinstone is generally pretty accurate, but he is not quite so here. The Ghwarís or Ghwaríah Khel (not Ghoree, for this erroneous mode of spelling the term has caused two or three writers to make them dwellers in Ghúr) consisted of five tribes of Afgháns—Mahmand, Khalíl, Dá'údzí, Zeṛání, and Chamkaní. *See* note ‡, page 125.

There is no district actually called Chamkaní, but the term "the district of the Chamkanís" might be used. Chamkaní is, however, the name of a small town east of Pes'háwar, mentioned at page 34, Section Second, and called after this tribe.

tribes, but those located west of Pes'háwar, form two divisions or septs known as Trag-zí and Bá'ízí, which again are subdivided into several sections.*

"They dwell in a strong and difficult tract of country, in which there are but few routes, and those are very difficult. Some of these western Mahmands, as they may be called for distinction, live in fixed habitations in villages, and some lead the life of *íláts* or nomads. Their country, from the Khaibar to the Kúnaṛ boundary (including Kámáṇ, above described), is about forty kuroh in length from east to west, and from the hill tracts west of (and bounding) the Do-Ába'h of Shab-Ḳadr to Gwashtah and Kámáṇ, about the same in breadth. Their territory may be said to constitute a maze of mountains. Their villages are few, and water is scarce.

"The chieftain-ship lies with the choice and accord of the tribe. Dín-dár Khán, the chief of the Bá'ízí division, dwells at Gwashtah, and the Kámáṇ territory, as before stated, is under his sway. The principal place and residence of the chief of the Trag-zí division is La'l-púr Ḍhákah;† and as they hold a small part of the country on the southern bank of the river of Kábul, through which the Khaibar defile runs, a small *jágír* or fief has been assigned by the Durráni sovereign to the Trag-zí chief for the time being. At the present time (when the author wrote) the Sardár or Chief of the Trag-zís is Arsalá (the shortened form of Arsalán) Khán, son of Balúch Khán, son of Zain Khán, which latter was a Sipah-Sálár, or leader of troops, and one of the great nobles of the Court of Aḥmad Sháh, Durráni. He held the Ṣúba'h-dár-ship of Sirhind after its conquest from the Dihlí Bádsháh by that monarch.

"Arsalá Khán is a man of great intrepidity and valour. He has rebelled against the authority of Tímúr Sháh, fled from La'l-púr Ḍhákah, and taken up his abode in that part of the difficult hill tracts bordering on Bájawṛ in which dwell the Utmán Khel tribe of Afgháns. Between him and Dín-dár Khán an ancestral blood feud exists, and each has slain the father of the other. Both divisions of these western Mahmands have to furnish contingents of troops to the Bádsháh's army."

Shortly after the author wrote this account of him, Arsalá Khán gained over the Afrídís and some other neighbouring tribes of Afgháns to his side, returned, took up his quarters at Ḍháka'h, closed the Khaibar to Tímúr Sháh's forces, and defied all authority. Troops were sent against him several times, but they could effect nothing. Merchants and others, who made him presents in money, he would permit to pass to and fro. With such he would despatch one of his men, and this escort was sufficient to secure them from all molestation from one end of the Khaibar to the other.

Subsequently, the Ḳází, Faiẓ-ullah, Tímúr Sháh's chief minister, promised Arsalá Khán, most solemnly, that, if he would present himself at Court, he should be pardoned for the past. As soon as Arsalá Khán, on the faith of this promise, made his appearance, the Ḳází had him seized and cast into prison, and proposed to put him to death. Tímúr Sháh, to his credit, refused to allow the pledge thus given to be broken; but the Ḳází had great influence over the by no means strong character of the Sháh, hence the troubles of his reign, and he so worked upon the mind of Tímúr that, at last, he convinced him that it was necessary to the well-being of the State that Arsalá Khán should be put to death, and the Sháh gave up the point. Arsalá Khán was tied to the fore-legs of an elephant and crushed to death. This event took place shortly before the death of Tímúr Sháh, on the 7th of Shawwál, 1207 H. (May, 1792, A.D.)

I have before mentioned that Bájawṛ and parts adjacent are historic ground in the annals of the Yúsufzí, Mandaṛ, Dilazák, Tarkalární, and other Afghán tribes now dwelling there; and as some of the events which therein happened illustrate the geography of those parts, I need scarcely make apology for briefly relating a few of them here. The extracts are from original sources in the Pus'hto language, and have never yet appeared, to the best of my belief, in any other, and certainly not in any European language.

When the main portion of the Yúsufzí and Mandaṛ tribe of the Khas'hí or Khak'hí sept, which also includes the Gagyání‡ and Tarkalární, after the massacre of their Chief, and the headmen of families, by command of Mírzá Ulugh Beg, uncle of Bábar Bádsháh,

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* Mahmand, the progenitor of this tribe, had twelve sons, three of whom died without issue. The remaining nine are the progenitors of the nine divisions of the tribe. These again are subdivided, and some of these latter, as in the case of the Bá'ízí and Tragzí, and some others, have so vastly increased while others have decreased, that the names of the progenitors of some of the nine divisions have become quite eclipsed by its offshoots. It is chiefly from two of these nine divisions, each of which again contains several ramifications, one having eleven, and the other six each, that the Mahmands of Pes'háwar come.

† *See* pages 43 and 174.

‡ Those persons who assert that the Gagyánís "are not allowed by other Patháns to be of the genuine race" have much to learn respecting Afghán genealogies.

reached the Pes'háwar district, broken, fatigued, and powerless, they applied to their brother Afgháns and Musalmáns, the Dilazáks, for help, and a place in which to take up their residence. The Dilazáks assigned them the Do-Ábah district.* Malik Aḥmad,† their Chief, on the part of his people, expressed their gratitude, but, at the same time, pointed out that the Do-Ábah was but a small district, and that numbers of his people remained behind, who intended to rejoin their kinsfolk as soon as they should find a home, and then they would not all find room to dwell in and obtain a livelihood.

The Dilazáks, on this, told him that, if the Do-Ábah should not be large enough to support them, there was Dánish-Kol, and 'Anbar‡ as far as Bájawṛ, which they might occupy. Malik Aḥmad was delighted at this, and still more so on being told that, if they chose, his people might, by their swords, win the 'Ash-Naghar district from the Shalmání tribe§ of Dihgáns, who were subjects of the Sulṭán of Suwát, but which district did not belong to the Dilazáks to give.

The Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs took up their residence in the Do-Ábah accordingly, and, soon after, the widows and orphans who had remained behind, those of the tribes who had been away on mercantile expeditions when the massacre took place, and the nomads among them, who had previously moved with their flocks and herds into other parts, began to join them day by day.

The latter people, with their families and property, under Mír Jamál, son of Báyazíd, the Mandaṛ, of the Amánzí clan, moved towards 'Anbar and Dánish-Kol, some settling in one place, some in another. Besides these, some large families of the Mandaṛ tribe, chiefly Amánzís, Kamálzís, and Mámúzís, and some of the Yúsufzí tribe, for the most part Khwájúzís, went on into Bájawṛ, and took up their residence in the Láshoṛa'h Dara'h,‖ "where at this time," says one of the authors from whose works these extracts are taken, "is the grave of my grandfather [he wrote previous to 975 H., 1567 A.D.], the "Shaikh, Mír Dád, the Tarnákí Mútízí, of the Afghán Khel." This they did by virtue of the permission given them by the Dilazáks, as before mentioned; but the latter "had reckoned," apparently, "without their host," for a great and renowned Chieftain of the 'Umr Khel section of the Dilazák Afgháns, together with about one thousand families of his clan, were then dwelling in the Dara'h of Chandawul in Bájawṛ.

The 'Umr Khel was the bravest clan among the Dilazáks, and their chief, Malik Haibú, son of Jattah, at the time the heads of the Dilazák tribe held counsel respecting the assignment of lands to the fugitive Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs, was not present. The Dilazáks had thus given up a part of Bájawṛ apparently, without his concurrence, and he determined to prevent the occupation.

To be brief, when this portion of the Mandaṛs and Yúsufzís came to take up their residence in the Láshoṛa'h Dara'h, with the intention of occupying the Chandawul Dara'h also, which was one of the best districts of that part, Malik Haibú marched from thence, at the head of his clansmen, and took up a position over above the village of Laka'h Ṭíjza'h, signifying, in the Pus'hto language, an upright monolith rather flattened at the sides, which, at present (when the author above referred to wrote, and is probably still there) stands exactly on the bank of the Láshoṛa'h river.¶ The Mandaṛs and Yúsufzís were dwelling in the villages of Ṭop and Makharna'í, with about a mile between themselves and the 'Umr Khel Dilazáks. These villages lie south of the Láshoṛa'h river, the first on the crest of a mountain, and the latter about half way up the mountain side.**

The Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs were now joined by a portion of the Khalíl tribe, which had, some time previously, quarrelled with the other tribes of their sept, the Ghwaṛís or Ghwaṛiah Khel, had left Tarnak and Ḳal'át,†† in the northern part of the Ḳandahár territory, and had reached those parts, and taken up their abode in the Láshoṛa'h Dara'h. The confederates mustered their fighting men in the plain near Láshoṛa'h, "where at this time (says the writer before referred to) the 'Arabs' castle and the

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* Also known as the Do-Ábah of Shab Ḳadr. It forms the north-west corner of the Pes'háwar district as at present constituted.

† He was brother's son of Malik Sulímán Sháh, the murdered chief.

‡ 'Anbar is the name of a small tract or district, known at present as Anbhar, as well as 'Anbar, situated in the tract of country, in these days occupied by the Mahmands, near Dánish-Kol, and is said to contain the ruins of a very ancient city. There is no such place or tract as "Dánash Kul." It is written in the vernacular دانش کول. *See* page 116.

§ *See* page 36, and note ‡, page 175.

‖ *See* pages 114 and 116.

¶ *See* pages 114 and 116.

** These places are still well known. Ṭop means a cupola among other significations.

†† Now known as Ḳal'át-i-Ghalzí, or "Ḳal'át of the Ghalzís" to distinguish it from Ḳal'át-i-Bráhú-í, or "Ḳal'át of the Bráhú-ís," which people *will* write *Khelat*, though there is no "*kh*" in the word.

S'hahr" or "the K'hahr" stands,* and Malik Haibú, of the 'Umr Khel Dilazáks, marched from Laka'h Tejza'h to confront them.

Seeing his array, the confederates retired towards their breastworks, from which they had sallied out; and Malik Haibú followed them to the banks of the river of Láshoṛa'h, also called the Khalúzí river, which they had crossed in their advance. The Dilazák chief passed over in pursuit, and followed them up to their villages.

The Tarkalárnís and part of the Mahmands, who are respectively tribes of the septs of Khas'hí or Khak'hí and Ghwarí, were, at the period in question, dwelling, the former in Lamghán, and the latter in the neighbourhood of the city of Kábul, towards the south. Hearing of the rupture between Malik Haibú, the Dilazák, and the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs, and being desirous of obtaining possession of some secure tract of country wherein to settle, they determined to have a hand in the matter, and act as might be found advantageous for themselves. A desire to help their respective kinsmen may have influenced the Tarkalárnís and Mahmands to some degree, but neither of them went in order to merely aid or support their rivals of the Khas'hí and Ghwarí septs. Their Chiefs set out accordingly at the head of bodies of their respective tribes, and entered Bájawṛ, under the pretence of endeavouring to reconcile the disputants, by force of arms, a system of logic as prevalent in these so-called enlightened days, and in civilized countries, as in the olden time.

Although they offered their "friendly intervention," and advised Malik Haibú to agree to the arrangement made by the generality of his tribe, he refused to give up the Láshoṛa'h Dara'h,† much less that of Chandawul. Under the supposition that these Tarkalárnís and Mahmands would remain neutral, and not offer their friendly intervention, at least until a proper time, Malik Haibú attacked the Yúsufzís, Mandaṛs, and Khalíls, but the Tarkalárnís and Mahmands soon took the side of their respective kinsmen, and joined in the fray. A desperate fight ensued, in which the 'Umr Khel Dilazáks were overpowered and defeated by their much more numerous opponents, and Malik Haibú was killed. One Pá'índah, a Kákazí Tarkalární, first smote that Malik with his sword, and another of the same clan, Burhán, by name, smote him on the neck with his, and the Malik's head rolled upon the ground. Mír Jamál, Mandaṛ, of the Amánzí clan, previously mentioned, dismounted from his horse, and stripped Malik Haibú's body of his armour, a very valuable suit, and carried it off as well as his sword. These trophies remained in the family of Mír Jamál for many generations, and it is said by another writer, that, "even to this day" (he wrote in 1032 H., 1622–23 A.D.), "they are still in the possession of Mír Jamál's descendants, who dwell "among the Amánzís in the Sher Dara'h, which lies between the Sama'h and Buner."

Malik Haibú's brother also fell in this battle, and the defeated 'Umr Khel Dilazáks retired again into the Dara'h of Chandawul. The Tarkalárnís and Mahmands, telling the Mandaṛs, Yúsufzís, and Khalíls, that they had won Bájawṛ for them, returned home again, as did the Yúsufzís of the Do-Ábah, who came to the aid of their kinsmen. The 'Umr Khel Dilazáks of Chandawul, however, very soon found they could not remain there after this affair, and, family by family, they began to set out in order to reach the lower country (the Pes'háwar plain). But the Yúsufzís and Khalíls would not permit them to proceed by the Láshoṛa'h route, and at last they had to come down into the Dara'h of Mihr,‡ in the south-eastern part of Bájawṛ, through tracts where there was no way out, and they settled in 'Anbar and Dánish-Kol.

The Yúsufzís, Mandaṛs,§ and Khalíls divided Bájawṛ among themselves, the latter obtaining the Dara'h of Láshoṛa'h (the Rúd Dara'h), as far as Hindú-Ráj, the Dara'h of Chhár-mang, and Náwa'h-ga'í, while the two former took possession of the Dara'hs of Chandawul and Bábá-Ḳará, but soon after fresh enmity arose between them and the Khalíls, and they came to blows. As many of either tribe as conveniently could came to the aid of their kinsmen. They encountered each other at a place between the village of Láshoṛa'h and the boundary separating it from the Dara'h of Bábá-Ḳara'h, on the steep banks of a small river called the Bárík-Áb or "Slender or Narrow River or Stream" (in Pus'hto Nara'í Aobah).

It is the very same place where, in after years, Muḥammad Bábar Bádsháh pitched his camp. There is a precipice on one side, and on the other a deep trench or ditch,

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* *See* pages 114 and 116.

† This is the Rúd Dara'h previously described at page 116.

‡ The Dara'h of Mihr is a small one, in the country of the Mahmands, at the entrance or commencement of the Bájawṛ territory. The minor range bounding it on one side is called Koh-i-Mihr, turned into "Mohur" in our maps. There are some of the Utmán Khel tribe located there now.

§ Not the whole tribes, merely those among those tribes who had taken up their residence in part of Bájawṛ.

which he caused to be excavated when he captured Gibar Koṭ from Mír Ḥaidar 'Alí, who was the Sulṭán of the Gibarís. He left his own Ḥákim or Governor over the remaining Gibarís, and returned to Kábul. Subsequently, Zain Khán, Kokal-Tásh, when he came into these parts against the Yúsufzís (in the year 995 H, 1587 A.D.), erected a fort of unburnt brick here, which was named Chhár Ḳala', and its remains are still to be seen.*

The fight above referred to was severe and obstinate, and ended in the defeat of the Yúsufzís and Mandars of Bájawṛ, who fled, pursued by the Khalíls, across the river of the Chandawul Dara'h, and entered what was afterwards known as Panj-Korah. The Khalíls behaved well on this occasion, inasmuch that they did not interfere with their villages, nor burn them; neither did they intrude upon or molest their families, although their dwellings lay in their route when pursuing the vanquished Khas'hís.

The Yúsufzí and Mandaṛ tribes determined to avenge themselves upon the Khalíls for this act of hostility towards their brethren in Bájawṛ, and to punish them for the dishonesty which had brought it about, the account of which is too long for insertion here. Their enmity was nothing new, for their hostility was the cause of the Khas'hí sept abandoning their old country around Nushkí† and Ghára'h, and removing into the territory dependent on Kábul. At the time that the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs resolved upon attacking the Khalíls, two of the other tribes‡ constituting the Ghwarí sept or Ghwaríah Khel, namely, all the Dá'údzís, and part of the Mahmands, who had left their old seats about Muḳur and Ḳarah Bágh, subsequent to the migration of the Khas'hís, and had followed them into the Kábul territory, were, up to this period, dwelling there, but the remainder of the Mahmands were still occupying their old seats§ around Muḳur and Ḳarah Bágh.‖

The Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs on this account resolved to act promptly, so that the Khalíls might not have time to obtain aid from the Dá'údzís and Mahmands in the Kábul territory. At this time the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs had possessed themselves of all the country from the Do-Ábah to Kálah-Pární, and from the mountains bounding Suwát on the north to the junction of the Jinda'h Sín with the Landaey Sín—as the river of Kábul, from the Dobandí ford to Aṭak, is here called by the Afgháns—on the south, including the 'Ash-Naghar district, with the exception of 'Ash-Naghar itself, which, with its fortress, was still in the possession of the Shalmánís. This large tract of country extended from Ḥiṣára'h Kanda'h to Ḥiṣár-i-Balúl, Káṭlang, Ḥiṣár-i-Be-gham, Sangáwo, Sher-Khána'í,¶ the Báz Dara'h, as far as the Mhora'h and Malakhand Passes into Suwát, Ṭúṭí, Káj-kala'h, and Síorna'h; in fact, the whole plain country under the mountains, or "Taḥt-ul-Jibál,"** as those words signify. In these parts the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs were then dwelling with the associated tribes of Útmán Khel, Jzadún, K's'hár (pronounced Gadún and K'k'hár by the Eastern Afgháns), and their humsáyahs or vassals. These events will be mentioned farther on.

Having held counsel together, it was determined by Malik Aḥmad, and other lesser Chiefs, to assemble their forces, and advance by way of the Kaṛappa'h Pass and Pundyála'í into the small Dara'h of Dánish-Kol, which they did, and there they pitched their camp.

In the meantime the Bájawṛ Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs of Chandawul and Bábá-Ḳara'h had, through their headmen, thrown themselves on the protection†† of the family of the

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* *See* pages 112 and 169. Abú-l-Faẓl, in his history of Akbar's reign, says it was named Fatḥ-ábád.

† No one could be expected to recognize this place under such a name as "Múshaki." It lies about 30 miles south of Ghaznín, and the lands, formerly tilled by the Yúsufzís and others of the Khas'hí sept, are now cultivated by Ghalzís of the Andar clan.

‡ The other two tribes are Zeṛání and Chamkaní. The latter we have heard a little of lately, and shall probably hear much more hereafter.

§ Bábar Bádsháh surprised and plundered a body of Mahmands near Muḳur in 914 H (1508 A.D.). The Muḥammadzí, now dwelling in the 'Ash-Naghar district, and the Gagyánís of the Do-Ábah of Shab-Ḳadr, were at this period, located west of the Khaibar pass.

‖ Muḳur, but not "Múkúr," is situated between Ghaznín and Ḳal'át-i-Ghalzí, but rather nearer by 10 miles to the former place. Ḳarah-Bágh (قره باغ) is a well known place, but "Kárábágh" is incorrect. It is not generally known that these places and parts around were the old seats of the Khas'hís and Ghwarís.

¶ Sangáwo and Sher-Khána'í are two of the four villages taken by Colonel Bradshaw's force in December, 1849. The others were Pala'í and Zormanda'í. My regiment formed part of the expedition; and I had the honour of commanding the rear companies on retiring from the three latter, followed by bodies of Afgháns, and of being chosen next day to command the rear guard of the force on retiring from the Báz Dara'h, for the first march towards Hasht-Nagar, and for which expedition I have another medal and clasp.

** تحت الجبال, which Von Dorn mistook for "Takht-ul-Jabal," تخت الجبل. *See* his "History of the Afghans," Part II., page 131.

†† This is termed *nanawátah*, the verbal noun of the verb *nanawatal*, to enter, etc., and signifying "taking

late Malik Haibú, Chief of the 'Umr Khel Dilazáks, who, as already related, had been killed, on a previous occasion, fighting against the Khalíls, Yúsufzís, and Mandars combined, and besought forgiveness and pardon for slaying that chief. Not only did the 'Umr Khels forgive them, but agreed to take up their cause against the Khalíls; and a force of the 'Umr Khels joined them, and went and effected a junction with the main force then encamped in the Dánish-Kol Dara'h.

The assembled Chiefs again held counsel together, and it was agreed that the 'Umr Khel Dilazáks, and the Bájawṛ Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs, under Mír Jamál, the Amánzí, a quarrel between whom and a Khalíl respecting the sale of some horses had brought this hostility about, should advance from thence (Dánish-Kol) by the route and defile practicable only for men on foot and lightly equipped horsemen, towards Chhár-mang, which commanded the position of the Khalíls (they occupied, it must be remembered, the western half of Bájawṛ from Náwa'h-ga'í and the Hindú-Ráj range, bounding Kúnaṛ on the east and Káshḳár on the south), occupy it, and guard the Náwa'h-ga'í route,* so that the Khalíls might not be able to fly into Lamghán and to Kábul by way of Pashat and Kúnaṛ, neither receive aid from that direction, while the Do-Ábah Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs, and their allies, should advance into Bájawṛ by the Runbat Ghás'haey or Pass.†

When the main force reached the crest of the Ghás'haey, they beheld beneath them, in the Láshoṛa'h valley, a numerous force drawn up, and they pushed on to encounter it. It proved to be the Khalíls, who had surprised and killed Mír Jamál's brother, who had been left in charge of the villages and families during the latter's absence with the 'Umr Khels and his own available clansmen. At the outset of the affair, on hearing of the intended movements of the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs, and their allies, the Khalíls had retired with their families and effects towards the Dara'h of Hindú-Ráj, where they threw up breastworks and erected other defences to secure the position. "Chhár-mang," says the Yúsufzí author, "is the name of a considerable Dara'h‡ "adjoining Hindú-Ráj, and the latter is the name of a mountain range which contains "a considerable dara'h. The people inhabiting it at this period were known as Hindú-"Râjí;§ and at the present time, which is the year 1033 H. (1623-24 A.D..), on the "southern side of that mountain range, and in the Hindú-Ráj Pass, the Ismá'ílzí clan "of the Tarkalární Afgháns dwell; and the northern side, as in ancient times, is still "inhabited by the race of people known as Káfirí, and all the tracts on that side are "in their possession."

I must be brief, however, as the whole of the details in consecutive order will be given in my forthcoming History of the Afgháns. I have mentioned a few here in order to illustrate the routes herein given, as they are all the practicable ones leading in and out of Bájawṛ and its eight Dara'hs, in case we may, at any time, have to penetrate into those parts.

When Mír Jamál, Amánzí, was despatched with his people and the 'Umr Khel Dilazáks, by the Chhár-mang route, he was directed to occupy the upper part of the Dara'h of that name, and seize the Hindú-Ráj Ghás'haey or Pass. He was then to send to the Hindú-Ráj people and say that they should come and occupy the pass; that he with his force had taken up a commanding position; and that, as the main army was advancing from below, by their, the Hindú-Ráj people's, co-operation, they would be able to surround the Khalíls completely, and clear the country entirely of them. Further, that they, the Hindú-Ráj people, should be left as before in possession of all the country on the northern side of the Ghás'haey or Pass, and all south should appertain to them, the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs. The Hindú-Ráj people agreed to these terms, and they went and secured the Hindú-Ráj Ghás'haey.

The main force, having advanced by the lower road over the Runbat Ghás'haey, as already mentioned, reached a point within about a kuroh of the dara'h between Chhár-mang and Hindú-Ráj, at the head of which, as before related, the Khalíls had

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"refuge in the house of another." It is a point of honour in such cases, and demonstrated above, to take up the cause of, and even to sacrifice one's life in protecting, those who have sought an asylum under one's roof. It is not peculiar to the Dilazák Afgháns, any more than to the so-called "Yúsafzáis," but is usual among the Afghán people generally.

* At this period the Náwa'h-ga'í route appears to have been chiefly used in going from Suwát and the country inhabited by the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs to Kábul. Malik Aḥmad went by that route when summoned to Kábul by Bábar Bádsháh. Passing through Kúnaṛ he made his way by Mandrawaṛ to Kábul by the route I have referred to in note *, page 99, which is by far the easiest between Jalál-ábád and that city.

† There is a small village called Runbat now dependent on 'Anbar.

‡ *See* page 116.

§ That is, in all probability, 'Arabs of Hindú-Ráj, for there were no people actually called Hindú-Rájí.

thrown up *sangars* or breastworks, and which, on that account, was afterwards known as the Sangar Dara'h. The Khalíls upon this issued from their breastworks, in good order, and with much resolution, and advanced into the more open part of the dara'h or valley to oppose them. The spot on which they took up their position was inhabited by the descendants of Malik Yár Ḥusain, a Tarkalární of the Aoríází clan, when the Yúsufzí author wrote. Here a great battle was fought between the rival septs, and disputed with much obstinacy on either side. Victory hung in the balance when Mír Jamál, Amánzí, and his clansmen, along with the 'Umr Khel Dilazáks and the Hindú-Ráj people (who had been detached for the purpose of getting into the rear of their position), moved upon the Khalíl *sangar* to attack it. Intimation of this now reached the Khalíls, who for a time wavered, doubtful whether to continue to oppose the main force of the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs, or retire and defend their *sangar* from the threatened attack.

This decided the battle. They became confused, broke, and fled in the direction of the *sangar* in which their families and property had been placed for safety. Numbers of the Khalíls perished on the battle field, many in the flight, pursued by the victors, but most of them died within the *sangar* itself defending their families. The *sangar* was captured and plundered, and the families and children of the Khalíls became captive, while those who succeeded in making their escape, fled towards Náwa'h-ga'í.

It is stated that the number of captives was so great that Yúsufzís and others sold many Khalíl boys and maidens for an earthen pot apiece. The victors passed the night on the field, and when morning came, Malik Aḥmad and other Chiefs held council together, and directed that all the Khalíl captives should be set free, which was done. The Bájawṛ Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs were now left in quiet possession of their lands in that territory, the remainder being still held by its former inhabitants, and those of the Do-Ábah and Sama'h returned home flushed with success.

This brief account of the expulsion of the Khalíls from Bájawṛ, in which they never again obtained a footing, is one of the "blanks" in Afghán history, for series of years together, which we are assured of in histories "from the earliest times."

The Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs after the conquest of Suwát began to vacate such parts of Bájawṛ as were then in their possession, and the Tarkalárnís from Lamghán began by degrees to possess themselves of it, and there they dwell to this day. Some of its ancient people, but few in point of numbers, still reside in some of the more unfrequented parts. The Khalíls and their whereabouts, before they finally settled in the Pes'háwar district or province, are afterwards referred to in the events of Bábar's and Humáyún's reigns,—some few of the "blanks" in Afghán history which I have mentioned in this Section and Section Second, page 54.

These movements of the Afghán tribes were well known to Bábar Bádsháh, as well as to some other Muḥammadan writers. The Mughal monarch says, in his "Tuzúk,"—"Although Bájawṛ, Suwád, Pars'háwar, and Hash-naghar were originally dependencies "of Kábul, at the present time, some of those territories have been desolated by tribes of "Afgháns, and some have come into their possession, so that they cannot now be con-"sidered as dependencies." Writers who, unacquainted with the original histories, draw their inspirations from translations, which are sometimes incorrect, and even some of "the masters of the subject," who have endeavoured to make out that not only the Yúsufzís, Tarkalárnís, and others, from Bájawṛ to the Indus, but the whole of the Afghán people, are the aboriginal inhabitants of the very parts they *now* occupy, and that they have been located there since the time Herodotus wrote, while the existence of the old inhabitants appear to be wholly unknown to them,* as well as those "authorities" who, having put on Hindú spectacles for the occasion, and stultifying their previous statements, first turn Dilazák Afgháns into "Scythians" and afterwards into "Rajputs," and Sheráni Afgháns into "the Shiva sect of Hindús," will do well to ponder the above facts in their minds until they again favour the world with their historical and ethnological dissertations.

Before entering upon the details of other routes and territories, it will be well to close this account of Bájawṛ, its Dara'hs, its routes, and some events in its history, with a brief account of Bábar Bádsháh's invasion of it, and capture of the stronghold and capital of Mír Ḥaidar 'Alí, the Gibarí, referred to at pages 117 and 125.

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* A foreign professor "has put down in his map the country of Πάκτυϊκὴ," where the Pes'háwar province and the tracts now inhabited by the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs are situated, and another writer therefore assures us that it is "proved that the Πάκτυες of Herodotus" are those identical Afgháns, who are the aborigines of those tracts, and that they have been there ever since the time of Herodotus.

The Yúsufzí chronicler, who dwelt near by, states that Muḥammad, Bábar Bádsháh, having determined to invade the territory of the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs, after the refusal of Malik Aḥmad to attend his Court a second time, and, at the urgent request of his people, his sending his cousin, Sháh Manṣúr, son of Malik Sulímán Sháh, instead, set out from Kábul with a considerable army for Suwád or Suwát, as the name is also written, by way of Bájawṛ. The Bádsháh had a reason for taking this route. The Gibarí Sulṭán of that part, Mír Ḥaidar 'Alí, had, in former years, manifested insolence towards Mírzá Ulugh Beg, when ruler of Kábul and its dependencies, and as he was Bábar's paternal uncle he determined to chastise him.

The Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs of Bájawṛ had abandoned their homes there, and had taken refuge in the mountains, and, with the exception of the Gibarís,* there were no other people in that (part of the?) territory. Bábar, having entered Bájawṛ, attacked Mír Ḥaidar 'Alí's fortress. It was a very strong place and difficult of access, and Bábar's attempt to take it by a *coup de main* having failed, he had to regularly invest it. Mír Ḥaidar 'Alí, it is said, was a great tyrant, and all his relations and kinsmen were hostile towards him on account of his ill treatment of them. One of his nephews, and other disaffected persons among the Gibarís, now secretly despatched a petition to Muḥammad, Bábar Bádsháh, tendering their allegiance to him, and offering to come out and present themselves. He accepted their offer, and the nephew of Mír Ḥaidar 'Alí came out with several others, and they were treated with much distinction and favour.

After this others began to desert Mír Ḥaidar 'Alí and leave the fortress, and day by day the affairs of that Sulṭán became more desperate. At last, fearing lest, in the end, his kinsmen should seize him, and deliver him into the hands of the Mughal Bádsháh, who would take his life, Mír Ḥaidar 'Alí took poison and destroyed himself. Bábar then obtained possession of the place, and made Mír Ḥaidar 'Alí's nephew Sulṭán over the Gibarís; and all who were adverse to him of the late Sulṭán's adherents were summoned and slain, and a tower raised of their heads.

This account differs considerably from Bábar's own account in his "Tuzúk," especially as regards the mode in which possession of this stronghold was obtained, and the making it over to Mír Ḥaidar 'Alí's nephew. Unfortunately, there is an hiatus in Bábar's "Tuzúk" of no less than eleven whole years; and he resumes his account on the 1st of Muḥarram—the new year of the Musalmáns—of 925 H. (2nd January, 1519, A.D.), curiously enough, from the jal-gáh† in the Dara'h of Chandawul of Bájawṛ, so that all particulars respecting the cause of this expedition and other details are wanting. From his account, however‡ (and in a few points it agrees with the Yúsufzí chronicler's narrative), the fortress was taken by storm, on Friday, the 5th of that same month, and firearms—matchlocks—were used with effect upon this occasion against the Bájawṛ people, the Gibarís, who had never seen anything of the kind before. "Next morning," Bábar says, "I marched and dismounted "(encamped) in the jal-gáh of Bájawṛ, at the spring of Bábá Ḳará, where, at the "intercession of the Khwájah, Kalán Beg, several captives who remained were

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* The Gibarís were orthodox Musalmáns, and had been for a very long period. The people called 'Arabs and Gibarís, from what is stated at page 117, are not one and the same people. When I come to the countries inhabited by the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs, and the routes leading into them, I shall have something more to say on the Gibarís.

Surgeon-Major Bellew, C.S.I., in his last book, "Afghánistan and the Afgháns" (1879), says (p. 199) that "both Badakhshan and Baltistan were included in Kafiristan as late as the middle of the sixteenth century, "when *Babur* founded the Mughal empire in India. All Yaghistan, with Swat and Boner, were at the same "period included in Kafiristan."

I must record my unqualified dissent from this theory. Who is the authority for this statement? Badakhshán, at the period alluded to, had been for centuries a Musalmán state. Wakhsh, Chaghánián, Shaḳnán, and Badakhshán formed part of the Musalmán kingdom of the Tájzík Ghúrís of Bámián and Tukháristán. *See* "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí", pages 424 and 426. It formed part of the Musalmán dominions of Amír Tímúr-i-Gúrgán above five hundred years ago, and his descendants, as the history of his reign, and of his son, Mírzá Sháh Rukh, abundantly show. Sulṭán Maḥmúd Mírzá, son of Abú-Sa'íd, in the middle of the fifteenth century ruled over Hiṣár, Chaghánián, Tirmid, Ḳunduz, Badakhshán (*see* page 139), and Khutlán, as Bábar Bádsháh himself testifies. There is no doubt that the 'Arab people mentioned in these pages were Musalmáns; the Sulṭáns of Suwát and great part of their subjects were certainly Musalmáns before Bábar's time; and that the Gibarís were Musalmáns the name of their ruler, Mír Ḥaidar 'Alí, sufficiently proves. How is it possible then that Badakhshán and Suwát were "included in Kafiristan" at the period in question? There is no such country as "Yaghistan" known to history; it is a new word coined recently, at Pesh'áwar possibly, and said to mean a country without a master, but as *bághí*—corrupted into *yághí*—is a Turkish word signifying rebellious, Yághistán would mean a country rebellious, but it is a strange name to give to independent territories merely because they are so, and not subject to others.

† He means the open part of the valley, through which the river flows.

‡ *See* also Leyden's and Erskine's "Baber," page 246.

" pardoned, and set free, together with their families. Some of the Sulṭáns* and " rebels, who had fallen into our hands, were put to death, and the news of the " victory, with some heads, I despatched to Badakhshán,† Ḳunduz, and Balkh. . . . " The Bájawṛ fort affair having terminated to my satisfaction, on Tuesday, the 9th of " Muḥarram, I marched one kuroh lower down the jal-gáh of Bájawṛ, and halted; and " directed that on a mound a tower of heads should be raised."

Before resuming a description of the various routes it is necessary to give some account of the Káfiristán, as some of the following routes lead into it.

## The Tor and Spín Káfirís, or Sí'áh and Safed-Poshán, and their Country.

More than twenty years ago I published an account of the Káfiristán and its people, which appeared in the "Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal," Vol. XXVIII., for 1859. Imperfect as that was, it contained the most complete account of that interesting people and country up to that period, and, I may say, to the present time.

Since that time, the Káfirís have been "discovered" at least twice, although they had been known to us half a century before I wrote about them.

On the 9th of October, 1878, just twenty years after the publication of my paper, the "Times" newspaper contained an article entitled "Kafiristan and the Kafirs." On examining it I found it was taken from my account, but without the least acknowledgement. On the contrary, it was made to appear as though it had been written by the Rev. W. Handcock, of the Church Missionary Society, at Pes'háwar. I was somewhat surprised to read:—

"As Mr. Handcock has told us, they are divided into 18 clans, and they always reside in towns or villages, and not in tents."

I subsequently found that the "Church Missionary Intelligencer," for March, 1865, contained an article entitled "Káfiristán—its Appeal for Help—and the Response," by the Rev. W. Handcock, of Pes'háwar. In it he says, "Káfiristán is one of those "countries of the great Asiatic continent respecting which little is comparatively "known; nor did it appear at first where recent and reliable information might be "obtained respecting it. However, in the 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' "No. 4, we have found a paper, 'Notes on Káfiristán,' by Captain H. G. Raverty, "and from this we have compiled the following information." Then follows seven pages of extracts from my account, honestly acknowledged.

The same newspaper appropriated the anecdote I gave respecting Arthur Conolly and the deputation of Tor Káfirís at Jalál-ábád in 1839, but slightly altered from the original.

The anecdote I gave is as follows, and is so interesting that to repeat it here will not require apology.‡ The circumstance was related to me by an officer of Conolly's acquaintance, who served in the Sháh's contingent, and was a fellow prisoner with Lady Sale and the other captives, and, what is more, he is still living:—

"In the end of 1839, in December, I think it was, when the Sháh and Sir W. Macnaghten had gone down to Jalál-ábád for winter quarters, a deputation of the Sí'áh-posh Káfirs came down from Núr-gal to pay their respects, and, as it appears, to welcome us as relatives. If I recollect right there were some thirty or forty of them, and they made their entry into our lines with bagpipes playing. An Afghán peon§ sitting outside Edward Conolly's tent, on seeing these savages, rushed into his master's tent exclaiming, 'Here they are, Sir! They are all come! Here are all your 'relations!' Conolly, amazed, looked up from his writing, and asked what on earth he meant, when the peon, with a very innocent face, pointed out the skin-clad men of the mountains, saying, 'There! don't you see them? your relatives the Káfirs?' I heard Conolly tell this as a good joke, he believing at the same time that his Afghán attendant was not actuated by impudence in attributing a blood connection between his master and the Káfirs.

* Sulṭáns here do not refer to monarchs, any more than Sháh and Bádsháh, by which titles the chiefs of Ḳáshḳár are known, as well as Sayyids. It is a mere title by which the Gibarí chiefs and their family were styled.

† If, as Mr. Bellew says, Badakhshán was included in Káfiristán when Bábar founded the kingdom of Dihlí, why send heads there, for this happened seven years *before* Bábar Bádsháh overthrew the Afghán sovereign of Hindústán? The heads were sent to his kinsman, its then ruler. *See* next to last paragraph of note ¶, page 154.

‡ Also quoted in an article on "Central Asia," in the "Quarterly Review" for April 1873, page 535, and duly acknowledged.

§ A native orderly attached to officers in civil employ. This is the term used in the Bombay Presidency; in Bengal it is "Chaprási."

"The Káfirs themselves certainly claimed relationship, but I fear their reception by poor Sir William was not such as pleased them, and they returned to the hills regarding us as a set of purse-proud people, ashamed to own our country cousins.

"During the remainder of our sojourn in Afghánistán nothing more was seen or heard of this singular race, at least not that I am aware of; and I cannot but regard it as most unfortunate, that, when so favourable an opportunity presented itself of becoming acquainted with these tribes and the country they inhabit, they should have been allowed to depart unconciliated, and no advantage taken of their visit."

A book entitled "Afghanistan, its Political and Military History," &c., &c., by S. R. Townshend Mayer and John C. Paget, the blunders in which are most amusing, tells us that,—

"The natives are divided into *Siahpush*, or Blackfoot Kafirs,* from the colour of their goatskin leggings, and Spin Kafirs, from that of their skins, for they are fair complexioned and blue-eyed, and proud to call themselves 'brothers of the Feringhi.' When Lieutenant Conolly was at Jalalabad, his Afghan servant announced a party of Kafirs who had come to visit him by saying, 'Here they are, Sir, all your relations!'"

Since I wrote my "Notes" I have obtained some additional information of importance concerning these people, and especially with regard to the geography of the countries held by the Tor and Spín Káfirí†—the Sí'áh-Poshán and Safed-Poshán, or Black-clad and White-clad Unbelievers, while the various routes here given, and the details contained in them, throw a flood of light upon the geography of these, even yet, imperfectly known parts.

This new information I shall now proceed to give, and shall not here embody it into a fresh and general notice of these tribes and their country, as reference can be made to my previous account of them, already referred to. Hereafter, probably, I may devote an article to the subject.‡

"They consist of two great septs or divisions. Those who dress in white or light coloured garments, the Tájzíks, or Persian-speaking people, style Safed-Posh Káfirí, and the Afgháns, Spín Káfirí, signifying White-clad Infidels or Unbelievers. These people are numerous, and dwell in the Kohistán, or mountain tracts, of Little Tibbat, and in the ranges north of the Dara'hs of Suwát and Buner, and some in the mountains east of Káshkár and Dír.§ These latter, however, are, in some way subject to Káshkár, or, at least, nominally so. Some 2,000 or 3,000 families of this race inhabit the upper parts of the Dara'h of Núr. Their language is different from that of the other sept, and is not quickly understood.‖

"The other sept the Tájzíks call Sí'áh Káfirí and Sí'áh-Poshán, and the Afgháns Tor Káfirí, or Black-clad Unbelievers, because they dress in black garments. This sept is famous throughout the countries bordering on them for their valour and intrepidity, and in battle rival the feats of Rustam and Isfandiyár. They consider it eternal disgrace to retire wounded from a conflict with Musalmáns, and that it behoves them to die fighting on the battle field.

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* The authors must have been thinking of Black-foot Indians of the American prairies.

† The Afgháns and Tájzíks style them, not Káfir, but Káfirí, and this I shall use in the following pages. The word will be found explained in my Afghán Dictionary. In the Persian language the plural of Káfir is Káfirán. The Káfiristán is not, and never was, included in "Affghanistan," or "the kingdom of the Ameers," as has been recently asserted.

‡ Colonel C. M. MacGregor, C.S.I., quotes very largely from my "Notes on Káfiristán," in his "Central Asia," Part II., Afghánistán. At page 457, paragraph 7, he says, "Masson generally corroborates these "statements, saying, 'In tilling the land both in Káfaristán and the districts south and west,'" &c., &c., but the extract is not from Masson, it is taken verbatim from my "Notes" (*see* page 19, para. 4). The article contains 29 paragraphs, and of these 19 *are wholly mine.*

His next article, entitled "Káfar Siahposh," extends over 18 pages, and consists of 102 paragraphs. He begins by saying, "Raverty, who has a greater variety of information regarding Káfaristán than any other "authority (though his information can hardly be deemed well founded), says," &c., &c., and strange to say, immediately after no less than 50 *paragraphs* out of the 102 *are taken verbatim from my "Notes," including the anecdote of Conolly and his Afghán orderly*, but only the 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th are marked with inverted commas showing that they are mine. These 50 paragraphs are not in consecutive order.

The same may be said of the "Sakhí Sarwar" Article, Vol. III., page 60. It consists of 16 paragraphs; the names of the authorities are "Johnstone, Rowley, Wilde, Davidson, Sandeman, MacGregor, Fryer, &c." The first paragraph is chiefly from my paper in the "Bengal Asiatic Journal" for 1854, and another 10 follow, thus making 11 out of 16, which are wholly mine.

In most other places he quotes me pretty fairly, only he makes me spell proper names after a fashion which I have never done, and never shall do.

§ *See* page 192.

‖ They appear to be, from this description, a distinct race almost. In the history of Amír Tímúr-i-Gúrgán, who undertook an expedition against them in person, they are styled Kaṭor Káfirs, while the others are styled Sí'áh-Poshán. An account of this expedition will be found at page 135.

"Their weapons are mostly bows,* which they call *shánaṭ*, in Hindí styled *kamṭhah*, and heavy heart-piercing arrows, keen daggers, and sharp swords, and but few among them have fire-arms. They consider their chief occupation to be that of carrying on war with races other than their own. A man who does not show intrepidity in battle, and does not slay an antagonist, they style *ḍíwsá* (ڈیوسا, also written ڈبوسا, *ḍabúsá*, but this latter is probably incorrect), and look upon him as despicable and base. They will not permit him to eat with them or to sit down in their company, neither will they give him a daughter or sister in marriage, nor would a maiden accept him for a husband.

"They make incursions into the territories of Dír, Bájawṛ, and Pashat, and lie in ambush in the passes and routes among the mountains, and slay travellers without any sordid desire of merely obtaining their property.† When one among them slays his first man they insert a gold ring in his ear, and, after the same fashion, a ring for every enemy (that is, an Afghán generally) he may subsequently kill.

"The Tor or Sí'áh-Posh Káfirí dress in the skins of beasts, which are of a black colour, hence their name,‡ but their trousers are of karbás, or coarse cotton cloth. They wear a strap or belt of cowhide round their waists, and on their heads a particularly small skull cap, which does not cover more than a quarter of the head, and which is fastened by a leather strap or cord.

"If during a fight a man can succeed in placing his hand on the breast of his Káfirí opponent, he will not slay him. Burning the dwellings of their enemies they hold to be improper.

"They wear long beards, and keep their mustaches and whiskers well trimmed, and leave a small tuft of hair on the head, which they call *tsaṛa'í* and *tsaṛna'í*.§

"They eat anything in the way of flesh, including beef, with little exception, but will not touch fowls as food. They eat cheese and fruits, but consume, comparatively, very little bread. They drink a good deal of wine of their own making, which is kept in skins. They do not object to eat food that has been left by persons of a different race or religion.

"The Káfirí, in religious matters, are exceedingly ignorant, and their forms and ceremonies, such as they are, are idolatrous, but, little is known for certain respecting their belief. Some say their religion is that of Zartusht, and certainly some of their customs are similar to those of that faith.‖ Others, again, have said that they are of the Yaḥúdí (Jewish) faith, and some native authors have even gone so far as to assert that they are Naṣáris (Christians).

"Their idol temples are kept well ornamented, and their idols are adorned with gold and other ornaments. The faces of their idols are washed with the urine of a cow or goat when they seek to propitiate them and ask a blessing. When they enter into a compact or take oath they light a great fire, and throw the head of a goat into it, which is immediately withdrawn; and contrary to such a compact they will not act, and they will not break their oath.

"The male and female slaves of this race are exceedingly faithful and good natured towards their owners, but, few are obtainable. Their females are remarkable throughout the neighbouring parts for their beauty.

"They are superior to the Afgháns in battle, but have been reduced by the Dihgáns (or Tájzíks) of the territory of Ḳáshḳár.¶ The tribes choose their chiefs."

The names of the eighteen tribes will be found in my "Notes on Káfiristán," pages 22 to 27.

"In the cold season some of the Tor Káfirí enter into a truce with the Afgháns, and come down into the dara'hs dependent on the Kúnaṛ district.** A truce or agreement they call *arogh*, and they never speak falsely.

"When a wedding takes place, the bride, having been decked out in capacious flowing garments, is made over to the bridegroom, and her bosom is filled with sweet fruits, of which each of the relations take a handful, and this is considered a good omen.

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* *See* my "Notes on Káfiristán," page 41.

† Their inveterate hostility towards Musalmáns, and Afgháns in particular, is not to be wondered at, considering the way they have been treated by them for centuries past.

If something is not done for them by us very soon they must succumb to superior numbers enclosing them on all sides It is to be hoped that some effort will be made in their behalf. *See* note ‡, page 146.

‡ *See* note ¶, page 142.

§ This word is also used in Pus'hto, and is probably derived from Afgháns.

‖ *See* my "Notes on Káfiristán," page 46.

¶ That is to say, the tribes lying nearest to the Ḳáshḳár territory.

** It was on such an occasion that a deputation from them waited on Sir W. H. MacNaghten at Jalál-ábád. referred to at page 129.

*Arogh* is probably derived from Pus'hto *rogha'h*, signifying "intercourse," "fellowship," "amity," etc.

"They do not become angry or annoyed at being styled Káfirí; in fact, if a person should inquire of them who or what they are, they would reply, "We are Káfirí." Káfirí, however, is not a proper name, but an 'Arabic word signifying an infidel, and is applied to infidels generally.*

"Their dead are placed in coffins and deposited in caves and cavities of the mountains. They make no lamentation nor mourning; indeed, they carry the corpse to its last resting place with great drums beating."

### The Káfiristán, or Country of the Káfirís.

The country inhabited by these Káfirí tribes is bounded on the north by Badakhshán and the formerly independent State of Ḳunduz, subdued within the last few years by the Bárakzí, Durrání† ruler of Afghánistán, and now styled "Afghán-Turkistán" by some European writers, probably because there is no part of Turkistán so called south of the Jíḥún or Oxus;‡ south by the Dara'hs of Mandráwaṛ, Lamghán, Kúnaṛ, and Kámáṇ, and their dependencies, the southern portions of which are inhabited by Tájzíks, and the upper parts by a people called Kohistánís (not the aboriginal inhabitants of the country probably, but they were the inhabitants whom the Afgháns found there. *See* pages 102 and 145), and the Sáfí Afgháns; east by Upper and Lower Ḳáshḳár, Shí-Gal, Panj-Korah, and Bájawṛ, but some extend farther east, north of the Suwát Dara'h, towards Gilgiṭ; and west by the Dara'hs of Panj-sher, also called Panj-her, Nijṛ-Áb or Nijr-Áo, Budr-Áo, and Wálá-Sá'ú, belonging to the present Afghán State.

Within the boundaries here given are included the great ridges and spurs of the Hindú-Kush range, with their numerous minor ramifications. These descend in a succession of waves or terraces, so to say, springing from about the centre of the range, chiefly towards the river of Kábul on the south, and the Palpí Sang, or river of Ḳáshḳár or Chitrál, on the east. Some great Dara'hs within these boundaries, however, run in other directions. The particulars respecting these various Dara'hs and their minor dependencies will be found in the separate accounts of them, and in the descriptions of the various routes given elsewhere.

"The country of the Káfirí, from Lamghán to Chitrál or Chitrár, is over one hundred kuroh in length, and from Kúnaṛ to the frontier of Badakhshán about eighty kuroh in breadth. Within this space there will be about 100,000 families dwelling; and, of the tracts in which they dwell, the following large Darah's are well known.§

"There are a number of minor dara'hs, however, such as that described at page 148."

#### 1. *The Dara'h of Wánat.*

"This is a Dara'h of considerable size, the principal place in which, and residence of the chief of that part, is called Wáe-Gal, and also Wáe-Galán,‖ the place of residence of Sharaf Gul Khán, who is famous for his valour and magnanimity, an anecdote

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* In South Africa it has been turned into "Caffre," "Kaffir." This appellation has been applied to people of South Africa in the same manner, probably, as to the people of the Káfiristán, so called, by 'Arab traders from the ports of Arabia, the Red Sea, and Zangbár. Káfir is the act. part. of كفر, and is used strictly in Persian, Pus'hto, and Urdú, as an adjective, but sometimes as a noun. To form a noun from this and such like adjectives, the letter ی called *yá-i-nisbat*, is required, as, for example, in *nek*, good; *nekí*, goodness; *bad*, evil, bad; *badí*, badness, evil; *káfir*, infidel, unbelieving, when used for those whose faith is different from that of Islám, and *káfirí*, infidelity. For the formation of Afgháni nouns, *see* my Grammar, page 29.

† The Bárakzí Afgháns are a section of the Abdálís, subsequently styled Durránís, like the Popalzís and 'Alízís of the 'Isázís. Their progenitor, Zírak, was the great-grandson of Malik Abdál. Bárak was his second son, and Popal the eldest, and therefore the Popalzí is the royal tribe, or rather sub-tribe—*see* the Introduction to my "Pus'hto Grammar," page 12. One of the greatest mistakes made by the late Sir. J. W. Kaye, in his "History of the War in Afghanistan," was in supposing the "Barukzyes," as he styles them, different from the "Douranees." He says, at page 124 (three-volume edition of 1857),—"The danger of nourishing such a "power as this was not overlooked by the sagacious minds of the Barukzye rulers. They saw clearly the "policy of treading down the Douranees," &c. Again, page 125,—"The Barukzye Sirdars, less chivalrous "than wise, determined to strike the blow, while the Douranees, crippled and exhausted, had little power to "resist the attack." This blemish runs throughout the work. Ask any Bárakzí Sardár, or any other of the tribe, what he is, and he will say a Durrání, and would certainly be much surprised if told he was not.

‡ The former ruler (whom some call an "Uzbeg"), the Mír, Murád Beg, was a Ḳatghín (there is no such tribe as "Kataghan") Mughal, descended from Buḳam Ḳatghín, also called Búḳúl Katghín, the eldest son of Alán-Ḳuwá.—*See* "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 892, and "Travaux de la Troisième Session du Congrès International des Orientalistes," St. Petersbourg, 1876, Vol. II., page 112.

The Mír, Murád Beg, was the "Usbog chief of Kundus," according to the "Times" writer.

§ The whole of their territory, more particularly that lying on the northern slopes of the Tíraj-Mír range, cannot all be included in these four Dara'hs. Three out of the four lie on and below its southern slopes.

‖ This apparently is but the plural of Wáe-Gal, which is also the name of a tribe. The termination "Gal" occurs in many words contained in the following pages. "Wategul" and "Wailegul," as in Major Wilson's map, must be vitiated forms (after the manner of "Chigur Serai" for Chaghán-Saráe) for Wáe-Gal.

of which, as related by the Musalmáns of Nang-Lám, and in that neighbourhood, is as follows:—*

"They state that an aged Ákhúnd on one occasion came to Nang-Lám for the purpose of getting up a *jihád*, or holy warfare, against the Káfiris, but, much to his disappointment, found that there was then a truce, or *arogh*, between them and the Musalmáns. He continued at Nang-Lám for some days, at which time it so happened that the son of Sharaf Gul Khán, a famous youth in those parts, chanced to come there on some business. When he was about to return to Wáe-Gal, the Ákhúnd managed to join himself to him, and, on the way, finding the youth off his guard, the Ákhúnd, who was determined by some means or other to have a *jihád* of his own, slew him with a knife, and fled back to Nang-Lám.

"The Afgháns there located, afraid what the consequences of such an outrage during a time of truce might be, seized and detained the Ákhúnd. They then went out and recovered the body of the murdered youth, conveyed it back to Nang-Lám, and reported what had happened to his father, Sharaf Gul Khán. He came to Nang-Lám, and, seeing the old Ákhúnd, and comparing his weakness with the strength of his dead son, took up a handful of earth, and sprinkling it over the corpse, said,—'It 'is not consistent with manhood, with such strength as thou didst possess, to have 'been slain by one so old and feeble; neither is one who is so weak, and who slays 'one so powerful, a worthy object for retaliation.' He accordingly dismissed the old Ákhúnd honourably, and took away his son's corpse to Wáe-Gal.

"The Dara'h of Wánat is about thirty kuroh in length,† and, on the east side, it adjoins Nang-Lám and Pích, on the south Shí-Gal, and on the north the Dara'h of Luṭ-Dih. The river running out of this dara'h, flowing from the direction of Nang-Lám, joins the river of the Dara'h of Pích, and having passed beyond Shí-Gal, unites with the river of Ḳáshḳár or Chitrál.

"In this dara'h likewise, in the direction of Nang-Lám, there is a village named Nashá'í,‡ and the Káfirí of that place and neighbourhood excel in valour and intrepidity."

### 2. *The Dara'h of Luṭ-Dih.*

"Luṭ-Dih is a larger Dara'h than the preceding, and from the river of Ḳáshḳár to the Kotal, or Pass, of Apá-luk, it is nearly fifty kuroh in length. North of this dara'h is a great mountain range covered with perpetual snow, and the pass over it is called the Apá-luk Kotal, and by crossing this Badakhshán is reached.§ On the east Luṭ-Dih adjoins Ḳáshḳár. Two rivers issue from it, one of which flows towards the east and unites with the Shaghut river, while the other, flowing southwards, joins the river of Ḳáshḳár or Palpí Sang, opposite the village of Harandú.

"There are several important villages in this dara'h, one of which is Munjish, which place the Afgháns style by the name of Kashṭúr or Kashṭúz.‖ Here two Sardárs or Chiefs dwell, one of whom is styled Dín Malik, and the other Kauzálah Malik, and both are famous for their wealth and state. Their subjects are in the habit of proceeding towards Dír and the Maidán and Birawal Dara'hs, and infesting the roads and waylaying travellers.

"The second of these villages is Kám-úz,¶ which is of considerable size, and is the possession and place of residence of Daya Mú** and Astan Malik. These two Sardárs likewise are noted for their power and grandeur.

"The third village of importance is Luṭ-Dih, giving name to the dara'h, and is of considerable size. This is the place of residence of Luṭ-Kár and Shut Malik. These two Maliks are not in accord with each other. Luṭ-Kár, through infirmity and poverty, pays obedience to the Sháhs of Ḳáshḳár. The Káfiris of this dara'h, however, exceed all the rest of this race of people in wealth and grandeur."

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* It should be borne in mind that this account was written towards the close of the last century, while my "Notes," previously referred to, contained an account of the tribes up to about the year 1850.

† For the length assigned to the kuroh of these parts, as computed by Sháh Riẓá, Bádsháh of Drúsh, *see* page 154.

‡ *See* page 148.

§ There is no mention of this Pass, nor any reference whatever to this important Dara'h, in the researches of Major Montgomerie's Mírzá or Ḥawál-dár, nor by the Múnshí, Faiẓ-Bakhsh. They do not appear to have possessed any information respecting them. The route will be found in detail at page 149.

‖ This is the place referred to at page 149. In two copies of the original it is Kashṭúz, but it seems merely a mistake of ز for ر. I am inclined to believe that what has hitherto been written Kaṭor (کتور) is an error for کشتور—Kashṭúr—for the latter word as generally written in MSS. کشتور for کشتور, and which forms of the two words, especially if the points of the ش were left out or run into one, might easily be mistaken for کتور. At the same time it must be remembered that several names terminate in *úz*, as in the following word.

¶ Kám-úz is the name of one of the Káfirí tribes.—*See* "Notes on Káfiristán," page 26.

** *See* page 149.

### 3. *The Dara'h of Wámáṇ.**

"This dara'h is nearly forty kuroh in length. It adjoins Goslak, which is one of the large villages of the Dara'h of Pích, and on the north terminates at the mountain range of perpetual snow,† which borders on‡ the territory of Badakhshán. A river issues from this dara'h, runs in the direction of south, passes Goslak, and finally unites with the river of Pích.

"Contrary to the usage of their race, the people of this dara'h are not hostile towards the Sáfí tribe of Afgháns. It is stated that, on one occasion, when the Káfirís of Luṭ-Dih became annoyed and aggravated with the people of the Dara'h of Párún, and matters went to blows, and the former were defeated, the Sáfís of Goslak rendered aid to the Káfirís of Luṭ-Dih, and several hundreds of them went to their assistance, and fought against the people of Párún, but the confederates were again defeated, and a considerable number of Afgháns were slain. From that day the Káfirís, being under obligation to the Sáfís, entered into terms of friendship with them."

### 4. *The Dara'h of Párún.*

"This dara'h is also of considerable extent, but it is not so well known to the writer as the others. The river flowing out of it runs towards Badakhshán, and unites with the Jíḥún (or Oxus).

"Besides these large dara'hs there are numerous others opening into them on either side, the number of which can scarcely be enumerated.

"Although coloured fabrics, silks, and scarfs, salt, and some other things, fetch enormous prices among the Káfirís of these northern tracts, nevertheless, it is impossible for traders to enter them and dispose of these articles."

The Káfirí tribes have no history of their own, as far as I have been able to discover. According to the traditions preserved among them, however, they affirm that coeval with the spread of Islámism in this part of Asia, they occupied the countries to the south of their present territory, and were subsequently compelled to seek for liberty and safety from the insupportable tyranny of their Muḥammadan neighbours, whom they designate Awdál, among the mountains and valleys of Hindú-Koh. They would appear, therefore, to be the remnant, or a portion, of the aboriginal inhabitants of the country south of the Kábul river—more likely to be the veritable Πάκτυες than the "Pathans" are—and possibly of part of central Afghánistán, as at present constituted, not what I have described as the old seats of the Afghán tribes, which formed the real Afghánistán, but, probably, of that part of the present Afghán territory as far south as the Kurmáh river.

This view is confirmed by the traditions of the Afgháns themselves, from the existing histories in the Pus'hto language, and the writings of different Muḥammadan authors. From these we find that, in the time of the Turk Sulṭáns of the Maḥmúdíah dynasty of Ghaznín, the Afghán tribes, finding the Kasie Ghar district, situated immediately west of, and included within, the slopes of the range of Mihtar Sulímán or Koh-i-Siyah, forming the western barrier of the Indus, in which they had been for some centuries past located, too much contracted to yield subsistence for such a numerous people as they had become, were compelled to encroach upon the territories to the west, north, and east, towards the river of Kábul, and were in the constant habit of plundering the Káfirís or infidels, as they called the original inhabitants of the country, making slaves of them and of their wives and children, and compelling all those who did not seek safety in flight to become converts to Islám. These events took place during the chieftainship of Malik Abdál, from whom, as the royal tribe, the Afghán tribes generally have sometimes been termed Abdálís, or by substituting the letter *w* for *b*, a change common in the Pus'hto and Í-ráníán languages, Awdálís, hence the name given them by the Tor Káfirí or Sí'áh-Poshán.§

I shall be able to enter into greater detail on this subject in my History of the Afghán tribes and their country, but I will now give a few details respecting the expeditions undertaken against the Káfirí tribes, from the time of Maḥmúd of Ghaznín.

The Gardaizí, who wrote about thirty years after the event, and within one hundred miles of the very parts invaded, says, that, "Shortly after the Amír‖ Maḥmúd returned

* Wámáṇ, also written Wámah, like as Kámáṇ is written Kámah, is also the name of a Káfirí tribe. This tract is no more called "Wamasthan" than the Kákar country is called "Kakaristan," or Suwát and Panj-Korah and other parts beyond our border "Yághistan."

† *See* page 156. ‡ Or bounds it, in fact, in this direction.

§ Masson, in his "Travels," quoting "Malek Mannir," says,—"In company with Malik Sir Buland of Cha-"ghanserae, I went to the Kafir town of Kattar. The Kafirs themselves call the Muhamedans *Odal*, and say "that they have driven them to the hills, usurping the plains, and eating up their rice."—Vol. I., page 233.

‖ The Gardaizí always styles him "Amír," not "Sulṭán." It is very probable that what I shall detail here is not to be found in "Ibn Athir," for very good reasons. The Gardaizí wrote before Ibn Aṣír, the author of the Kámil-ut-Tawáríḳ, was born.

" from his expedition against Rájah Nandah of Ḳinnauj, in 410 H. (1019–20 A.D.), " intimation reached him that there were two Dara'hs, one known as Ḳirát, and the " other Núr." The historian does not actually state where they were situated, but the context plainly shows the locality indicated, and Abú-Rihán, Al-Bírúní, refers to them in his account of the river of Kábul and its tributaries, to which account I shall presently refer. The Amír was informed that they were strong places, and that the inhabitants thereof were Káfirs (not specially indicating the Tor and Spín Káfirí, or Sí'áh-Poshán and Safed-Poshán, under notice, it must be remembered, but unbelievers simply) who worshipped idols. " The Amír, in consequence, resolved to enter those " dara'hs with his troops; and gave directions that a number of artisans should accom- " pany the army, consisting of blacksmiths, carpenters, stone-cutters, excavators, &c. " (to act as sappers in fact), who were to clear the roads, cut down trees, split rocks, " and clear the route, as the troops advanced. Having arrived in those parts, Ḳirát " was the first object of attack. It was a place of sanctity, and its people were lion " worshippers; its climate was cold, and its fruits abundant. When the Sháh (*sic* in " MS.*) of Ḳirát heard of this hostile movement, he came forward and submitted, and " sought the Amír Maḥmúd's protection. He was honourably received, and well " treated, and embraced the Musalmán faith, along with a great number of his people " who followed his example; and teachers were left with them to instruct them in the " tenets and canons of the Muḥammadan religion.

" The people of the Dara'h of Núr, on the contrary, were contumacious, so the Amír " Maḥmúd directed the Ḥájib, 'Alí, son of I-yal-Arsalán, al-Ḳaríḥ, to advance into the " Núr Dara'h. He reduced it, and founded a fortress therein, and left a garrison to " hold it, under 'Alí, son of Ḳadr-i-Rájúḳ, with directions to force the contumacious " people to bend their necks to the yoke, and compel them to embrace the faith of " Islám. This dara'h was reduced in the year 411 H. (1020–21 A.D.), and soon the " true faith began to prosper therein.†"

Abú-Rihán says respecting the river of Kábul and its tributaries that, having passed by Laghmán or Lamghán, the united streams " join near the fort of Darunah or " Daruntah (Darúnṭha'h),‡ and fall into the river of Un-Núr§ and Ḳirát, after which the " united waters meet together opposite the town of Barsháwar (Parsháwar ?), and " become a mighty river, called by the name of Lá'írwál."‖

The Dara'h of Núr still retains its ancient name, but the identification of Ḳirát is difficult.

The first time these identical Káfirí tribes are distinctly mentioned by name in history, as far as I can discover, is in the time of the Amír Tímúr-i-Gúrgán, who made a raid upon them when on his way to Kábul to invade Hindústán.

Tímúr, having set out from his capital in the month of Rajab, 800 H. (April, 1398 A.D.), and having passed Buklán and the passes, reached Andar-Áb (or, more correctly, Undar-Áb, with the vowel points). There the people complained to him of the outrages they sustained at the hands of the Káfirs of Kaṭor¶ and the Sí'áh-Poshán, that they, being Musalmáns, the Káfirs every year extorted money from them, and demanded tribute of them, and if they demurred to or delayed paying these demands, they slew their males, and carried off their women and children into captivity. As Amír Tímúr had expressly undertaken this expedition to carry on holy war against

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* The rulers of Ḳáshḳár are also styled " Sháh " and " Bádsháh " to this day. *See* page 153.

† Firishtah, as well as other writers, mentions this event in his Táríkh, and appears to have derived his information from the Gardaizí's work. Briggs, in his version of Firishtah, turns Núr into " Nardein," and many others have followed him. " Nardein " subsequently serves for Nandanah in the Sind-Ságar Do-Ábah, such is the utter confusion of names. *See* " Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 534.

Notwithstanding Darúnṭha'h and Barsháwar are mentioned in connection with this passage, and that Firishtah quotes his authority correctly, Captain T. C. Plowden, B. S. C., in his notes to a portion of Firishtah's work in his " Kalíd-i-Afghání," says that Major-General A. Cunningham, in his " Archæological Survey of India," Vol. II., p. 247, has actually identified these two places as " *the modern Bairát and Naráin-pur.*" " The former," he says, " is situated 41 miles north of Jaipúr (Jyepur), in Rájpútána, and the latter 10 miles north-east of Bairát. The district is as fertile now as in Ferishta's time." This is all very amusing indeed, but where " Rájpútána ?" where the Dara'h of Núr, and Darúnṭha'h on the river of Kábul ?

‡ A well known place. *See* page 99.

§ The *un* here is the 'Arabic article *al*, the " *l* " of which before an " *n* " becomes " *n* " also.

‖ *See* " Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 76, note 2.

¶ By these it is evident that the Spín Káfirí are here referred to.

Abú-l-Faẓl, in his history of Amír Tímúr's expedition against them, calls them Hindúán-i-Kaṭor—Kaṭor Hindús. In describing the boundaries of Buner, Suwát, and Bájawr, he says they are all bounded on the north by Kaṭor and Ḳáshghar, an error certainly for Ḳáshḳár, although ش and ڭ are interchangeable in Turkish words. In the Akbar Náma'h he writes it Ḳáshḳár.

There is evidently a connection between the Katormán kings mentioned by Al-Bírúní in his Táríkh-ul-Hind and these Hindúán-i-Kaṭor.

infidels, he determined to move against these Káfirs in person. Three out of every ten men* of his army were selected for this expedition; and the Amír-Zádah, Sháh-Rukh, was left behind in charge of the rest of the army and baggage at the belák of Ghúnán and Yaktúr (or Baktúr).

Amír Tímúr pushed on, making two ordinary marches each day, until he reached a place called Parián (the Dara'h-i-Parián,† or Valley of the Fairies). From this place he detached a force of 10,000 men under the young Amír-Zádah, Rustam, and Burhán Ughlán, the Ḳaiát, against the Sí'áh-Poshán, while he himself continued to move in the direction of the Káfirs of Kaṭor. When he reached Kháwak, near the north-west skirt of the mountains of Kaṭor, he found there a fortress in ruins.‡ He directed that it should be forthwith repaired and garrisoned, and most of the Amírs and all the soldiers left their horses there, and began to ascend the mountains on foot.

Notwithstanding the sun was in Gemini, and the air warm, the snow was so deep that the horses' legs sank into it so that they could not get on. Tímúr therefore continued his advance up the mountain range in the night, at which time the snow froze, and, in the day time, when the snow began to thaw, halted, placing the few horses with the force on woollen clothes and felts to keep them from sinking into it, and again commenced to push on towards the close of the day. The troops continued to move onwards in this manner until they had ascended another mountain range exceedingly lofty. Here, those Amírs who had brought their horses along with them sent them back, and proceeded on foot, like their men.

As these infidels had taken up their quarters in the dara'hs, and as, from the mountain range on which they then were, there was no road by which to descend and gain access to those places, on account of the depth of snow, a number of Amírs and troops of the right and left wings lowered themselves down from the mountains by means of ropes, while others, lying on their backs§ on the surface of the snow, slid down, until they conveyed themselves to the more level ground of the valley beneath.

They made a sort of wooden sledge for Amír Tímúr, to which iron rings were attached, and to which rings ropes were fastened, each about one hundred and fifty *gaz* in length. In this Tímúr was seated, and a party of troops lowered him down in this sledge as far as the length of the ropes would permit, while a few men, with spades and mattocks, cleared away a space in the snow sufficient for the sledge to rest upon, until the party descended and began to lower it another length of the ropes. In this manner Amír Tímúr was conveyed to the foot of the mountain range, where, taking a staff in his hand, he proceeded onwards on foot, for about another league. An attempt was made to lower several horses of his own private stable for his use. Their legs were first firmly tied together, and strong ropes were fastened round their bodies and their necks, and they were then lowered.‖ Some, that they could not keep their hold of, fell from the mountain and perished, but two horses reached the bottom in safety, and Amír Tímúr mounted again, while his Amírs and troops accompanied him on foot.

The Káfirs of this region are like the tribe of 'Ád,¶ and of robust and powerful frame, and both great and small, old and young, go naked.** The chief or greatest person among them—their god possibly—they style 'Udá 'Udáo-Shú (عُدا عداو شُو—*sic* in three copies of the original. The Rauẓat-uṣ-Ṣafá has 'Adá-Shú (عدا شو) only; other works, Ghadá-Shú and Gadal-Shú), and they have a separate and distinct language, different from Pársí, Turkí, and Hindí, and they understand no other language than their own. There is no way of communicating with these unbelievers

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* As many copies of the Ẓafar or Tímúr Náma'h have "three out of ten," "five out of ten," and "of every ten, two."

† This name is plain enough in the Ẓafar-Náma'h as well as Kháwak, and, of course, such names as "Perján" and "Kávuk" are but the above names caricatured. Neither is "Perján" said to be "a town of "Badakhshán" in that history of Tímúr. *See also* page 140.

‡ The Dara'h-i-Parián leads to this place. Amír Tímúr's route can be tolerably well made out from Major Wilson's map, although names in it are much vitiated, as in "Khwak" for "Kháwak. Amír Tímúr moved nearly due east, and reached that part of the Káfiristán known as Kashtúr, or Kashtúz, mentioned at pages 133 and 149, turned into "Kantoor" in the map above referred to, while the Sháh-Zádah, Rustam, and Burhán Ughlán moved towards the south-east, into the parts in which the tribes of Káṭí-hí, Sí'áh-Posh, Pándú, and Sáláo at present dwell.

§ With their shields for a protection.

‖ This mode of lowering horses and ponies is practised to this day in these parts.

¶ Kur'án, Chap. VII.

** *Sic* in MSS., but not very likely in a country so cold as described.

except by means of persons who have chanced to dwell in places near them, and have acquired their language, who act as interpreters. They possessed a fortification or stronghold, at the foot of which a considerable river flowed (this appears to be the river issuing from the Wámán Dara'h, mentioned at page 145),* and, on the opposite side, a great mountain range towered to the skies, to such degree that the eagles of soaring flight had abandoned their longing to reach its summit (the Tíraj-Mír or Sarowar range without doubt).†

Those infidels, having obtained information a day and night previously of the movement of Amír Tímúr's forces against them, had evacuated this stronghold, crossed the river, and conveyed their property and effects up into that lofty mountain range, imagining that no one could reach them there, and there they had taken up their position. When the troops, after much labour, reached this stronghold, they found it was totally deserted; and all they found there was a few sheep, which were removed, and the dwellings of the infidels were given to the flames. Amír Tímúr gave directions to scale the mountains on the opposite side of the river. The river was speedily passed, and the troops began to ascend in all directions. Shaikh Arsalán, with the division or tomán of Kapak Khán, belonging to the left wing of the army, pushed on in advance of the rest of the troops, reached the crest at one point which commanded the position of the Káfirs, while 'Alí Sulṭán, the Towáchí, from another direction, drove some of them out of their position and captured it, while Sháh Malik and other Amírs also exerted themselves greatly; indeed, all, Amírs and soldiers, both of the Ḳushún and Hazárah (the writer here makes a difference between these troops, which is of some importance, indicating, as it seems, that the first were, so to say, regulars, while the latter were tribal levies, but no such distinction existed in the time of the Chingiz Khán),‡ displayed great valour, and among the casualties sustained was that of fourteen men who fell from the mountains and perished. The fighting continued, with scarcely any intermission, for three whole days and nights, during which time the infidels were driven from position to position, and reduced to great straits. They now sued for quarter, and Amír Tímúr despatched Áḳ Sulṭán, Kashí, to them to intimate that if they submitted to the Amír's authority, and would embrace the Muḥammadan faith, by acknowledging the one true God, in heart as well as in word, their lives and property should be spared, and the country left in their possession as before.

This having been explained to them by means of an interpreter, they, being in a desperate state, accepted the terms offered, and on the fourth day presented themselves, accompanied by Áḳ Sulṭán, in the presence of Amír Tímúr. They declared their willingness to obey in all things, and that he should account them his servants. They were dismissed with encouragement, after receiving honorary dresses, and expressed themselves much gratified. When night closed in, however, they made an attack upon the post of the Amír, Sháh Malik. They were repulsed, after inflicting considerable loss upon the troops, but one hundred and fifty of the unbelievers were killed and captured, and many others, who managed to escape, were wounded. The whole force now set out in pursuit of the Kaṭor infidels up the mountains. All those who remained of them were put to the sword, their women and children were made captive, and towers of their heads were erected. This success was gained in the month of Ramaẓán, 800 H. (beginning of June, 1398 A.D.), and the circumstance and date were inscribed on a tablet of stone, and there set up as a record to posterity of the grandeur of Amír Tímúr-i-Gúrgán and of his power, for it was affirmed, by the people of those parts, that none of the powerful sovereigns of former ages, up to the time of Sikandar-i-Zú-l-Ḳarnain, had ever subdued that part.

As no news had been received from the Amír-Zádah, Rustam, and Burhán Ughlán, who had been despatched at the head of 10,000 men against the Sí'áh-Poshán, Amír Tímúr, taking one of the Kaṭorián as a guide, sent several of his house-born servants, including Muḥammad Ázád, who was made commander of the force, at the head of 400 Turks and 300 Tájzíks, to make inquiries respecting them.

Muḥammad Ázád, guided by the Kaṭor Káfir, set out by narrow and difficult routes, and, after great labour, ascended and reached the crest of another lofty mountain range covered with snow, bounding one of the dara'hs belonging to the Sí'áh-Poshán. The only means of getting into the valley,§ on account of the paths being blocked with snow, was by sliding down the mountain sides. So, securing their shields strongly to their backs (as a protection), they lay down flat on their backs and slid down into

* *See* page 145, and note ††.
† *See* page 156.
‡ *See* my translation of the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," pages 1093 to 1096.
§ This appears to be the tract known as Giwár. *See* note **, page 101.

the valley below. Having set out from thence they reached a fortification belonging to the Sí'áh-Poshán. They went round it to reconnoitre, and could neither see nor hear any one, but they discovered the tracks of a multitude of people.

It appeared that the Amír-Zádah, Rustam, and Burhán Ughlán (who was the real commander of the troops, for he was sent to take charge of the young prince, who was only nominally its commander), had reached that fortification, which the Sí'áh-Poshán, advised of the approach of enemies, had recently abandoned, and retired into a narrow defile, where they had laid an ambuscade in case they should be followed. Guided by the tracks, Burhán Ughlán entered the narrow valley with his troops, and, without taking due precautions, there halted. The troops were entirely off their guard; some had laid aside their arms, and some had let their horses loose to graze, when the Sí'áh-Poshán suddenly rushed upon them. Burhán Ughlán, out of cowardice and incapacity, showed no fight, and was the first to cast away his armour and fly, and on this account his army sustained a defeat. The Sí'áh-Poshán, seeing the Musalmáns flying, became the bolder, followed in hot pursuit, and slew a great number, including several Amírs.

Following the tracks, Muḥammad Ázád, at the head of his 700 men, entered the defile, and came unexpectedly upon the Sí'áh-Poshán on the spot where they had fallen upon Burhán Ughlán and his troops. An obstinate encounter ensued, and, after killing a number of the infidels, Muḥammad Ázád repulsed them, and put them to flight, recaptured the armour, arms, and horses of Burhán Ughlán's force, and succeeded in joining him and his fugitive army.* Those who had lost their arms and horses received them back again. Muḥammad Ázád wished that the whole force should remain where they were for a time, but Burhán Ughlán, out of the pusillanimity of his heart, would not consent, and ascended the Pass leading out of the country; and, as a matter of course, the troops could do no more than follow; "for when a leader "out of cowardice runs away, his troops sustain defeat."

This Burhán Ughlán had misbehaved himself before in the war with the Úzbaks, had been pardoned, and was only sent on this expedition to enable him to redeem his name, for, from the time of the Chingiz Khán, no one of the race of Ḳaiát had ever acted with cowardice before. He chose to imitate the 'Arab who fled from the battle-field in the same disgraceful manner, and who, when reviled by his comrades for so doing, replied that he much preferred being hailed *alive* with "la'nat-ullah 'alaihí!"—the Almighty's curse be upon him!—to being *dead*, for them to say over him "raḥmat-"ullah 'alaihí!"—the Almighty's mercy be upon him! or, in other words, that "he "who fights and runs away, lives to fight another day."

After Amír Tímúr had been thus victorious over the Kaṭoríán and Sí'áh-Poshán, he despatched two officers with a body of troops to search for another way of issue from their country than the one they had come by, and he likewise gave orders to root up the people's corn, which was yet green, and destroy it.

The detachment sent out to search for a road found a practicable one, which they made available after cutting through the snow in some places. Amír Tímúr, accordingly, set out on his return, crossed the mountains and defiles, and reached Kháwak again, where his troops, after being on foot for eighteen days, mounted their horses once more.

Burhán Ughlán was disgraced, and Muḥammad Ázád, who with his 700 men had gone against and overthrown the Sí'áh-Poshán, was well rewarded; and all those with him were also rewarded, according to their ranks and conditions.

Amír Tímúr left a garrison in the fort of Kháwak,† crossed the mountains of Hindú-Koh by the Tul (Bábar Bádsháh calls it Túl, *i.e.*, long) Kotal to Panj-her, which is also called Panj-sher, and marched to the jál-gáh of the Áb-i-Bárán, or Bárán river, which is distant from Kábul about five farsakhs or leagues.

Sulṭán Maḥmúd, son of Sulṭán Abú-Sa'íd, Bahádur Khán, son of Mírzá Sulṭán Muḥammad, son of Mírán Sháh, son of the Amír Tímúr-i-Gúrgán, who, after his father had been put to death by the Turk-máns, in 873 H. (1468-69 A.D.), set himself up at Hirát as sovereign of Khurásán, had soon to fly from thence. He retired to the Ḥiṣár-i-

* This is what a modern compiler styles—"It is pretended that a reinforcement partly retrieved it, but it "is clear that the success of the Emperor himself was rather equivocal." Amír Tímúr is nowhere styled "Emperor," or anything equivalent to it, in history, not even in the translation of Pétis de la Croix's "Timur Bec," which has been drawn upon in the work above alluded to. Amír Tímúr, according to history, made not the slightest attempt "to maintain a position in the country." Why he undertook this expedition has been already explained from the Zafar Náma'h.

† Amír Tímúr never "interfered with the internal administration of the Káfars," unless what I have related may be so interpreted, and Bábar Bádsháh did not even "interfere" to this degree.

Shádmán—Shádmán's Hiṣár, so called after its founder,—and succeeded in obtaining possession of that territory, together with Tirmiz, Khaflishán (between Kábul and Balkh), Khutlán, Ḳunduz, and Badakhshán, as far south as the mountains of Hindú-Koh.*

He, on several occasions, engaged in expeditions against the Kaṭor Káfirís and the Sí'áh-Poshán, and on this account obtained the title of Ghází. In 899 H. (1493–94 A.D.),† his eldest brother, Sulṭán Aḥmad Mírzá, died, and Maḥmúd succeeded him on the throne of Máwará-un-Nahr.‡

The next expedition into these parts, noticed in history, is that of Rashíd Sulṭán, son of Sulṭán Sa'íd Khán of Káshghar, but he appears only to have penetrated into the northern and eastern parts of the country of the Spín, or Safed-Posh Káfirís.§ The account of this expedition is highly important, as defining the limits of Bilaur, respecting which so many strange notions appear to exist, and about which a good deal of nonsense has lately been written, while some persons would do away with the name altogether. I shall have to refer to Bilaur again farther on.

Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥasan Khán, otherwise Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥaidar, the Doghlátí Mughal, and kinsman of Bábar Bádsháh, states in his History that he "accompanied "Rashíd Sulṭán, by command of Sulṭán Sa'íd Khán," in the year subsequent to the affair of Sháh Muḥammad Sulṭán (934 H., 1527 A.D.), in this expedition, to make a raid upon and plunder Bilaur. He says:—"It is a Káfiristán,‖ that is to say, it is "peopled by unbelievers or idol-worshippers, and is a maze of lofty mountains, the "inhabitants of which abstain from nothing and care for nothing, and, following their "own natural instincts, they do whatever pleases them best." He then gives the boundaries of Bilaur, which is not to be "finally disposed of" by the mere stroke of a pen. The writer says:—"Bilauristán on its east boundary adjoins Káshghar and "Yár-kand (that is to say, the boundary of those territories when the author wrote); "its northern part adjoins Badakhshán; on its west is Kábul and Lamghán; and, on the south, Suwád, or Suwát, and Kash-mír."

There can be no mistaking these boundaries.

"This intervening space is four months' journey in circumference, and consists wholly of mountains, dara'hs, and defiles, so that, without using any exaggeration, it may be correctly said that, in all Bilauristán, not one league of level ground is to be found. There is not one village at peace with another, and hostility is ever going on between the people, who are constantly slaughtering each other. Their mode of fighting generally is after this manner. The old and infirm males are occupied in the tilling of the land, and in erecting and repairing dwellings, and such like work. When the women have cooked the morning meal, they come among the hostile parties, and if it is meal-time hostilities cease by mutual consent, and they separate from each other, and go home to their meal. After eating it they return to fight again, and continue under arms until the time of afternoon prayer (that is according to Musalmán computation, not that it is the time of *their* afternoon prayers), when the women again come between, a truce is entered into until sunrise next morning, and each man returns to his home for the night.

"Sometimes it so happens that a truce cannot be concluded, in which case they secure their dwellings, and keep watch and ward all night.¶ In this manner their whole lives pass."

"How happily the days of Thalaba went by!"

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* This was nearly a century before "Babur." *See* note *, page 128.

† The year 899 H. commenced on the 11th of October, 1493 A.D.

‡ All these extracts, I beg to observe, are taken from the original histories, and none from translations, if any exist.

§ In Bábar Bádsháh's time the Káfirís in the neighbourhood of Lamghán do not appear to have been unfriendly. When that monarch set out from Kábul in Muḥarram, 926 H. (January, 1520 A.D.), on a tour into Lamghán, he despatched Haidar, the 'Alam-Dár, or Standard-Bearer, to the Káfirís. He says in his "Tuzúk,"—"Haidar the 'Alam-Dár had been sent by me to the Káfirián, and below the Bád-Paj Kotal "(mentioned in note ††, page 99), having brought along with him the headmen of the Káfirián (as he writes it) "with several khígs of wine, they made their obeisance."

‖ After Bábar Bádsháh's and the author's manner of expressing the word:—"a Káfiristán" signifies, according to Musalmán ideas, a tract of country inhabited by idol-worshippers, or people of any other religion than that of Islám, and is not a proper name, nor is it intended to be understood as the proper name of a particular tract of country. Any country or territory peopled by unbelievers or idol-worshippers would be so called by Muḥammadans.

I find no mention of Dr. Leitner's "Dardistán," or his "Dards," in any books treating of the history or geography of these parts. That the Afgháns are converted Dards is too wild a theory for discussion. It is the Πάκτυες of Herodotus over again. Dárdú, farther east, is repeatedly mentioned in history.

¶ This appears to be much the same sort of skirmishing as goes on between the Afgháns occasionally. *See* my "Account of Upper and Lower Suwát," in the "Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society," No. III., of 1862, page 227.

"As they have scarcely any level spots or pasture lands, there are few herds or flocks to be found in their borders.* They possess no more than a few sheep and goats to furnish them with wool and pashm wherewith to make garments, and a few cows which supply them with milk and clarified butter.

"Each dara'h and each tribe has a different dialect, in such wise that the one does not understand the language of the other.† The reason of this is that, through being constantly at feud one with another, they are unable to move from their own villages to hold intercourse with others more distant.

"There are good gardens in Bilauristán, and fruits of all descriptions are produced in exceeding plenty, particularly pomegranates, which are very good. There is one description of the latter fruit which I never saw elsewhere—it has white seeds, which are very transparent. The people have also much honey.

"In short, during the cold season we were in Bilaur we had several encounters with the people, and the victory was with us, and when spring came round we returned to the Sárígh Chopán.‡ When we reached it the booty obtained during this raid was divided, and a fifth set aside (for the Khán), and that fifth comprised more than a thousand captives. Early in the spring of 934 H. (1528 A.D.) we again reached the presence of the Khán."

It is much to be regretted that the author did not enter into more particulars respecting this expedition, and more geographical details, which he generally does throughout his interesting work, from which this extract is taken. The depth of winter, however, was not the season to judge fairly of any country or its capabilities, much less one coverd with snow in that season, and therefore his remarks are not of so much value. Had he seen Bilauristán in summer he might have judged of it differently, and more favourably.

When Humáyún Bádsháh was returning to Kábul in 955 H. (1548 A.D.), after a campaign in Badakhshán, he reached Sar-i-Áb,§ which is one of the villages belonging to Undar-Áb, and encamped there with the intention of going [illegible] fort of the Parián, which had been repaired by his great ancestor, the Amír Timúr-i-Gúrgán, on his undertaking an expedition against the Kátor Káfirs, and which is situated at the head of the Dara'h of Panj-her.

Next day, when Humáyún had proceeded some distance towards that place, he came upon some dwellings of nomads, consisting of caves in the sides of the hills, and the fort of the Parián itself was distinctly seen in the distance. The fort was reached, and, as its situation was good, plenty of running water near, and the climate salubrious, Humáyún determined to put the fortress in repair, and leave a garrison there with a governor, as the Amír Timúr had done before him, and to make the governor the feudatory of that part. Pahlawán Dost, the Mír-i-Bar, or Quartermaster-General, accordingly, received instructions to collect stonecutters, masons, excavators, and other artisans required, and the different portions of the works were allotted to the different [illegible] to superintend, and the troops assisted. In the space of ten days it was compl[illegible], and Báyazíd, the Byát, the narrator, assisted in the work. Beg Mírak was appoin[illegible] governor and feudatory, and the name of the place was changed to Islám-ábád. Arrangements were made for the supplies required for the garrison being drawn from the towns and villages of Khost (of Badakhshán), Undar-Áb,‖ and Panj-her.

On the eleventh day the Bádsháh set out to inspect the silver mine, which is situated about two or three kuroh distant from the fort of the Parián, on the right-hand side of the road to Kábul. Pahlawán Dost was directed to bring the excavators thither, which he did, in order that they might work there. People of the neighbourhood, however, who were acquainted with the state of the mine, represented to the Bádsháh that the produce did not pay the expense of working it, so the idea of setting the excavators to work was given up. About ten o'clock at night the Bádsháh set out from thence for Kábul, and in the morning reached the Kotal or Pass of Shutar-Grám,

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* This description may apply correctly enough to the northern or north-eastern parts of Bilauristán as here described, but not to its southern and western parts.

† The author appears to refer to the great dara'hs, such, for example, as the Dara'h of Dángrak, mentioned at page 160.

‡ "Sarigh Chopan" of the maps probably, and the Sarigh Chaupán of Múnshí Faiz-Bakhsh, which he says is also called "Srahad," but we hear nothing from Mírzá Haidar of "the famous Baroghil pass," the situation of which, as shown by our maps, must have been in, or in close proximity to, his route.

§ That is "head of the river or stream," and Sir-i-ab, consequently, as in modern maps, is not correct. Sar, not Sir, is the Tájzík for head. This is a different place from Sar-i-Áb mentioned in note †, page 99.

‖ Undar-Áb is said, as previously mentioned, to be the correct name of this place and district, but in Major Wilson's map it is "Indar-Ab," while others write it "Andarab."

and lost the road, and all the efforts of the advance guard to find it were of no avail. At last a man on foot was espied at a distance, and he guided the Bádsháh and his force to the village of Shutar-Grám,* and it encamped on the banks of the Panj-her river. From thence Humáyún proceeded to Kábul by Ḳará-Bágh, and entered the city in the fourth solar month (July—August) of 955 H. (1548 A.D.).

In the Yúsufzí history I have quoted in these Notes it is stated that the Káfirís—those north of Panj-Korah, Suwád, and Buner, or Spín Káfirís are referred to—acknowledged, nominally at least, allegiance to Khán Kajú, who became chief of the Yúsufzís and Mandars after the decease of Malik Aḥmad.†

When Jalál-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, Akbar Bádsháh, reached Jalál-ábád on his return to Hindústán, in 989 H. (1581 A.D.), from his campaign against his brother, Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím, where the main body of his forces then were, under his eldest son, the Sháh-Zádah, Salím (afterwards Jahán-gír Bádsháh), he sent a detachment of troops to penetrate as far as the skirt of the mountains of Kaṭor, famous as the country of the Káfirán-i-Sí'áh-Posh,‡ but, unfortunately, no particulars are given respecting the upshot of the expedition.

During the reign of the same Bádsháh, Zain Khán, Kokal-Tásh, penetrated into the country of the Káfirís,§ lying near, and east of, Bájawr, in pursuit of Jalálah and Waḥdat 'Alí, his kinsman, but according to some accounts, his brother, the Táríkí leaders, and drove them out of that part, in which operations some Káfirís assisted the Bádsháh's troops. A short account of this expedition will be found farther on.‖

In the reign of Walí Muḥammad Khán, brother of Bákí Muḥammad Khán, the Úzbak ruler of Máwará-un-Nahr, Balkh, Ḳunduz, and Badakhshán, who succeeded his brother in 1014 H. (1605–6 A.D.), mention is made of an outbreak in the Ḳunduz territory, and the setting up of a Mírzá Ḥasan as ruler by the insurgents, who invested Ḳunduz. Imám Ḳulí Khán, brother's son of Walí Muḥammad Khán, who had lately been despatched by him at the head of a large army from Samarḳand against certain rebels in Chaghánián¶ and Badakhshán, and was still in those parts, near the Jíhún, sent a body of troops under the Arghún, Dostam, the Atálík, to the relief of Ḳunduz. He proceeded by way of Khulm, and the insurgents gave up the investment of Ḳunduz and fell back. He marched after them, came in contact with them at a place called Tang-i-Maraj of Badakhshán. They were overthrown and put to flight, and fled into the Káfiristán.

When Núr-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, Jahán-gír Bádsháh, reached Jalál-ábád, on his way to Kábul, in 1035 H. (1625 A.D.), a deputation of the Sí'áh-Posh Káfirí, from the Dara'h of Núr, came in and made their obeisance to the Bádsháh; "and now," says the author of the Iḳbál-Náma'h-i-Jahán-gírí, "I will mention a little concerning them, and their manners and customs. They resemble the Káfirís of Tibbat (the Spín or Safed-Poshán). They make an idol in the resemblance of a man and worship it; and do not marry more than one wife, except the first be barren, or the husband be displeased with her, or she refuses to live with him. In such case, however, if the relations of the first wife have the opportunity, they put the husband to death for repudiating her. If the father of any one takes a fancy to the wife of his son, it does not matter, and he can take her to himself.

"They have no places enclosed within one wall (as a walled town or village, or detached houses, he means); and those who desire to proceed to the dwelling of a relation or a kinsman are in the habit of going along the roofs of the houses of each other to enable them to do so. With the exception of hog's flesh, fish, and domestic poultry, all other food is lawful to them. They say that all among their people who

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* Neither the Kotal nor Shutar-Grám itself, although a well known place, appear in our maps.

† *See* page 123.

‡ In the account of the Amír Tímúr's expedition the historian makes a difference between the Sí'áh-Poshán and the Kaṭor Káfirs, but here they are styled Sí'áh-Poshán of the mountains of Kaṭor.

§ *See* page 170.

‖ Page 170.

¶ This place was, even as far back as the period in question, known as Dih-i-Nau, according to the Balkhí historian of the "Bahr-ul-Asrár fí Munákib-ul-Akhyár," written in 1050 H.

Chaghánián, which must not be mistaken for Shaghnán, is the plural of Chaghání, which was the name of a tribe. *See* my Translation of the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 423, note 8, and page 426. It was not unusual to call a district or territory after a person, or the tribe in possession, as in the case of the district of Ḳará-Tigín (قراتگین), which is a man's name so applied, and hitherto incorrectly written "Karatagheen," "Karatgin," "Caratakin," and in other erroneous ways. In the same way, the Ḳárlúgh Hazárah is so called after the well known Turk tribe of that name, and the district of Ḳunduz, called Ḳatghín after the Mughal tribe of that name.

In the same way we read in Al-Bírúní of the Shaghnán Sháh and the Wákhán Sháh, which names still survive in Shaghnán and Wákhán, as well as Kábul Sháh, Tirmiz Sháh, Khwárazm Sháh.

eat fish become blind. Meat is generally boiled, and eaten sometimes hot and sometimes cold. Cattle, such as oxen or buffaloes, they slaughter by striking the animal on the neck with a sword. Goats and sheep are killed by cutting their throats.

"The Káfirís are very fond of red-coloured clothes, and those among them who have slain a Musalmán fasten little bells round their waists. Their dead they dress in their best clothes, and place the defunct in a grave, along with his weapons (if the corpse of a man), a vessel of wine, and a cup.

"When they take oath or make a covenant, the head of a deer or goat is placed on a fire, withdrawn again, and placed on a branch of the *zaitún* or wild olive tree, and then they swear by it. They say that whoever breaks such an oath as that will certainly fall into calamity.

"The Bádsháh was much pleased at seeing these Sí'áh-Poshán and promised to give them whatever they desired to have. They asked for horses, swords, some money, and red dresses. Their desires were complied with; and they departed well pleased with their reception and presents."

The Sayyid, Ghulám Muḥammad, referred to in the Second Section, page 36, while at Kábul, visited the Kohistán of Kábul, and part of the tracts held by the Sáfí Afgháns. He gives us a little further information respecting the Tor or Sí'áh-Posh Káfirís. He says:—

"After some time, having obtained the Sháh's permission,* I set out in order to see the Kohistán, to Nijr-Áo, and the Sáfí country, which lie in the direction between north and east from Kábul. Mu'álij Khán, the Ṣúbah-dár of Kábul, accompanied me. The first stage was to Páe-i-Manár in the direction of north-west from Kábul, and distant six kos.† From thence we proceeded seven kos, in the same direction, to Chára'h-Kár, also called Cháríá-Kár, and then went on to Tutam Dara'h, north of Chára'h-Kár, below which latter place is the Panj-sher or Panj-her‡ river. The fourth stage was to Dih-i-Afghán, a distance of ten kos in the direction of west; the fifth to Ushtar-Grám,§ twelve kos to the south-west; the sixth to Sáfi, thirteen kos in the direction of south-west from Ushtar-Grám; and the next stage was Nijr-Áo or Nijr-Áb, distant from Sáfi ten kos south. We reached it in seven stages. Panj-her is distant eight kos to the south-west; and the route leading into Balkh lies near it.

"Nijr-Áb or Nijr-Áo is the name of a large and lofty mountain tract, and in the villages situated therein dwell people who speak the Persian language,‖ and they cultivate the soil. They are a worthy and warlike race, and they, and other people of these parts, carry on incessant warfare with the Sí'áh-Poshán or Tor Káfirís.

"The mountains in which the Káfirís dwell join the hills of Nijr-Áb on the south, and there, on the border, Bábar Bádsháh erected a frontier post in which *kashakchís* (guards) are still stationed. Hostilities constantly go on between the soldiers there located and the Sí'áh-Poshán.

"Beneath the hills of Nijr-Áb (to the east and south) are forests of pine, walnut, pistachio, jujube, and other trees, in which forests is found an animal called the mountain horse (*asp-i-kohí*), which is the size of a *yábú* (pony), and has a great deal of hair about its body, like a bear. The latter animal is also numerous there, and also the flying-fox.

"The Sí'áh-Poshán are in the habit of lying in ambush in these forests, and killing all Musalmáns who fall into their hands. It is a custom among these people to allow a man who has killed as many as forty Musalmáns to fasten an equivalent number of small bells around his waist, and he is accounted a great hero, and looked upon as a sacred person. The slaying of Musalmáns is part of their religion (after the manner of Musalmáns, who slay them on the same account). Their garments are of coarse black blanket made of goats' hair, hence their name of Sí'áh-Poshán or Black-clad.¶ The females of these people are red and white, and very handsome,

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* Tímúr Sháh, son of Aḥmad Sháh, and father of Sháh-i-Zamán and Sháh Shujá'-ul-Mulk.

† Computed by others to be two leagues from Kábul. It is not called "Paen Minar."

‡ I am inclined to believe that the words Panj-sher, supposed by some to mean five lions, and Panj-hír, are neither of them correct, and that the derivation of the name is Panj-her, as in the Masálik wa Mamálik, from "*her*'—هير—fire—the five fire altars, or place of five fires. *Her-bud*, means an attendant priest at a *her*.

§ Called "Ushtar" as well as "Shutar-Grám."

‖ These may be Tájzíks, but I am rather inclined to consider them a separate people, and the same as those referred to elsewhere, dwelling farther east, bearing the name of Kohístání. They may be descended from the Turk tribes referred to at pages 82 and 132.

¶ What the costume of the Tor Káfirís is like may be seen from one of the illustrations to Burnes' "Cabool."

but the males are plain and ill-looking. Men who enter their country disguised as devotees are not molested by them; and I was told,—God forgive us!—that they call such a man, 'the son of God.' Traders who go to the frontier of their territory, and take piece goods along with them, can obtain gold in exchange, for considerable quantities of that precious metal are found in the Káfiristán.

"In the Kohistán of Nijr-Áb pomegranates are produced weighing a *ser* and half each (3 lbs.), some of which are very sweet, and others between sweet and sour.

"In the country of the Sí'áh-Poshán also is found the species of black narcissus (dark grey?) called *shahlá*, which is rare, and held in great estimation. Many people go in search of them, but few are successful in finding them. One of these flowers, but dry and withered, Tímúr Sháh has in his possession, which a faḳír found and presented to that Bádsháh, and, from what he stated, I have written.

"The climate of the Kohistán of Níjr-Áb is very pleasant, and the district is full, so to say, of brooks and purling streams, and contains many verdant and delightful spots. Hawks and falcons are used here in taking birds, and numbers are kept for hunting purposes.

"I remained in this pleasant part for one month, after which I returned to Kábul."*

### *Eighteenth Route. From the S'hahr or K'hahr of Bájawṛ to Pashat and Kúnaṛ by way of Hindú-Ráj.*

"The route from the S'hahr or K'hahr of Bájawṛ to the village of Tarín is given in that leading from Pes'háwar to Chitrál, described at page 181. From Tarín two roads diverge. The left-hand route leads to Saur Kamar and Náwa'h-ga'í, and the right-hand route is this:—From Tarín you proceed one kuroh and a half to Khalúzí,† a large village lying on the right hand, on the other side of the Sherí river, or Áo-Sherí,‡ as it is also called, and from thence to Gaṭ,§ another considerable village. The river flows on the right hand, and the village of Sagaey‖ lies on the left. From Gaṭ you proceed another two kuroh and a half in the direction of north-west, and reach Ghás'haey or Ghák'haey,¶ the name of a small village, but one very well known, from its being situated at the foot of the Ghás'haey or Ghák'haey, whence it derives its name. A little to the north-west of it the ascent of the mountain range begins, and you continue to ascend for a distance of seven kuroh, and then reach the crest of the Pass, and this is called the Hindú-Ráj Ghás'haey or Ghák'haey.** From thence, descending on the other or western side for a distance of nearly seven kuroh more, you reach the small village known as Hindú-Ráj. Another four kuroh brings you to Ḥiṣára'h,†† a large village on the river of Chitrál, Chitrár, or Ḳáshḳár. The route from Ḥiṣára'h to Pashat has been given at page 151.‡‡

"By crossing the river under the village of Ḥiṣára'h by means of a raft, you can proceed to Chaghán-Saráe."

### *Nineteenth Route. From Pashat to Chaghán-Saráe.*

"Leaving Pashat and proceeding a quarter kuroh north-east, you reach the bank of the Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár river, and cross it on a raft to Koṭ-kaey—'the Fortlet or Little Fort'—which is a strong place on the western bank of the river. You then go on for a distance of two kuroh north to Kúz (Lower) Tarhang, also a strong fort on the right or western bank of the same river. One kuroh north-east from thence is Bar (Upper) Tarhang, also a stone-built fort on the banks of the river, which lie close by on the right hand.

"The Mír, 'Ubaid-ullah ('Abd-ullah at page 106) Ṣaḥib, after Nádir Sháh, Afshár,

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* For further geographical details respecting these districts bordering on the Káfiristán, *see* the following eleven routes, and the account of Ḳáshḳár and its routes.

† *See* pages 124 and 181.

‡ *See* pages 181 and 250.

§ *See* page 117.

‖ There is a doubt here. Two copies have Sagaey سگئي as above, but two others have Zagaey زگئي.

¶ *See* pages 152 and 163.

** *See* page 126. This well-known pass does not appear in any of our maps.

†† The name of this place is also written Ḥiṣárá, as many feminine names of places are, both being correct. *See* pages 152 and 171.

‡‡ *See also* page 171.

had retired (*see* page 110), rebuilt and re-fortified Koṭ-kaey* anew, and repaired and re-fortified both the Tarhangs, and made them places of security for himself.

"From Bar Tarhang six kuroh north-west is Báḍel, a small village on the left hand, at some distance from the road; and the very first village which the Afgháns (the Sáfís) took by force of arms from the Tor Káfirís or Sí'áh-Poshán was this one (*see* page 105). The river lies on the right hand, and a lofty mountain range distant on the left.

"From Báḍel you proceed a little way north and reach Tesha'h, which is another small village; and from thence you proceed three kuroh north to Mánogaey, a large village in the Dara'h of Chaghán-Saráe. A small river, which issues out of the Dara'h of Pích, passes to the east of this village, and, running to the right, joins the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár. The mountains of Kaṭar and Gambhír lie on the other side (farther side) of the small river referred to. From Mánogaey you proceed one kuroh east to Ḳamchey,† the name of two villages; and from thence two kuroh farther to the east is Ḳalá'-ga'í,‡ and another kuroh south is Karáhla'h. All these villages, which are on that (the farther) side of the river of Pích, are called Kúz (Lower) Chaghán Saráe by the Afgháns; and Shanbey-Gám, and some other villages, they call Bar (Upper) Chaghán Saráe;§ and they are peopled by Tájzíks.‖

"From Bar Tarhang to Chaghán-Saráe, the Tor Káfirís, or Sí'áh-Poshán, are wont to lie in ambush, and put travellers and wayfarers to death."

### *Twentieth Route. From Pashat to Goslak.*

"The road from Pashat to Koṭ-kaey has just been described in the preceding route. From opposite the latter place they have cut a large *nahr* or canal, which they style a *wála'h*, and brought it on the left-hand side, into their lands. The land lying between this canal and the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár they call 'shálí-zár,' signifying, in the Tájzík language, rice ground, land in which rice is or can be raised, and it is exceedingly productive.¶

"Leaving Koṭ-kaey you proceed a quarter kuroh north-west to L'wáṛ-gaey,** the name assigned to two or three villages belonging to the Sáfí Afgháns. From thence going another kuroh north-west, you reach Kánáḍar, the name of two villages belonging to the Bábaṛ tribe.†† Another half a kuroh in the same direction brings you to Kulmátí and Shaloṭaey,‡‡ two villages belonging to the people known as Dihḳáns or Dihgáns, situated on the river of Dew-Gal, which river comes from the left hand out of a dara'h among the mountains, and, running to the right, near the villages of Kánáḍar, joins the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár.

"From Shaloṭaey two roads diverge. The right hand one is as follows. From that place you proceed one kuroh to Chaukaey, three villages belonging to the Sáfí Afgháns; and the left-hand road, which, in fact, is the nearest, and also the most difficult, joins it at this place. Leaving Chaukaey and proceeding eight kuroh north, you come to Andar-Luchak,§§ a large village also belonging to the Sáfís; and on the way thither are numerous ascents and descents. You wend your way along the Dew-Gal river, with lofty mountain ranges near by on either hand, and numerous villages. Two roads diverge from this place also. The left-hand road is this. Leaving Andar-Luchak, and proceeding a very short distance to the north-west, you come to Bád-gúr.

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* *See* page 117.

† This name may possibly be Ḳamchí.

‡ Ḳalá' is the plural form of Ḳala', and *ga'í* the termination referred to in note §, page 113.

§ It will be noticed that there is no particular village or town called Chagán-Saráe, but, in ancient times, there might have been a White Saráe there. *See* page 107.

‖ *See* page 107.

¶ Gold washing is carried on at Pashat and in its neighbourhood to some extent, and has been for a long period of time.

** In one copy, Luhárgaey. *See* page 116, and note ‖, page 113.

†† Thus in the different copies of the MS. They must be an offshoot of the Sáfí or Ghalzí tribes, perhaps Bábú Ghalzís. It is by no means possible that they are of the well-known trading tribe of that name.

‡‡ This is the place marked "Shúlút," in Major-General Walker's maps, but it does not occur in Major Wilson's.

§§ The words (or word) are without vowel points, and the correct pronunciation is doubtful, but I have read them in the ordinary way. They may be Andaral-chak, but this is improbable. Lutsak, with Afghán "*ts*," signifies in the Pus'hto or Afghán language "lonesome," "solitary," "desolate," etc.

From thence you proceed four kuroh north-west to Chalas,* a large village situated on the acclivity of a mountain, and belonging to the sept of people called Kohistánís, previously referred to. North of it is the great mountain range, from which a river falls, which, running towards the south, through a dara'h in the mountains, unites with the river of Chitrál or Ḳashḳár.

"Ascending the range from that village, and proceeding upwards for a distance of seven kuroh (over the Chalas Ghás'haey, or Pass), and descending from the crest, on the other side, in the direction of north for about another seven kuroh, you reach Dera'h-i-Mullá-i-Nau, signifying 'The New Mullá's Halting Place' or 'Dwelling Place.' The summit of this mountain range, which is named Kunḍ by the Afgháns, and Tíraj-Mír by the Tájzíks of Ḳáshḳár,† and which always appears white from excessive snow, lies on the left hand. By the way are dense forests, among the trees of which are many descriptions of fruit-bearing trees, and much grass and herbage of various species; and, as from the smell of the grass (or herbage) a person becomes stupefied, people take an onion along with them in their hands, and immediately on their brain becoming affected they smell the onion and also eat it, and their brain recovers from the effect.‡

"From the three Sáfí villages named Chaukaey (previously mentioned as being one kuroh distant from Shaloṭaey) to the extreme point or crest of the Chalas Ghás'haey, this dara'h or valley is called Dew-Gal,§ and the Dera'h-i-Mullá-i-Nau is the name of a desolate halting place. Two kuroh north of the said dera'h the habitations and lands of the Kohistánís commence, and two kuroh to the north of it is a large village belonging to the Sáfí Afgháns called Kalaey, or The Village, and situated within the Dara'h of Pích.‖ A small river issues near this dara'h (from another dara'h opening into it), and below Kalaey joins the river of Pích. This latter dara'h, or cleft in the mountains,¶ is called the Chap Dara'h, and the severity of its cold is simply intense.

"Three kuroh north-west from Kalaey is Goslak, which is a large and well known village belonging to the Sáfí Agháns, and east of it is the confluence of the (two) rivers. The northern river comes from the Kohistán or mountain tracts of Wámáṇ:** the southern†† one flows from the mountain range of Koh-i-Kunḍ; and the two, having joined together, receive the name of river of Pích.

"From Goslak to Wámáṇ is three stages in the direction of north-west, and in that dara'h (one of) the tribes of the Tor Káfirís or Sí'áh-Poshán dwell.‡‡ The inhabitants are on terms of friendship with the Afghán people of this part (the Sáfís).§§

"The right-hand road is this. You leave Andar-Luchak, and proceed up the mountains by a Pass for a distance of eight kuroh in the direction of north, and, having reached the crest of the range, descend for about the same distance towards the north-east, and reach Gauṛan-Gal (in one copy, Kauṛan-Gal), which is a large village belonging to the Kohistání sept of people. This Pass over the mountain range is known as the Gauṛan-Gal Ghás'haey.‖‖ Leaving Gauṛan-Gal village, and ascending the mountains for a distance of two kuroh in the direction of north-east, and again descending for two kuroh in the same direction, you reach Kanḍa'h-Gal, a small village of the Sáfí Afgháns, situated on the river of Pích.

"You then proceed four kuroh north-west to Gorú or Gúro, and then another kuroh to the east brings you to Gúrol (in one copy Gúrarol). Proceeding one kuroh farther east, Aoṭey-Grám or Úṭey-Grám¶¶ is reached, and another kuroh from

* In one copy Chalbas, but scarcely correct.

† Tíraj-Mír, also called Sarowar. *See* page 156. A peak of this range appears in Elphinstone's map under the name of "Coond," but it is the name given to the range and not to a single peak.

‡ There are other "Onion Mountains" apparently, besides those of Tibbat referred to in note *, page 180.

§ *See* page 108.

‖ This is a dependency of Kúnaṛ, but it is a separate dara'h.

¶ It is a dara'h opening into the other.

** For an account of the Dara'h of Wámáṇ, or Wáma'h, *see* page 134.

†† It is not meant here that the river comes from the south, but that one comes from the north and the other runs to the southward of that, and south of Goslak village. Its probable course is north-west or thereabouts, flowing, as it does, from Koh-i-Kunḍ. I have before remarked, in note ¶, page 101, that what appears, in our latest maps, far away in the north, as the source of the Alingár or Kow river, will be found really to be a tributary of the Pích river, and, consequently, of the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár; and from what is mentioned above, and in the account of the Dara'h of Wáma'h or Wámáṇ, I feel pretty certain that my surmises will turn out correct. I believe a cross chain intervenes between the sources of the two rivers of Kow and Pích, running north-west and south-east. This river I believe to be the identical one reached by Amír Tímúr, referred to at page 137. *See* note **, page 101, and page 147.

‡‡ *See* "Notes on Káfiristán," page 24.

§§ *See* page 105.

‖‖ Not to be found in any of our maps.

¶¶ In one copy Awṭey-Grám.

thence, to the north-west, Náṭí-Grám. From that place you go on for another three kuroh to the north-west to Koṭ-Gal,* and two kuroh west from thence to Kaṇḍaey. Another half a kuroh in the direction of west brings you opposite to Kalaey of the Sáfís, mentioned in the left-hand route, and which lies on the left-hand side. The river previously mentioned as issuing from the Chap Dara'h, on the right hand, unites with the river of Pích. From thence (the point near Kalaey) you proceed three kuroh north-west to Goslak, under or below which village there is a wooden bridge over both rivers.

"Three kuroh south-west of Goslak is Bustalá, which is the name of a village at the foot of the range of Koh-i-Kuṇḍ, from which direction a river comes.

"From the village of Kaṇḍa'h-Gal to Kalaey, in fact, from Kaṇḍa'h-Gal to the wooden bridge spanning the river of Bustalá below Goslak, the river of Pích lies near by on the right-hand side, and you proceed along the heights overhanging it."†

*Twenty-first Route. From Chaghán-Saráe to Goslak.*

"From Máno-gaey, in the Dara'h of Chaghán-Saráe, mentioned in the nineteenth route (page 144), you proceed four kuroh north-west to Shanbey-Gám, which is a large village, and on the way thither there is much water. The country is in a good state of cultivation, and populous; and the river of Pích lies near by on the right hand. From this village two roads diverge. The right-hand one is as follows.

"Leaving Shanbey-Gám, you proceed in the direction of east, and pass the river of Pích by the wooden bridge, and then, going for a short distance to the north of it, reach Aoṭá or Úṭá-púr, a village of considerable size, peopled by Tájzíks, and from this place the Dara'h of Chaghán-Saráe terminates.

"From Aoṭá or Úṭá-púr you proceed five kuroh to the north-west to Bár Kaṇḍaey, the name applied to two villages of the Sáfí Afgháns; and, as in this route great numbers of Musalmáns have lost their lives (from time to time) at the hands of the Tor Káfirís or Sí'áh-Poshán, this road has been named the Ráh-i-Shahídán, or 'The Martyrs' Road,'‡ and it is very narrow and very difficult. A lofty mountain range rises on the right hand, and the river of Pích flows on the left.

"From Bár Kaṇḍaey, you go on for a distance of five kuroh in the direction of north-west, and reach Daraey, a village of the Sáfí Afgháns; and another half a kuroh, in the same direction as before, brings you to Nang-Lám (نگلام).§ This is a large and well known village, belonging to the Sáfí Afgháns, and is situated at the entrance of a gorge. About half the village (and its lands) is inhabited by the Kohistání people in conjunction with the Sáfís. On the right-hand side of the village (from the way the narrator approached Nang-Lám from Bár Kaṇḍaey, that is to say, the right-hand side from the north-west) is the commencement of a great Dara'h called Wánat,‖ previously described (at page 132), the chief place in which, and the residence of the Chief, Sharaf Gul Khán, is called Wáe-Gal. A river flows out of it, which runs to the right, and joins the river of Pích, and over it they have thrown a wooden bridge.

"Crossing the river of Wánat near Nang-Lám by the wooden bridge, you proceed one kuroh west to Racha'h-Lám, a village inhabited by Sáfí Afgháns. From the latter place you go one kuroh and a half east to Kaṇḍaey, another large village inhabited by the same tribe, and then four kuroh in the same direction to Saidur, another

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* It will be noticed how often the word "*gal*," written with short "*a*," occurs as an affix to names of places in these parts, as in Núr-Gal, Wáe-Gal, Dew-Gal, Kaṇḍa'h-Gal, etc. In the same manner *lám* frequently occurs, and *úz* in the termination of Kám-úz, Dey-úz, or Dí-úz, etc. What these words may mean I cannot say, but they are certainly not without some appropriate signification. They are not Persian or Tájzík, nor are they Pus'hto. The same may be said of *ṭan*, as in Shúr-ṭan, and Chugyá-ṭan.

† The writer seems to mean that the banks of the river are high, and that you proceed along these cliffs, the river flowing beneath.

‡ All Muḥammadan writers complain of the hostility of the Tor and Spín Káfirís, especially the former, and their slaying travellers and others whom they can waylay. They do not for a moment imagine that there can be any martyrs among the Káfirís. They are supposed to forget what they have suffered, and are still suffering, at the hands of Musalmáns,—their lands seized, their property plundered, and constant raids made upon them for the express capture of their young people, who are carried away, and sold into slavery.

§ This name, in Major Wilson's map, is written "Noghlan," with a *gh*, another specimen of the vitiation of words, but in Chaghán-Saráe, which *does* contain guttural *gh*, it is left out, and the word is written "Chigur Serai." In the above word also *n* has been substituted for the final *m*.

‖ There is a *village* marked in Major Wilson's map as "Want," but this is merely the vitiated name of the great dara'h, which appears to have been considered a village only. Wánat is thirty kuroh in length.—*See* page 132.

village of the Sáfís. Below this village there is a wooden bridge over the river of Pích. From Saidur you go half a kuroh to the west to the large village of Lándá-ír, and then two kuroh more in the same direction, and cross the river of Pích by the wooden bridge to Kandaey, above mentioned. The road from this place to Goslak has been already described (at page 146) in the preceding route.

"From Aoṭá-púr or Úṭá-púr to the wooden bridge at Kandaey, you proceed along the heights, and the river of Pích lies on the left-hand side, and the crest of the mountain range on the right.

"The left-hand route is this. Leaving Shanbey-Gám and proceeding four kuroh to the north-west, inclining north, you reach Kaṭár Ḳala',* a stone built fort belonging to the Sáfís. You then go on from thence for a distance of three kuroh in the direction of north-west, to Kanḍa'h-Gal. This route they called Súṛey Gaṭa'h, 'the Perforated Stone'† Road. The river of Pích flows on the right hand, and the great mountain range towers upwards on the left.

"The road from Kanḍa'h-Gal to Goslak has been already detailed (at page 145)."

### *Twenty-second Route. From Núr-Gal to Sho-másh.*

"Leaving Núr-Gal (*see* page 110) and proceeding six kuroh to the north-west, inclining north, into a dara'h or valley in the mountains, you reach Kar-Chandú, the name by which several villages are called, belonging to the Sáfí Afgháns. You then go on for a distance of seven kuroh north, to Ghází-ábád, the name given to three villages belonging to the same tribe. Another seven kuroh farther, in the direction of north-west, brings you to Sho-másh, a large village belonging to the people known by the name of Kohistánís. This dara'h, extending from Núr-Gal to Sho-másh, is known as the Dara'h of Mazár, previously described (at page 108). A river issues from the great mountain range north of Sho-másh, which passes Ghází-ábád and Kar-Chandú, and becomes expended in irrigating the lands dependent on Núr-Gal.

"Every footstep you take from Núr-Gal towards Sho-másh is on the ascent, and you follow the course of the river above referred to. Towards the north from Sho-másh is a lofty mountain, always capped with snow, which is part of the mighty range known as Kund, Tíraj-Mír, and Sarowar, described in the account of the territory of Ḳáshḳár farther on (page 157)."

### *Twenty-third Route. From S'hewa'h to Sho-másh.*

"Setting out from S'hewa'h or K'hewa'h‡ you proceed four kuroh north-west to Buḍa'h-Yála'í, a place inhabited by Sáfí Afgháns, and from thence proceeding another kuroh farther in the same direction, reach Ḳala'-i-Sháhí, a large village belonging to the people known as Kohistánís. You then go on for four kuroh more, still in the direction of north-west, to Stan,§ another large village belonging to the same race of people, and then on to Sarúṛ and Khandaey, distant between six and seven kuroh north, the names by which several villages belonging to the Spín Káfirís, or Safed-Poshán, are known.‖ This tribe is so called on account of their wearing white apparel.

"Leaving the Spín Káfirí villages and going six kuroh north, Aret is reached, which is another large village, situated on a steep slope of the mountain, and belonging to the Kohistání people. One kuroh farther in the direction of north brings you to Sho-másh.

"The dara'h extending from S'hewa'h or K'hewa'h to Sarúṛ they call the Dara'h of Núr (*see* page 108). On the north it adjoins the range of Koh-i-Kund, from which a

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* Kaṭár is the name of the most bigoted of the Tor Káfirí tribes.—*See* "Notes on Káfiristán," page 26.

† The writer does not give the meaning of these words, but "súṛaey" and "súṛa'h" in the Afghán language signify a fissure, a chasm, orifice, hole, opening, &c., and "gaṭa'h," a large round stone or boulder, fragment of rock, and the like. The name of the route, therefore, appears capable of this translation, *lit.* "the Hole or Fissure Stone or Rock," a noun being often used in place of an adjective to qualify another noun.—*See* my Grammar, page 24.

‡ *See page 109.* This word being feminine, it would become S'hewey or K'hewey by inflection in conversation with Afgháns.

§ In one copy "Sutun."

‖ These villages are situated in the Dara'h of Núr, and Khandaey is the chief. *See* pages 109 and 110.

river issues, the water of which is expended in the irrigation of the lands of S'hewa'h or K'hewa'h.*

"In following the route just described you keep along the course of the river, and every footstep you take is upwards; and close by, on either side, lofty mountains rise, which are well wooded, and contain many fruit-bearing as well as other trees, and shrubs of various kinds.

"By going from the village of Stan in the direction of west, and crossing a great mountain range, people descend into the Dara'h of Alingár."†

### *Twenty-fourth Route. From Chaghán-Saráe to Wáe-Gal.*‡

"The route from Chaghán-Saráe to Nang-Lám has been previously detailed (at page 146) in the twenty-first route. Leaving Nang-Lám you proceed six kuroh (in the direction of north-west) to Nasha'í, a large village belonging to, and named after, a sub-tribe of the Tor Káfirís or Sí'áh-Poshán who inhabit it. Its inhabitants are so famed for their valour and intrepidity among their own people as to have become proverbial. From thence seven kuroh farther north is Wáe-Gal, a large village, and place of residence of Arjalah Khán,§ the Tor Káfirí. This dara'h or great cleft in the mountains, extending from near Nang-Lám to Wáe-Gal, is known as the Dara'h of Wánat, previously described (at page 132)."

### *Twenty-fifth Route. From Shúr-ṭan|| to Wáe-Gal.*

"Having crossed the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár at Shúr-ṭan (mentioned at pages 151 and 172) to the western bank, you proceed one kuroh west, and then enter a dara'h among the mountains. From that point you turn to the north, and proceed for the distance of another kuroh, when you begin to reach cultivation and habitations. You then continue to go on for another seven kuroh in the direction of north-west, when a great mountain range commences. By the way, from the banks of the river towards this point, there are ten or twelve villages belonging to the Shinwárí tribe of Afgháns, and known by the general name of Shí-Gal.¶ Proceeding north from the commencement of the great mountain range referred to, and wending your way for a distance of ten kuroh, ascending and descending the ascents and descents of this range, you reach the large village of Punat,** belonging to the Tor Káfirís or Sí'áh-Poshán.

"You then proceed three kuroh from thence, in the direction of north, to Birah-Gal or Berah-Gal, also inhabited by the same race of people, and, after going another three kuroh farther north, you reach Chonash,†† likewise inhabited by the Tor Káfirís. This Dara'h they style Punat, and it is under the sway of Arjalah Khán before mentioned.

"The river which issues from this dara'h passes beyond Shí-Gal, and joins the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár.

"Setting out from Chonash and proceeding twelve kuroh west, inclining north-west, you reach Wáe-Gal, which they also call Wáe-Galán.‡‡ On the way thither you have to cross a lofty defile or pass, leading over mountains towering to the heavens."

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* The eastern Afgháns pronounce *s'h* as *k'h*, as in Pes'háwar and Pek'háwar, and therefore I need not give both forms of the word again. *See* pages 106 and 109.

† *See* note **, page 101, and note ††, page 145.

‡ This is the chief place of the Wánat Dara'h and residence of its chief. *See* page 132.

§ All great chiefs of whatever race in these parts appear to have the title of Khán assigned to them, whether right or not. To a Káfirí chief it is only applicable under the signification of "Chief." At page 133, Wáe-Gal is said to be the place of residence of the chief of the tribe of the Tor Káfirís of Wánat, namely, Sharaf Gul Khán, an anecdote of whose magnanimity is there related. Arjalah Khán, who appears to have been a member of the same family, and also resided here, held sway over the Punat Dara'h mentioned below.

|| Incorrectly written "Shurlan" in the latest maps.

¶ The Dara'h is also called Shí-Gal. *See* page 107.

** Masson heard of this place, but he made "Pandit" of it.

†† The "Chanesh" of Major Wilson's map is evidently the vitiated form of this name.

‡‡ The plural form of Wáe-Gal.

*Twenty-sixth Route. From Harandú to Apá-luk, up the Dara'h of Luṭ-Dih, which route leads into Badakhshán.*

"By this route you leave Harandú, proceed north-west, and cross the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár by means of a raft. You then continue to proceed for a distance of sixteen kuroh farther to the north-west (through a dara'h) to Kám-úz,* a large village belonging to the Tor Káfirís of the Kám-úz tribe, and the place of residence of Daey-Mú and Astan Malik. Those persons pay allegiance to the Bádsháhs of Ḳáshḳár. On the way thither (from Harandú) are several villages belonging to the Tor Káfirís or Sí'áh-Poshán, and the dara'h itself is called the Dara'h of Kám-úz. The Ḳáshḳárí people likewise call it Kám.

"Leaving the Kám-úz village you proceed one kuroh north-west to the village of Kauzálah, and a little to the north-west of it is Munjish, which the Afghán people call Kashtúr,† and which is under the sway of Dín Malik and Kauzálah Malik. From thence you proceed four kuroh (in the same direction as before) to Mádo-Gal, and then another four kuroh north to Pur Sitam, afterwards three kuroh farther to Chápú, and a distance of eight kuroh more brings you to Luṭ-Dih, a large village, under the rule of Luṭ-Kár and Shut Malik. This territory is likewise called Luṭ-Dih, which is the name of the great dara'h, previously described (at page 133), the greater part of which belongs to the Tor Káfirís. It extends in length from near the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár to the Kotal, or Pass, of Apá-luk, over the great snowy mountain range of Tíraj-Mír, Sarowar, or Koh-i-Kunḍ, as it is variously called, a distance of nearly fifty kuroh.

"From Luṭ-Dih you proceed five kuroh in the direction of north, and reach Pada-mukhh, and then another seven kuroh in the same direction to Shut-Gal. Nine kuroh more, in the same direction as before, brings you to Apá-luk, the name of a desolate halting place at the foot of the great snowy range above referred to. By crossing this mountain range you can proceed into Badakhshán, by the defile leading over it called the Kotal or Pass of Apá-luk."

The Apá-luk Pass is a very important one, and has never yet been mentioned by any other writer than the author of these surveys, and I mention it that he may receive the credit due to him. It is but ninety-six miles in a straight line from the town of Jalál-ábád, eighty-eight from Pashat, one hundred and twenty-five from our frontier fort of Abá-zí, and within less than one hundred and fifty miles of Pes'háwar. I believe it to be as practicable as the majority of the passes over the Hindú-Koh range, the "famous Baroghil Pass," by which "Jinjis" did not return from the Indus to "Kashgar," included. It would probably offer no greater obstacles than we first encountered in the Bolán and Khaibar Passes.

An enemy in possession of Badakhshán, desiring to reach Jalál-ábád or Pes'háwar, would save a vast distance by adopting it instead of the passes leading to Kábul. He might either reach Jalál-ábád by the Lamghán district, or by Kúnar, or reach Pes'háwar by Dánish-Kol, and other routes herein described. Besides the Apá-luk Kotal, an enemy in possession of Badakhshán would also be able to command the other passes farther east, leading into Ḳáshḳár, described farther on. The Russians have not been exploring on the border,—in fact in Badakhshán itself,‡—and pushing their *reconnoissances* southward in this direction for nothing, neither has a Russian General been lately in Darwáz without an object. It is that they may have "more strings to their bow" than Marw.

To return to the description of the route.

"At this halting place (Apá-luk) a river issues from these mountains, which flows downwards, and finally enters the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár near Harandú; and in going to Apá-luk from the last-named place you follow the course of the river, with lofty mountains rising on either side of you. The keenness of the air in this part is so excessive as to be almost beyond explanation."

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* Kám-úz is one of the eighteen tribes mentioned in my "Notes on Káfiristán," page 26.

† Here, as at page 133, in two copies of the original it is Kashtúr.

‡ *See* page 162.

*Twenty-seventh Route. From Luṭ-Dih to Shaghut.*

"Setting out from Luṭ-Dih you proceed for a distance of thirty kuroh east to Bushḳar, a village of considerable size inhabited by Tor Káfirís or Sí'áh-Poshán. On the way thither you experience intense cold and pass over lofty defiles. The Tor Káfirís here dwell as *ílát* or nomads, and also as permanent inhabitants in settled abodes. The mountainous tract here referred to is known by the name of Luṭ-Koh.

"From Bushḳar two kuroh to the north-east is a spring of hot water, as has been mentioned at page 160, and a little stream issues from that point and flows on to Shaghut. Going one kuroh north-east from thence (the hot spring), you reach Dur-shub, a place inhabited by Kohistánís, and another three kuroh in the same direction brings you to Múgh,* which is a large village belonging to the Tájzík race.

"By the way you pass much cultivation and many inhabited places. A small river comes from the left hand (of Múgh), and joins the Áb or river of Dur-shub. From Múgh you go on for a distance of four kuroh in the direction of north-east, and reach Shaghut, which is the name of a town as well as of the Dara'h, and the seat of government and residence of Khán Bahádur, Bádsháh, who pays allegiance to the ruler of Ḳáshḳár, to which Shaghut belongs, and will be found described under the head of Ḳáshḳár farther on (at page 158).

"South of Shaghut there is a wooden bridge over the river of Dur-shub, by which you proceed. East of Shaghut, again, is the junction of several rivers. The stream from the Dara'h of Újur, at the foot of the snowy mountain range† (see pages 157 and 186), the river of the Dara'h of Momí, and that of Dur-shub here unite, and then, running to the south-east, fall into the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár.‡

"The whole of the preceding ten routes, as well as the Twelfth Route (page 104), are more or less infested by the Tor Káfirís or Sí'áh-Poshán, who lie in ambush and slay travellers who may fall into their hands. By those leading to Wáe-Gal, Apá-luk, and Luṭ-Koh, none but the Tor-Káfirís are able to proceed for the same reason, unless travellers can secure their permission, or enter into an agreement with them. It is very unusual, however, for the Tor Káfirís to enter into such accord with other races, or to admit strangers into their country."§

*Twenty-eighth Route. From Pashat, the chief town of Kúnaṛ, to Kaṭár and Gambhír.*

"The route leading from Pashat to Úṭá-púr has been before described (at page 146). From thence you proceed upwards for a distance of eight kuroh, in the direction of north-east, over a difficult mountain range. Arrived there, you find four villages situated on a plateau or table land, belonging to the Tor Káfirís or Sí'áh-Poshán. The first is called Gambhír; the second, which is styled Sál-gár and Sáe-gár,‖ lies north of Gambhír; the third is Kaṭár, and lies south of Gambhír;¶ and the fourth is known as Dey-úz or Dí-úz,** and is situated east of Gambhír.

"In the sides of the mountains around these four villages, situated as they are in this elevated position, are numerous ravines. There is abundance of water, and the gardens are very numerous. From this elevated site likewise, the villages of the Dara'h of Dew-Gal†† can be seen away in the east."

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* *See* page 184.

† *See* page 156.

‡ Here is another instance of how proper names are rendered unintelligible by trusting to the ear alone. Shaghut, Dur-shub, Momí, and Úí-rú, are what the "Havildar" has rendered Shogoth, Darosh, Momia, and Oweer; Major-General Walker has not got the first word down, but the second and third are the same as above given, and for the fourth he has Ovir. In Major Wilson's map, again, these appear as Shagar or Shogoth, Darosh, Momia, and Obir! Momia for Momí might pass, but not one of the others is correct as written and pronounced by the people of these parts.

§ Unless under the disguise of devotees, as mentioned at page 143.

‖ In MS. ر and ز when no points are given, are very liable to be mistaken one for the other. As ر and ل are often interchangeable, Sáe-gár evidently refers to Sáe-gál. See my "Káfiristán," page 23.

¶ This is also plainly written Gamanbhír in two copies, and, sometimes, in all four.

** This place is what Masson heard of, but not seeing it written, turned it forthwith into "Déh (village) Uz." These four places are near the frontier of Kúnaṛ which Masson visited, but which name, like most of the proper names in his works, through trusting to the ear alone, he vitiates, and makes "Khonar" of. The termination "úz" occurs in several names, Kám-úz for example, which is the name of one of the tribes.

†† See pages 108 and 144.

*Twenty-ninth Route. From Pashat of the Bábú-Ḳara'h or Bábá-Ḳará Dara'h to Shúr-ṭan on the River of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár.*

"From Pashat of Bábá or Bábú-Ḳará there are two roads to Shúr-ṭan.* The right-hand road is as follows:—

"Setting out from Pashat of Bábú-Ḳará you go three kuroh in the direction of north to Kán-Baṭ, a small village peopled by the 'Arab sept or tribe,† previously referred to (at page 117), who are known as Sikandarí (that is to say, Alexanderine),‡ and pay obedience to the Tarkalární Afghán Chief. From thence you go on for half a kuroh north-west to Gibar-Koṭ,§ an ancient fortress (now wholly dilapidated and desolate), and then half a kuroh farther north to Bagandel, a place inhabited by Tarkalárnís. Proceeding another twenty-four kuroh from thence you reach Shúr-ṭan, which, as before mentioned, is a village of considerable size on the banks of the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár. On the way thither you have to cross the great mountain range separating Kúnaṛ from Bájawṛ, in the clefts and recesses of which snow always lies, and in that range the Tor Káfirís lie in ambush to waylay travellers and kill them.

"The left-hand route is this. From Pashat of Bábá-Ḳará you proceed three kuroh, a little to the west of north, to Lo-e-Grám,—'the Great Village,' and Kán-Baṭ lies near by on the right hand. From thence you go twelve kuroh to Kalaey-i-Maḥmúd Khán, Tarkalární,—'Maḥmúd Khán's Village'—and by the way have to cross the same lofty range of mountains. The climate is exceedingly cold, and the Tor Káfirís, or Black-clad Unbelievers, infest the road.

"You go on from the last-mentioned village seven kuroh in the direction of west, inclining north-west, to Shúr-ṭan, and the road is much the same as before."

*Thirtieth Route. From Pashat of Bábá-Ḳarah or Bábú-Ḳará to Pashat, the chief town of Kúnaṛ.*

"Leaving Pashat of Bábá-Ḳará you proceed five kuroh in the direction of south-west to Kuwwá,‖ a small village, and on the way thither you pass numerous small villages, and go up and down many ascents and descents. You then proceed another kuroh and a half in the direction of south-west, inclining west, to the large village of Ḍhammá-Duhola'h, and from that place on to Ḍer.¶ From thence you go on for

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* See pages 148, 166, and 172.

† It is quite a mistake to suppose, as has been stated in a recent compilation, that these "so-called" 'Arabs either came with "Timúrlang," or that they "have colonized Bajáwar, Péshawar, and Paghmán." Where they are to be found in Pes'háwar the chronicler sayeth not. They are the ancient—the most ancient, as far as we know—inhabitants of Bájawṛ, and had been settled therein centuries before the appearance of the Afgháns in that territory, and long anterior to Amír Tímúr's day. It is amusing to find that those enthusiasts who would make out the Afgháns or Paṭáns to be the Πάκτυες of the Greeks, the "Kakars" to be "Dadicæ," the "Afridis" "Aparytœ," and such like nonsense, do not take into the least account the various tribes of people whom the Afgháns found in the tracts north of the river of Kábul when they first entered them, several tribes of which have been mentioned in these "Notes."

‡ See pages 106 and 117, note †, page 156, para. 14, and note †, page 203, para. 5.

§ This place I believe to be the fortress in which Sulṭán Mas'úd, the Martyr, was imprisoned by his brother, when some of his troops mutinied against him at Márígalah, and in which he was subsequently murdered by Aḥmad, son of the blind Muḥammad, in Jamádí-ul-Awwal, 433 H. See my "Translation of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 95.

The word is written گیری Gírí, گِری Girí, and گِبری Gibarí, as well as گیبری Gíbarí, but, in the majority of MSS. in which the name occurs, it is گیری, but when we take into account that the point of ـِـ is often turned into ـَـ in MSS., and *vice versâ*, and that the copyists often use little or no discrimination, I am pretty well convinced that the fortress here referred to, Ḳila'-i-Gibarí or Gibar Koṭ, is the identical place.

Sulṭán Maḥmúd, Mas'úd's father, made conquests in these very parts, as mentioned elsewhere (page 135), and it is evident that the Ghaznín Sulṭáns held sway over them, which were dependencies of Burshábur, also called Parsháwar (Pes'háwar); and it is also clear that, when the Chingiz Khán invaded the Khwárazmí territory south of the Hindú-Koh, these parts were in possession of the Ighráḳí Musalmáns, who were Turks (hence the occurrence of so many Turkish names), and that from them he took the fortress of Gíbarí. See "Translation of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," note 2, page 76, note at page 1021, page 1043, and note §, page 167 of this Section of Notes.

‖ See page 168.

¶ This is not Dír of Panj-Korah, it must be remembered, but the village referred to at page 117, belonging to the Útlaey Dara'h of Bájawṛ, is differently spelt, and has a meaning in Pus'hto.

There is no doubt whatever as to which side of the mountain range separating Bájawṛ from Chitrál and Kúnaṛ the Bábá-Ḳarah Dara'h lies, and certainly Panj-Korah does not, and never did, extend down to the Kúnaṛ river, nor within thirty miles of it. See Colonel C. M. MacGregor's "Central Asia," Part I., page 122.

another half a kuroh west to Budálaey, which is also a considerable village, then another kuroh and a half south-west to Khirḳa'h, another large village, and from thence a distance of two kuroh more (towards the west) brings you to Tsaparaey, mentioned (at page 180). You then proceed two kuroh farther to Ghás'haey,* the name of the small village at the foot of the pass over the mountains. From this point to Hindú-Ráj and Ḥiṣára'h, the road has been already described" (at page 143).

It will have been clearly understood from the general description of its dara'hs and rivers at page 115, and from the description of the routes just concluded,† that Bájawṛ is not, by any manner of means, "an undulating plain," as some have stated it to be, "twenty-five miles long and from two to seven broad;" neither is "the southern part of "Bajáwár (*sic*) a fine open valley varying from three to as much as fifteen miles in "width, and about thirty-five to forty miles in length." Bájawṛ is totally different. It is not "bounded on the north by Panjkora," but by the southernmost part of the Ḳáshḳár State. Panj-Korah bounds its upper portion on the east and north-east. "Nawagai" is not the name of either "a district" or a dara'h; neither is there "a "district" called "Mahmúd," which is a man's name, but there is a "kalaey" or "village" of Maḥmúd Khán, just mentioned in the twenty-ninth route.

In Major T. J. Montgomerie's account of his "Sapper Havildar's journey," in the "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society," Vol. 42, for 1872, page 182, we are told, on the authority of the "Havildar," apparently, that "Bajaur is divided into *three* "districts, viz., Jandul (Miankilai‡), Nawagai, and Shahr." The foregoing account will show how erroneous this statement is. Bájawṛ consists of eight Dara'hs, and the "Havildar" has named but one of them, Jandul, and that incorrectly. It is a pity that the "Havildar," during his survey, could not manage to obtain and write down the proper names of both persons and places. In the article in question as they now stand, such as "Jandul"§ for Chanḍawul, "Burwa" (by no means a nice name) for Bárwah, etc., a person who so pronounced them to the people would not be understood.

I must say that the map accompanying the Mullá's explorations, published in the "Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal," meagre as his explorations appear to have been, is certainly the more correct one here, as far as it goes, as is confirmed by the details of the surveys which I have given in the preceding pages.

I have now completed the description of the routes leading into Lamghán, Kúnaṛ, Kámáṇ, Bájawṛ, Pes'háwar, and the Káfiristán, and given a brief account of those parts, and some of the other dependencies of the Kábul territory, peopled by the Tájzík race. I must therefore turn northwards now towards Ḳáshḳár, after which I shall move eastwards towards Tibbat and the Abáe Sín or Indus, and give a short account of the various tracts of country in that direction down as far as Aṭak and Pes'háwar.

1st September 1879.

## Ḳáshḳár and its Dara'hs.

Before entering upon the details of the routes leading into Ḳáshḳár,‖ it will be well to give some account of the country, which is known generally to Europeans, but very erroneously so, as the country of Shah-Kator.¶

"Under the general name of Ḳáshḳár are included two tracts of country: one, Ḳáshḳár-i-Pá'ín, or Lower Ḳáshḳár, also called Chitrál, which, on account of *l* being interchangeable with *r*, is also called Chitrár, and the other Ḳáshḳár-i-Bálá,** or Upper Ḳáshḳár, or Mastúch, from its chief town.

"This is an extensive tract of territory inhabited almost exclusively by the Tájzík

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* See pages 143 and 164.

† *See* also page 184.

‡ This is probably meant for Kalaey-i-Miágán, or Da Miágáno Kalaey, referred to at pages 164 and 168.

§ "Jhandaul" is equally incorrect. The word is evidently Turkish.

‖ It must not be supposed, from the title of these "Notes," that I account Ḳáshḳár and other independent States to be contained in Afghánistán, because I do not. As I have before explained, Afghánistán is properly such parts as Afgháns dwell in.

¶ Which is not correct, but Sháh-i-Kaṭor,—King of the Kaṭor (people), as Abú-l-Faẓl writes it in the Á'ín-i-Akbarí. *See* also note §, page 133. "Khator" is out of the question, there being no *h* in the word.

** Afgháns, in conversation, would translate Pá'ín and Bálá into Pus'hto, and call these Kúz and Pás, or Lar and Bar, Ḳáshḳár, but the names by which they are known to their inhabitants are as above.

race, and consists of nine large dara'hs or valleys, upon each of which numerous smaller ones open."*

Since I wrote my "Accounts" of "Ḳáshḳár and Panj-Korah," and "Upper and "Lower Suwát," in the "Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society," No. II., for 1864, and No. III., for 1862, I have obtained much extra information concerning this country and other territories north of the Kábul river, and I am gratified to find that, although the former paper, written seventeen years ago, was somewhat meagre, I have little or nothing to alter or correct, and that much of the same information as is contained in it has since been corroborated by native explorers and others, as a comparison of their reports will show, and also that much is contained in it which they did not discover.

"The whole of this extensive territory, included under the name of Ḳáshḳár, may be called one great Dara'h. Its climate is severe, it contains lofty mountain ranges, and lies immediately on the skirts of the great snowy range, here called Tíraj-Mír and Sarowar, which bounds it on the north, and for some distance on the north-west.

"This tract is famous for all sorts of delicious fruits, which are produced in great abundance, and for the pureness of its water, which is obtainable from a thousand springs. It contains, as previously mentioned, nine large dara'hs, and out of the lesser ramifications of which, or still smaller valleys among the mountains which open into them, rivers of greater or less extent issue, and join the river of Ḳáshḳár, Chitrál, or Chitrár, or Palpí Sang, as it is variously designated.

"There is little level ground throughout this country; and the people build their villages on hills, and the ridges and slopes of mountains, and there till the land available for cultivation. The land is mostly dependent on rain for irrigation, but a good deal is irrigated by means of canals and cuts from the rivers, when the nature of the ground facilitates their construction. The tax assessed on the former lands is one tenth of the produce, and on the latter one fourth. Barley, wheat, and rice are produced in abundance, and the hills and wilds may be said to teem with various fruit and nut-bearing trees, and shrubs.

"Salt, turmeric, and small wares, such as needles, thread, scissors, knives, combs, etc., of rough workmanship, are imported from Pes'háwar and Kash-mír; and coarse fabrics, such as chintz and other piece goods of coarse texture, from Pes'háwar, Yár-ḳand, and Badakhshán. Tea, sugar, and horses are brought from Yár-ḳand, the merchants of which bring with them ingots of silver, which they call *ínbú* (*yambú*?) to pay for merchandise to take back with them. They state that there is a silver mine in Khiṭá, the daily produce of which amounts to about 10,000 ingots, each of which weighs eighty tola'hs of Hind, and the silver of these ingots is exceedingly pure.† A few pearls and precious stones come from Badakhshán, and iron from Bájawṛ and Panj-Korah. Other articles of import are coarse sugar (*guṛ*), medicines, spices, arms and ammunition, and metal utensils.

"Silken fabrics, coloured and white cotton textures, cotton, opium, knives and swords, *yashmí* (jade)‡ articles, and goat leather, which they call *buzí*, fetch very high prices (that is, when the author wrote).

"Among the most highly esteemed fabrics of the Ḳáshḳár territory are *chádars*—shawls or scarves—of silk, and a description of cloth called *aṣl túṣ*,§ which are taken to Kábul and Pes'háwar. The former fetch high prices.

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* In the article on the "Kafirs," previously alluded to at page 129, the writer says the "black-legged "Kafirs are *kinsmen* of the Chitrali;" and in another place that "We (the writer?) have no information on the "subject of their (his 'black legged') relations with the Chitrali (all the inhabitants of Ḳáshḳár are "'Chitrali' according to this theory) an Aryan people who have become 'Mahomedan.'" If the writer had looked into the account of the "18 clans" which Mr. Hancock has not "told us of," he would have found some information respecting the relations between some of the Káfirí tribes and the Tájzík people of the Ḳáshḳár State. I never mentioned any tribe called "*Kalash*," because I do not know of any such.

† This mine was known to Abú-l-Fidá.

‡ Known to the author of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí as *bejádah*.

§ This is woven from *pashm*, a species of fur or wool, with which all animals are provided in this cold region. For a description of the fabrics peculiar to Ḳáshḳár, *see* my account of that territory, previously referred to, page 9. Aṣl Ṭús merely refers, I believe, to the very soft, and curly (*marghúl* or *marghúlah*, as it is sometimes called, signifies curly) *pashm* of the mountain goat, a species of ibex, lying nearest the skin of the animal, which is considered the finest. Aṣl is 'Arabic, and signifies "root," "original," "foundation."

Bernier, referring to the products of Great Tibbat, says they consist of musk, crystal (*bilaur*), jade stones, and especially of "the wool of sheep and wild goats. This latter, which is known by the name of *touz*, "resembles the beaver, and should rather be called hair than wool." The word *tibbat* is said to mean "very "soft *pashm*, which is obtained by means of the comb from the *root* of the hair of wild goats."

"In the idiom of the people of this country they style a Sardár or Ra'ís by the title of Sháh or Bádsháh,* and the greatest Bádsháh among them is Sháh Khair-ullah. He has a following of about 10,000 or 12,000 horsemen, and pays submission to the Ḥákim or Governor of Yár-ḳand.†

"This territory extends in length, from the Láhorí Kotal or defile,‡ to the Pass of Sar-i-Yár-Khún,§ about one hundred kuroh. The Mír, Sháh Riẓá, Bádsháh of Drúsh,‖ told the author of these surveys, saying: 'I have measured it by pacing it to the 'amount of 110,000 footsteps or paces, each thousand paces of which is equal to one 'statute kuroh of the kingdom of Dihlí; and throughout this space there is no extent 'of level ground, and no open plain. The breadth of Ḳáshḳár, from the extreme 'summit of the range of mountains on the one side, to the farthest point of the 'ramification in the mountains, constituting the lesser dara'hs or valleys on the other, 'is about fifty kuroh.'"

The author of these surveys makes a statement of some consequence at the end of his routes into the territories included in and bordering on Ḳáshḳár, but which ought to have preceded them, and I have therefore deemed it advisable to introduce it here.

He says:—

"Much information respecting these tracts and territories was likewise obtained from the Mír, Sháh Riẓá of Ḳáshḳár, the Bádsháh or Chief of Drúsh, previously alluded to (pages 157 and 173), with reference more particularly to the routes from Shúr-ṭan to Wáe-Gal; from Harandú to Apá-luk; from Shúr-ṭan to Chitrál; from Chitrál to the Láhorí Kotal; from Chitrál to the farther extremities of the Kotals of Do-Ráhah, or the Two Roads, Nuḳṣán, and Khaṭírah, and to Munjish; from Tíraj-Mír to Palpí Sang; from Sar-i-Lás-púr and Chugyá-ṭan; to Ḍángrak and Jál-Koṭ; and other matters which were taken down by the writer from the Sháh Riẓá's own lips.

"The Mír, Sháh Riẓá, Bádsháh of Drúsh, was a man of great learning and attainments, and was held in great respect in consequence. He remarked: 'There is no 'fixed measurement existing or in use in this part—in the Ḳáshḳár state—equivalent 'to the standard kuroh of the Dihlí kingdom, and long distances are chiefly computed 'according to the distance which can be traversed (by a man on foot) between 'Chásht—the middle time between sunrise and the meridian—and the time of after-'noon prayers. Having myself traversed, on my own feet, the whole of these terri-'tories from time to time, I have set down one thousand paces of a good walker as 'equal to one kuroh of the standard in use in the territories constituting the Dihlí 'empire, and ten thousand paces as ten kuroh.'

"Sometimes, the Mír, Sháh Riẓá, Bádsháh, used to say that twelve thousand paces, or twelve kuroh, was an average stage for a man on foot. He also mentioned that he had himself paced the whole way from 'Ashrit to the Palpí Sang Kotal, and found that the distance was ninety-six thousand paces, equal to ninety-six kuroh, and that a good walker would go from one place to the other comfortably in ten days.

"The Bádsháh's mode of measuring distances by pacing requires explanation, for he only took account of the action of the right foot, and passed over that of the left foot altogether, that is to say, stepping out with the right foot, he would not count the pace of the left, but count one when the right foot again touched the ground. Thus his thousand paces were really two thousand footsteps (and this, not having been mentioned by the author, where he previously refers to the length of the kuroh, requires this explanation here, and with respect to the first note of Section First of these 'Notes,' page 1, para. 3).

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* There is an interesting article on "Central Asia" in the "Quarterly Review" for April 1873, but its correctness is marred by some random statements founded on imperfect information. At page 533, the writer says, "A telegram from Russia recently announced that the Mir of Badakhshán had 'concluded an offensive "'and defensive treaty with the Bádshah of Chitral.' The Chief of Káshkár does in fact *give himself* "the high-sounding title of Bádsháh, but it is about as appropriate as that of the quondam Emperor "Soulouque."

Our author explains why the rulers of Ḳáshḳár are styled Sháh and Bádsháh, and do not "give themselves" the title. There were no less than three Bádsháhs when these surveys were made. *See* also note †, page 9, of my "Account of Suwát," also Al-Bírúní for the titles appertaining to the rulers of the parts adjacent to Ḳáshḳár.

† This was really being tributary to China, to whom the Yár-ḳand ruler was subject, as is mentioned at page 188.

‡ *See* page 179.

§ *See* page 188.

‖ The author owed a good deal of his information to his friend, the Mír, Sháh Riẓá, Bádsháh.

"When returning from the town of Drúsh, on my way to the Dara'h of Jabar (*see* page 178), I accompanied the Mír, Sháh Riẓá, Bádsháh; and, when we had completed the number of one thousand paces, according to the above computation, he would say, 'One kuroh.' After well considering and testing this method in all its bearings, I found that his thousand paces were just equal to the Dihlí kuroh, or equivalent to the *gáo kos* previously mentioned at page 1 of Section First. For the sake of uniformity, I have set down the distances in the routes referred to above in kuroh, but according to the Mír, Sháh Riẓá's computation, and, therefore, this explanation was essential here.

"The Panj-áb kuroh is less by three or four hundred *gaz* (each of twenty-six inches) than the Dihlí kuroh; and, at Gujarát-i-Sháh Daulah in the Panj-áb, a place was pointed out as being exactly one kuroh in length, and I determined to test it according to Sháh Riẓá Bádsháh's method of measurement, and found it to be just sixteen hundred paces, that is less by four hundred paces than the Bádsháh's kuroh, and the kuroh of Dihlí."

"From the Kol-Áb or Lake of Chiṭṭí Bú-í, which lies on the extreme north of the Ḳáshḳár territory, a river issues, which flows towards the south-west, and, being joined by the streams issuing from the different minor dara'hs, passes on the east side of the town of Chitrár or Chitrál, and flows on into Kúnar and Kámáṇ, and finally joins the Áb-i-Bárán, also known as the river of Kábul, or river of Jalál-ábád.* This great river is deep, and is not passable anywhere except by means of bridges or rafts; but some of the Afgháns and Tor Káfirís or Sí'áh Poshán inflate large skins or hides with air, and swim across on them. Its water is exceedingly cold and sweet; and, on account of its being impregnated with an earth (of a white colour ?) it appears white like unto milk.† As the heat of the sun increases the water rises, and subsides again

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* *See* note *, page 103, page 106, and note **, page 119.

† From this explanation the name is evidently Indian, with the aspirate left out—Chiṭṭí Bhú'ín—white earth—the first word being Hindí, and the latter Sanskrit. Tájzíks, and Afgháns especially, eschew aspirates; in fact, their languages do not contain them, words containing such being of foreign importation. Sanskrit *chhit* or *chhití*—but totally distinct, and very differently spelt words—means "the earth," and *chhat*, means "a roof." Perhaps it was from mistaking these words, or one of them, the last possibly, for the above, that the "Roof of the World" was produced.

There is no mention whatever of this Palpí Sang Pass, nor of the Palpí Sang river, otherwise *the* river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár, in the reports of Major T. G. Montgomerie's "Mirza," or "Havildar," contained in the "Royal Geographical Society's Journal" for 1871 and 1872, nor in the subsequent surveys made by "the "Mulla," a map of whose explorations is contained in the "Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal," Part I., for 1878. It is not mentioned either by Múnshí Faiẓ-Bakhsh, the "Pandit Manphul," nor in the various articles and essays on the subject of the geography of these parts; and although some of the members of the last "Yárkand Mission" visited Sar-Ḥadd and the "famous Baroghil Pass," which lies close by, they do not appear to have discovered it, for not a word is mentioned about it in the "Report" of the Mission. The name of "Chatiboi" does certainly appear close to the "Baroghil Pass," both in the Mullá's map and in Major-General Walker's last map, taken from it; but whether intended to mark a lake, a village, or anything else, is by no means clear.

The researches made by the late Mr. G. W. Hayward, however, appear more satisfactory. The lake appears in the map illustrating his researches, which is contained in the "Royal Geographical Society's Journal" for 1871, but under the vitiated name of "Chatiboi or Ab-i-Garm." This last name, signifying "Hot Water," or "Hot Spring," evidently refers to another place, mentioned at page 150, for he did not actually visit the lake in question. *See* note ‡, page 188.

Some twenty years ago I distinctly mentioned the existence of this lake without being, at that time, acquainted with this more correct name, or the name of the river at this point, in the following terms :—

"The largest of the five principal rivers above alluded to (the northern tributaries of the river of Kábul are "referred to), and the most easterly . . . rises on the southern slope of the Bulút Tágh or Cloudy Mountains "(in the Turkí language), but known to the Afgháns, and other tribes inhabiting these regions, by the Persian "name of Bilauristán, or the 'Region of Crystal" (*see* page 139), . . . at the Táláb-i-Níl, or 'Blue Lake,' "lying farther south than that of the Sar-i-Kol, visited by Wood, which is considered by him to be the source "of the Oxus."—"Notes on Káfiristán," page 5. I also alluded to it five years afterwards in my "Account of Ḳáshḳár," as follows :—"The Chitrál river rises at the Táláb-i-Níl, or 'Cerulean Lake.' This lake must "not be mistaken for the Lake of Sar-i-Kol, from which the Panj, or main branch of the Oxus, takes its rise, for "the Táláb-i-Níl lies much farther south. The river of Ḳáshḳár flows from it, and, having passed Mastúch "on the west, flows towards the south and south-west, through the two States of Ḳáshḳár. . . . . The "existence of this lake was mentioned to Wood by natives of Badakhshán, and it is also corroborated by the "account of Moorcroft and Trebeck, who call the lake by the name of Hamú-sar, but which, if a Persian "name, as it appears to be, would rather seem to refer to that of the 'Sar-i-Kol,' the source of the Oxus, and "then, interpreted, would signify the 'Head or Source of the Hamú,' which latter word, in all probability, is more correctly Ámú, the name by which the Oxus is known to the natives of these regions."—Page 8.

In all the modern maps I have referred to here, the "Baroghil Pass" appears, but the name is evidently a very modern one. The author of these surveys has, I think, shown that he was not likely to omit all mention of such a name had it been known in his day. That a pass exists at the point indicated, of course there is no doubt, but it is called the Palpí Sang Kotal or Pass, as described at page 188. I have never yet met with the name of "Baroghil" or "Barogil" Pass in any native history or account whatever.

as night comes on, and this happens daily at all times of the year, the greatest difference being in summer. When more than a usual amount of snow and ice in the Kol-Áb of Chiṭṭí Bú-í becomes melted, the river becomes greatly flooded, and then much ruin takes place, and Chitrár and villages lying along its banks are liable to be swept away.

"North and north-west of Ḳáshḳár is a lofty mountain range, clothed with perpetual snow, known as Tíraj-Mír. The Mír, Sháh Riẓá, the Bádsháh or Chief of Drúsh,

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Mr. D. C. Boulger lately published a "Life of Yakoob Beg, of Kashgar," and in it he has drawn his early history of "Kashgar," as he styles Káshghar (قشغر, which contains the guttural *gh*), from Mr. Bellew's "Historical Account," contained in the Report of the late Yárkand Mission. At pages 28—29, Mr. Boulger makes the following statement :—

"Genghis" (this is the 'popular' way of transliterating چنگز) "Khan carried the terror of his name into the most remote recesses of the Hindoo Koosh. *He wintered in the district of Swat*, on our north-west frontier, a territory which is quite unknown to us (Mr. Boulger?), except by hearsay, and which has only been occupied by the Mongol and Macedonian conquerors. (*See* pages 169 and 194 of this for the refutation of such silly statements.) *From his head-quarters on the banks of the Panjkora* he sent messengers to Delhi, and it is uncertain whether he did not meditate the addition of an Indian triumph to those already obtained. A rebellion in the far eastern portion of his dominions distracted his attention from the Indus, and he was compelled to hasten with all speed to quell in person the rising that was jeopardizing his position in the seat of his power. *He hastily broke up from his quarters in Swat, and by the valley of the Kunar and Chitral he entered Kashgar through the Baroghil pass.* Although he suffered much loss from a journey across mountain roads, which were scarcely practicable in the *early spring*, he succeeded in reaching Yarkand with his main body, and, hastening across Turkestan, arrived at Karakoram, his capital, in time to quell the disturbance."

All this reads plausible enough, but what does his sole authority for such statements say on the subject?

Mr. Bellew, in his "Kashgar History," first quotes what he calls the "Tabcati Nasari," and says :—"He "(Chingiz Khan) went into winter quarters in Gabarí, or the Gabar country (the country of the fire "worshippers), now known as Paklí and Swát, to wait the return of his envoys to the Emperor of Hindustan, "Sultán Sa'id"—(I beg to observe that there never was a Sulṭán of Dilhí called *Sa'id*, but Sulṭán-i-Sa'íd signifies the "August Sulṭán," and, when the Chingiz Khán invaded the countries west of the Indus, in pursuit of Sulṭán Jalál-ud-Dín, the Khwárazm Sháh, the "August Sulṭán," Shams-ud-Dín, I-yal-timish, reigned at Dihlí)—"to ask permission for a passage to Chín, through Fárajal and Kamrúd, . . . his envoys at the same "time returning with an unfavourable reply, Chingiz at once set out across the snowy mountains while it was "yet *winter*, and with great difficulty and loss of life made his way *by Kábul and Káshghar* to Turkistan."—Page 142.

In the very next paragraph, Mr. Bellew appears to have forgotten the above statement, which is tolerably correct except that nearly two years were occupied in doing what he relates, and, totally contradicting it from his "personal observations or inquiry," says as follows :—"His route was *probably* (he does not say actually) "across the Swát country into the Kúnar, where Chaghán Saráe or 'white hostelry,' from its name, attests "Moghol occupation" (he should have said Turk, for the first word is Turkish. But who shall presume to say that it was called Chaghán-Saráe before or at the time of the Chingiz Khán? I have already shown how much of the present Afghán State was, in ancient times, peopled by Turkish tribes, *see* page 82), "and *thence up the Chitrál valley, also called Káshkár, through the easy Barogil Pass*" which is practicable for half the year, on to "the plain of Káshghár." Where Kábul? Where the Baroghil Pass? A reference to the map will show the fallacy of this statement.

It is out of this last statement, without noticing the first, that Mr. Boulger straightway asserts that "*he* "*did go* by the Baroghil pass," having previously added some extra strong colouring of his own as to "the "banks of the Panjkora."

But what are the facts? I may say that the Chingiz Khán was never within two hundred miles of the "Baroghil pass" in his life, and further, that none of his troops returned home from the Indus by that pass. In the spring of 620 H (1223 A.D.) he broke up his camp in the Gibarí country near Parsháwar (*see* my "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 1081), taking *the very same route as he had entered the Ghaznín territory by*, through Bámián and Tukháristán. His heavy material, wagons, felt tents, etc., had been sent to Buḳláu from his camp at the Pushta'h-i Nu'mán, between Ṭál-ḳán (not Táe-kán) and Balkh, soon after he set out in pursuit of Sulṭán Jalál-ud-Dín, and to Buḳlán he marched in order to rejoin the rest of his forces in charge of them. He continued encamped in the pasture lands around Buḳlán during the whole summer of 620 H., and in the autumn crossed the Jihún or Oxus, and marched to Samr-ḳand. There he passed the whole winter of 620–21 H. (1223–1224 A.D.); and his sons, Chaghatáe and Úktáe, who had been previously detached at the head of two other armies into Sind and Mukrán, and Ghaznín and Ghúr, respectively, rejoined him. They took up their quarters at Bukhárá. In the spring of 621 H. (1224 A.D.), he moved towards the Sihún, and passed it near Fanákat, only about eight degrees of longitude west of Káshghar and Yár-ḳand, and there the summer was passed; and in the last month of 621 H. (January, 1225 A.D.), he reached his native *yúrat*, not his "capital." He had thus taken one year and nine months in reaching it from the date he left the Gibarí country near Parsháwar. I have deemed it necessary to mention all this concerning the "famous "Baroghil Pass" because history to be useful must be correct. I may add, that what I have stated respecting the return route of the Chingiz Khán is *what every historian who has written on the subject confirms.*

Referring to Badakhshán in his "Central Asia," Part II., p. 184, Colonel C. M. MacGregor, contrary to Mr. Boulger, is of opinion that "none of the three great Tartar conquerors, Jangéz Khán, Timúr Lang, or "Shebáni Khán, seem to have penetrated so high up as the valley of the Oxus." This depends upon what may be considered the valley of the Oxus. The Chingiz Kháu did not permanently occupy it, but the other two Mughal conquerors, for all three were Mughals, did. The Bádsháhs of Badakhshán, who were Musalmáns, "who claimed descent from Sikandar-i-Zú-l-Ḳarnain, and who had hitherto been independent, all joined "Amír Tímúr against Amír Ḥusain." *See* note *, page 128.

Koshlúk, the last of the Náemán kings, was hunted into the valley of the Oxus by the Mughals, into the Dara'h of the Sárígh-Ḳol, or Yellow Valley, and was captured in Badakhshán in 614 H., some say at the Sárígh Chopán. *See* "Translation of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," note to page 987.

quoted to the writer these three verses with reference to the vast height of this range :—

"Zú-l-Ḳarnain went towards the Koh-i-Ḳáf.
He saw it was a mountain (range) like an emerald clear.
He said: 'Thou art a mountain (range): what are others
'That they can supersede thee in thy vastness?'
It said: 'These mountains are my veins,
'But in splendour and beauty they do not equal me.'"

"The Mír, Sháh Riẓá, likewise said that there cannot be any mountain (range) in the world which equals this one in altitude and vastness.* On the summit of the range, for the distance of several days' journey, there is an extensive open plateau, which is full of old and new snow. The range shows itself from a vast distance, in such wise that, during the period of fasting, the people of these parts, watching the sun's light on that snow (disappearing from its summit), know the time for breaking their fast. Chitrál is distant some seventy kuroh from the summit of the range, and some say ninety kuroh (from its highest parts?).

"Respecting the streams rising in and issuing from this mighty mountain range, all that issue from the northern side flow through Badakhshán, and enter the Jíḥún,† and all that issue from the southern face enter the Abáe-Sín (or Indus).

"This range extends in an unbroken, conterminous chain from the tract of country inhabited by the Ḳirghiz nomads (immediately south and west of Káshghar), as far as Hirát, and Hindú Kush is the name of one of the passes leading over it.‡ This range is also called Sarowar, and the Afgháns style it Kund.§

"The various minor dara'hs included in the territory of Ḳáshḳár are innumerable, but the chief and best known are the following nine."

## I. *Dara'h of Chitrál or Chitrár.*

"This dara'h is so called after the town of Chitrál, which is the seat of government of the ruler of the Ḳáshḳár territory. Merchandise of various distant parts is brought to this place and sold, and merchants of Yár-ḳand, Badakhshán, Kábul, and Pes'háwar come and take up their quarters in this town.

"The Dara'h of Chitrál, as stated elsewhere, is of considerable size."

## II. *Dara'h of Naghar.*

"Naghar is the name of a dara'h among the mountains, in length from west to east more than twelve kuroh; and on the west of it is the lofty mountain range of Tíraj-Mír, the summits of which are covered with perpetual snow. In that range dwell the people called Tor Káfirí by the Afgháns, and by Persian speaking people, Siyah or Sí'áh Káfirí, and Sí'áh-Poshán, signifying 'black-clad unbelievers.'

"A considerable river issues from this dara'h, which, flowing towards the east, joins the river of Chitrál. This is the lowest down (towards the south) of all the dara'hs of this territory, and its inhabitants pay obedience to the Bádsháh of Drúsh, the Mír, Sháh Riẓá.

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* This name also has escaped the notice of the various explorers, although so well known and so prominent an object from nearly every part of Upper Ḳáshḳár. I have never yet found any mention of the so-called "Bam-i-Dunya," or "Roof of the World," in all the books I have gone through, although Bilaur is mentioned in most works treating of the geography or history of these parts. A roof is something *covering* something else, like as the sky is the covering of the earth, but *bám* means "a terrace,"·"an elevated plateau,"—a much more appropriate term—as well as "roof." Meru in Sanskrit signifies an "axis."

Since the above was written, I have read Montgomerie's "Report" on the Mírzá's explorations, contained in the "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society" for 1871, page 149, and I find that the Mírzá also says he "never heard the term Bám-i-Dunya applied to it, although it may have been figuratively." *See* also preceding note, and the note on the Pá-Mír at the end of this Section.

The word Mír which occurs in Tíraj-Mír is the same as occurs in Pá-Mír and Kash-Mír. It is sometimes written Tírach-Mír, with ـچ for ـج but, as the latter is so distinctly written several times, I have preferred it.

† According to this statement, the Panj appears to be regarded as the Jíḥún, or that, after the junction of various tributaries near the Ḳala' of Chap, the united rivers receive the name of Jíḥún.—*See* my "Notes on Káfiristán," "Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal," Vol. xxviii., page 324, respecting what the natives of Káfiristán consider to be the true Ámú, Ámúíah, or Jíḥún.

‡ The writer, like many others, makes a difference between Hindú-Koh as the range, and Hindú-Kush as the name of a pass only.

§ Sanskrit words, Sarowar and Kund, both having the same meanings—"lake," "pond," "pool," etc. The author is quite correct in saying that the Afgháns call the range Kund, and not merely a small portion of it, or a solitary peak, north of Lamghán, as some geographers have assumed. But the Afgháns also call the mountains in which the river Jzíob rises by the name of Kund, for the same reason, apparently, as they call the mountain range here referred to by that name. *See* Section First, page 6, page 186, and the notes to the Seventy-second Route. Major Biddulph turns Sarowar into "*Meysurnoon*."

From the Dara'h of Naghar to the village of Shanggar* there are six or seven small dara'hs, lying on either side of the river of Chitrál, inhabited by Tájzíks and some few Kohistánís.† They are under the rule of, and pay submission to, the Bádsháhs of Ḳáshḳár, the Sayyids of Kúnaṛ, and the ruler of Bájawṛ."

### III. *Dara'h of Mír Khandey.*

"Another large dara'h is Mír Khandey, in length, from east to west, eighteen kuroh. East of it is the great mountain range clothed in perpetual snow, and in and about that range dwell the people known as Spín or White Káfirís by the Afgháns, and Safed Káfirís by the Tájzíks.

"A large river issues out of it, which flows towards the west, and joins the river of the 'Ashrit Dara'h. The inhabitants of the Dara'h of Mír Khandey are of the people known as Kohistánís, and they pay allegiance to the Bádsháh or Chief of Drúsh."

### IV. *Dara'h of 'Ashrit.*

"This also is a dara'h of considerable size, facing the Dara'h of Dír; and, from the Láhorí Kotal or Pass (which separates them), to the mouth of the Dara'h of Mír Khandey, 'Ashrit is about twenty kuroh in length.‡ Its inhabitants are Kohistánís, and are under the sway of the Bádsháh of Drúsh, the Mír, Sháh Riẓá. This dara'h is bounded on the south by a high mountain range, over which the long defile, called the Láhorí Kotal, leads from it into Dír, and on to Pes'háwar. The summit of this range marks the boundary of the Ḳáshḳár territory in this direction. A river flows out of the dara'h from the mountain range referred to, which runs towards the north, and joins the Chitrál river."

### V. *Dara'h of Shaghut.*

"The Dara'h of Shaghut, which is also of considerable size, consists of three ramifications or branches, forming, so to speak, three smaller ones. The chief place in this dara'h is also called Shaghut,§ which is a town of some size, the residence of Khán Bahádur, Bádsháh. He has a following of about 3,000 foot soldiers, and pays allegiance to Sháh Khair-Ullah, supreme ruler of Ḳáshḳár. Its inhabitants are chiefly composed of the people called Kohistánís, but there are some Dihgáns (Tájzíks) dwelling in it.

"There are four places in the Ḳáshḳár territory in which taxes are levied: at Chitrál or Chitrár; from merchants and travellers from Pes'háwar and Kábul at Drúsh; from merchants and others of Yár-ḳand and parts beyond, at Mastúch; and from those of Badakhshán at Shaghut. The traders and travellers of Badakhshán come and go by this dara'h.

The three divisions, branches, or ramifications of this dara'h are:—1. *Ujur* or *Ujur*, which, in itself, is a dara'h of considerable size. It is also the name of a large village under the sway of the before-mentioned Khán Bahádur, Bádsháh, and the inhabitants of the dara'h are Tájzíks. On the north, it adjoins the great mountain range of Tíraj-Mír (referred to on the preceding page) and from that direction a river issues which, running towards the south, joins the river of Momí, about to be described.

"2. *Momí.* This dara'h is also of large size, being nearly sixteen kuroh in length. It is also the name of a large village. The inhabitants of the dara'h are Kohistánís, and like the other divisions of Shaghut are under the rule of Khán Bahádur, Bádsháh.

"On the west side of this dara'h likewise rises the lofty mountain range always clothed in snow (Tíraj-Mír), over which are two Passes. That on the right hand (*i.e.*, the most northerly) they call the Kotal-i-Nukṣán (signifying 'mischief,' 'detriment,' or 'injury,' etc., in the 'Arabic language), and which, from the excessive quantity of snow and ice (which accumulates there) is closed for great part of the year. Even in the height of the summer season, it is necessary to observe the state of the clouds and the wind before attempting to cross it.‖

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* *See* page 173.

† The people dwelling in the valleys bounding the present Káfirí country on the west, and who are under the sovereignty of the Afghán government, and known as Kohistánís, are, apparently, the same race of people as are referred to here, but they are not "Afghanized," I beg leave to say.

‡ "The Mulla" says it is but ten miles long, but I think he is mistaken in this as in some other matters.

§ Not "Shogoth" as in the translation of the "Havildar's" Report.

‖ The Ḥawál-dár's account agrees with this description. *See* "Royal Geographical Society's Journal," Vol. XLII., for 1872, pp, 187 and 188. *See* also my Account of Ḳáshḳár, p. 6.

"The left-hand Pass is called the Kotal-i-Khaṭíra'h,* and this route is most generally followed. The ascent of each of these Kotals is a day's journey; and the extreme point of elevation of this range marks the boundary between Ḳáshḳár and Badakhshán. Having commenced to descend in the direction of west and south-west, in two days you reach the Gogird Dasht, and, from thence, proceed towards Zibák and Faiẓábád.

"Out of both these Kotals streams issue, which, flowing towards the east, within one kuroh of Shaghut town, unite with the Ujur river, which latter, taking a northerly course from Shaghut, meets the river flowing out of the Dara'h of Úghaití, presently to be described, near the village of Changgúz†, and enters the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár."

Faiẓ-Bakhsh, who undertook a journey in connection with the then Mr. (now Sir) T. D. Forsyth's Mission in 1870, gives some valuable information, but the proper names are either spoiled by himself or his translator. He refers to these Kotals, and, after mentioning them, stultifies his previous statement by the following:—"Between "Zaibák and Chitrál intervenes the Hindu-Kush chain of mountains. There are "three high snowy peaks on this chain, which are termed respectively Dorah, Nuksan, "Khar Tezah. The Nuksan and Khar Tezah adjoin each other, the former being on "the left, the latter to the right of the road," etc. He has here confounded the peaks with the names of the passes, which the Ḥawál-dár does not do, and vitiates the first and last names. One is simple Do-Ráhah, or Two Roads, which are Persian words, and not applicable to a peak; the other two are 'Arabic, and refer to the nature of the passes in question.

Although the words Do-Ráhah are sufficiently plain, the Ḥawál-dár (or his translator, probably) makes it Dora, and so we have the "Dora" Pass.‡ He, by-the-by, says nothing of the Khaṭíra'h Pass, the Khar Tezah," of Faiẓ-Bakhsh, which is scarcely applicable, for Khar signifies an "ass," and, in Pus'hto, "Khar tizah" means "an "ass's capers." Pandit Manphúl vitiates names in a similar manner, and calls these passes Darah and Kharteza. All three differ in their mode of spelling, and with regard to two out of the three names all are wrong.

Major Montgomerie says, in his report of the Mírzá's explorations, "Mustooch" and Chitral evidently have a tolerably easy communication with Badakshan (but which his "Havildar's" more correct account by no means bears out), as the Mír of the latter manages to extract an annual tribute from the chief of Mustooch. The road from Mustooch to Chitral is said to be a good one, &c.—"Royal Geographical Society's Journal," Vol. XLI., 1871, page 148.

At page 157 of the same report the same name is turned into "Mustúch" or "Mustuj," and "Mustúch" is supposed "to be a valley draining into the Chitral or "Koonur river." At this point the river of Chitrár, Chitrál, or Palpí Sang, is never called the "Koonur" river except by Europeans. When this river reaches the Kúnaṛ district it is, at times, called the river *of* Kúnaṛ, that is, the river flowing through Kúnaṛ, in the same way as it is sometimes called the river *of* Kámáṇ when it enters that territory. The Mullá correctly styles it the Chitrál river, but Major-General Walker, in his map, makes it the "Kunar" far up in Chitrál above Chaghán-Saráe, while by Major Montgomerie, in the map accompanying the Ḥawál-dár's journey, it is made the "Kama or Koonur" below Chaghán-Saráe, and "Beilum or Koonur" above!§

"3. *Úghaití.*—This is the name of a large village giving name to the dara'h,

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* In each copy of the original this word is written Khaṭíra'h (خطیرہ) four times in as many different places, but, in one place, in two of the four copies, the ، has a dot over it, and it thus becomes Khaṭíza'h (خطیزہ). What Khaṭíza'h (with *z*) may mean I cannot solve, for the word to me is meaningless, but, from the letters in it, it is evidently 'Arabic. Khaṭíra'h, on the other hand, signifies "perilous," "dangerous," "hazardous," etc., and is used to signify a "burying-ground," a "grave-yard," as in note *, page 66; and taking into consideration the meaning of the name of the other Kotal—Nukṣán—which is 'Arabic, and its signification perfectly clear, I should imagine that the point over the ، = ; in Khaṭíza'h is redundant, and that it is more correctly Khaṭíra'h, or the Perilous Pass. The word, however, cannot by any means be made "Khar Tezah" or "Kharteza" of, for there is no ، between *kh* and *ṭ*.

† This is the "Chogor" of Major-General Walker's map, "Joghor" of the Ḥawál-dár, "Jughur" of Major Wilson's map, and "Yughar" of Colonel C. M. MacGregor, showing the necessity of their revision according to the correct vernacular form. *See* pages 184 and 186.

‡ And recent compilers follow suit. Colonel C. M. MacGregor, C.B., has "Kotal Dara."

§ One error begets many others. An example of this is contained in Colonel MacGregor's Gazetteer, Part II., p. 214, in which my "Account of Upper and Lower Ḳáshḳár" is freely quoted. He says that "Chitrál is an independent State consisting of the upper portion of the Kúnar valley." After the same theory the whole tract of country from the Lake of Chiṭṭí Bú-í to Jalál-ábád is the "Kúnar valley;" indeed, farther on, the compiler says, "the Kúnar river runs through the whole country!"

which is of considerable size, extending for more than twenty kuroh in length. It is inhabited by Kohistánís, and is under the sway of Khán Bahádur, Bádsháh. The distance from the town of Shaghut to the village of Úghaití is nearly ten kuroh towards the south.

"At this point (Úghaití) two clefts or long valleys branch off. One, which is a large dara'h in itself, runs in the direction of west and north-west for a distance of about ten or twelve kuroh, and joins (terminates at, in other words) the mountain range of perpetual snow, or Tíraj-Mír. These passes lead over this mountain range towards Badakhshán, and likewise lead downwards, on the northern face, to the stage or halting place in the Gogird Dasht,* previously referred to. This pass (or double pass) is known as the Kotal-i-Do-Ráhah, or the Pass or Defile of the Two Roads, but, on account of the continual avalanches of snow, it remains for the most part closed. The ascent of it is one day's journey, and its highest point marks the boundary between Badakhshán and Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár in this direction. It is infested by the Tor Káfirís, who lie in ambush and fall upon and slay travellers off their guard.†

"The other valley branches off from near the village of Úghaití in the direction of south, and is inhabited by Kohistánís, and this dara'h they style Bushḳar.‡ On the south side it adjoins the mountains of perpetual snow, and in these mountains the Tor Káfirís dwell. A river flows through the Bushḳar Dara'h, which, passing south of Shaghut, to the east of that place, joins the Ujur river.§

"To the south of Úghaití, near the village of Dur-shub, there is a spring out of which hot water issues at all times.‖ If anything such as grain or the like be cast into it it speedily becomes softened. This spring is known as the Áb-i-Dur-shub. They (people of old) have constructed cisterns of stone or brick round about the place, and the water of this spring flows into them. After the water has been allowed to cool a little, people enter the cisterns and bathe; and it is said that the effect of the water is such that it cures diseases of long standing, and many sick people are saved from death thereby.

"A small stream of water from this same spring runs on and joins the river of the Bushḳar Dara'h. From this direction (the Dara'h of Bushḳar) you proceed towards Luṭ-Dih, which is a great dara'h inhabited by the Tor Káfirís or Sí'áh Poshán."

## VI. *and* VII. *The Kuhob-hah Dara'hs, or The Two Kuhobs.*¶

"Kuhob is the name of two large villages and two great dara'hs inhabited by the Tájzíks, who pay allegiance to Sháh Khair-Ullah, Bádsháh of Ḳáshḳár. These dara'hs really consist of one great dara'h which, towards its northern or upper part, branches off into two others, and they are of considerable length. The valley which runs north, and which is about twenty kuroh in length, is called Kuhob-i-Bálá or Upper Kuhob, and the village therein is known by the same name. On the north it terminates at the snowy range, or Tíraj-Mír. The other or western dara'h runs in a north-westerly and westerly direction, and also terminates at the range of Tíraj-Mír. It is fifteen kuroh in length, and is called Kuhob-i-Pá'in, or Lower Kuhob, from the village of that name. Tíraj-Mír is also the name of a village,** so called after the range itself, belonging to the Tájzíks, at the foot of the mountains of perpetual snow; and this mighty range (as before stated) they likewise call Sarowar, and Kund.††

"Out of each of these two dara'hs streams flow, which, running south and east (respectively), meet near the village of Kuhob-i-Pá'in, or Lower Kuhob, and, issuing

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* Gogird, in Persian or Tájzík, signifies sulphur, and Gogird Dasht, the Sulphur Plain or Waste. Red sulphur and other mineral substances are found here. *See* pages 159 and 185.

† I referred to these passes, and to the streams issuing from the northern face of this great mountain chain, in my "Notes on Káfiristán" (page 9):—

"The Wardoj, which disembogues into the Ḳokchah, as already mentioned, rises on the northern slope of the mountains towards Ḳáshḳár or Chitrál, through the valley of which a winding pass, occupying a journey of three days, brings one to the borders of that State, and another pass to the west leads into the Káfiristán, but these routes are only practicable in the summer months. Another small stream joins the Panj at Ishtarak in Badakhshán, and, by following up its course for three days, the borders of Ḳáshḳár are reached."

‡ This evidently is what is turned into "Pooshtee Khur," in Elphinstone's map, and "in a glacier near which," he says, "the Oxus rises." *See* "Caubul," Vol. I., page 144. Instead of the Oxus, the so-called glacier is the source of the Ḳáshḳár or Chitrál river. I may mention that I have never yet met with such a name as "Pooshtee Khur" (*lit.* "the ass's back") in connection with the geography of these parts, and fancy it must be classed with "Khar Tízah"—"the ass's capers." *See* the Twenty-seventh Route.

§ *See* pages 158 and 186.

‖ This is what Hayward confused with the Chiṭṭí Bú-í. *See* note †, page 155, and page 150.

¶ In some places written with "*p*," Kuhop. These Dara'hs have not been mentioned hitherto by European geographers.

** *See* page 186.

†† *See* note §, page 157.

from the Kuhob Dara'h (that is below where the two smaller ones branch off to the north and north-west), fall into the river of Palpí Sang, or Ḳáshḳár, or Chitrál."

### VIII. *Dara'h of Mastúch.*

"This is another great dara'h, taking its name from the large village, or small town, of Mastúch,* the residence of Sháh Khair-Ullah, the Bádsháh of Ḳáshḳár,† and it is situated on the banks of the river Palpí Sang.‡ Here they call the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár by the name of Palpí Sang, and also river of Mastúch.

"The products and merchandise of Yár-ḳand and Khiṭá, Tibbat, and Kash-mír are brought to and disposed of at this town, and merchants and traders have to pay tax thereon.

"The Dara'h of Mastúch commences east of this place, and from the town of Mastúch to the Kotal of Sar-i-Lás-púr it is about forty kuroh§ in length. Through this dara'h you proceed to Báshḳár‖ (*see* next page, and under the dara'h of that name, page 194) and Dír. A considerable river issues from the dara'h which, west of Mastúch, joins the river of Palpí Sang. The inhabitants are Tájzíks chiefly, and a few are Kohistánís; and they are under the sway of Sháh Khair-Ullah, Bádsháh of Ḳáshḳár."

### IX. *Dara'h of Ḍángrak.*

"This is a very extensive dara'h, consisting of a number of ramifications or minor dara'hs. The drainage of the dara'h and of its branches flows towards the east, and unites with the Abáe-Sín (or Indus).

"Between this dara'h and the territory of Ḳáshḳár there is another vast mountain range, clothed in perpetual snows, and the pass leading over it is known as the To-e-¶ Kotal. On the east, north, and south of this dara'h the tribes of Spín or Safed or White (clad) Káfirís dwell; and to the north-west, and west, which parts lie near to the Kohistán of Ḳáshḳár, the inhabitants are Kohistánís, who pay submission to, and are under the rule of, Sháh-Khair-Ullah, Bádsháh of Ḳáshḳár. The chief place, and seat of government of the Dara'h of Ḍángrak, is called Balophar,** and another place of considerable size is Gilgiṭ."

This Dara'h, from its situation, is, evidently, what eastern geographers and historians call Bilaur or Bilauristán, or, at least, Ḍángrak constitutes a great portion of it.

"With respect to the difference between the names of the two countries of Ḳáshḳár and Káshghar of Turkistán, I made inquiry of the Mír, Sháh Riẓá, Bádsháh of Drúsh. He said that Kásh, in Turkí, signified *yashm* (jade), and Ghar, a mountain,†† and that Káshghar was a small country (or territory) near Yár-ḳand. Its inhabitants pay submission to the Bádsháhs, or sovereigns of Khiṭá.

"He also stated that this country (Ḳáshḳár) had no other, and was known by no other name than Ḳáshḳár, and that the reason why it was so called was unknown.

"The people of Ḳáshḳár are of the Shí'a'h persuasion, and the inhabitants of Badakhshán and the Afghán people, who are Sunnís, are hostile to them on that account; nevertheless, through the difficult nature of their country, the difficulties of the passes leading into it, and the arduous nature of the routes, the Badakhshís and Afgháns are unable to possess themselves of this country."

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* This name has been written Más-túch and Mas-toj, but both modes are incorrect. In the language of the country it is written as above with the vowel points.

† According to Múnshí Faiẓ-Bakhsh (who would not recognize his own name which is turned into "Buksh") in the "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society," for 1872, page 448, "Yásin" is the "capital of "Upper Chitrál." I do not by any means agree with him, for Mastúch is the capital which he intends to indicate. Moreover, there is no country called "Upper Chitrál," but there is Upper Ḳáshḳár, which he possibly means, and Mastúch is its capital; Lower Ḳáshḳár is called Chitrál. *See* also my "Account of Ḳáshḳár," page 3. No river issues from "the Dara'h-i-Mastoj to join the Panja."

‡ This name also has entirely escaped the notice of the explorers, as well as Ḍángrak.

§ According to "the Mulla," it is but nineteen miles, but the Mír, Sháh Riẓá, Bádsháh of Drúsh, who paced it all on foot, is not a bad authority with respect to *his own* country. *See* page 154.

‖ A totally different dara'h from Bushḳar, mentioned at page 160, it must be remembered. The one here referred to is not included in Ḳáshḳár at all: it lies farther east.

¶ It is spelt with a "ṭ"—ط—at page 189. *See* note ‖, page 189.

** *See* page 190, and note ‡.

†† Ghar, with the guttural *gh*, is the Pus'h'to for a mountain, and the Sanskrit is girí. In the language of Wákhán, *tásh*, which is Turkí, is used to signify a stone in general. No doubt the Mír, Sháh Riẓá, knew this, hence we may presume that, when he stated that *ḳásh* signified jade, he knew what he was saying. Ḳár, the shortened form of which is ḳar, signifies snow in Turkí, and occurs in the name of the well known Turk tribe of Ḳárlúḳ or Ḳarluḳ, and, as '*ḳ*' is interchangeable with '*gh*' in Turkish, also known as Ḳárlúgh or Ḳarlugh. *See* my "Translation of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," note at page 877. *See* also note ‡, page 153.

Respecting the rulers of the Ḳáshḳár State the accounts are but meagre.

During the reign of Naẓar Muḥammad Khán, who was contemporary with Sháh-i-Jahán Bádsháh (of Hindústán), over Balkh and Máwará-un-Nahr, the then Bádsháh of Chitrár and Báshḳár,* named Sháh Bábar, who accounted himself a descendant of Alexander the Macedonian,† and whose territory no sovereign had hitherto been able to molest or reduce under his sway, presented himself before Naẓar Muḥammad Khán, tendered his allegiance, and agreed to read the Khuṭbah in his name.

Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥaidar, the Doghlátí Mughal, mentions that, in his time, Sulṭán Muḥammad Khán, Badakhshí, claimed similar descent; and we know that the chiefs of Roshán, Shaghnán, and Wákhán claim to be descended from the same conqueror.‡

When these surveys were made, towards the close of the last century, Sháh Khair-Ullah, of Mastúch, was the supreme ruler of the Ḳáshḳár State. The Mír, Sháh Riẓá, our author's friend and informant, was Chief of Drúsh, but what relationship he bore, if any, to Sháh Khair-Ullah is, unfortunately, not mentioned; and Khán Bahádur was Chief or Bádsháh§ of Shaghut and its dependent dara'hs. Both these latter chiefs were dependent on Sháh Khair-Ullah, Bádsháh.

At the time I wrote my account of the two Ḳáshḳárs, in 1853,‖ the ruler of Upper Ḳáshḳár or Mastúch, including Yasin, was Gauhar-Amán Sháh,¶ surnamed Chál, the son and successor of Malik Amán; and, at present, the Amán-ul-Mulk is the ruler of the Ḳashḳár State, and a brother of his is located at Drúsh.

The son of the late Gauhar-Amán, Mír Walí by name, and son-in-law of the present ruler, is the person who is said to have put Hayward to death.

Neither Tajammul Sháh, son of Sháh-i-Kaṭor, of Lower Ḳáshḳár, nor Gauhar-Amán, son of Malik-Amán, of Upper Ḳáshḳár—Mastúch and Yasin—appears to have been related either to Sháh, Khair-Ullah, who was supreme ruler of the Ḳáshḳár State when these surveys were made, nor to the Mír, Sháh Riẓá, although it is said the two former were descended from an ancient family.

The present dynasties are not much older than the present century, and Tajammul Sháh was but the second ruler, and Gauhar-Amán the third, of their respective families. It would appear that soon after these surveys were made Sháh Khair-Ullah Bádsháh was dispossessed of his territory, and that with him fell, if still living, the Mír, Sháh Rizá. It must have been the grandson of Khair-Ullah whom Vigne saw living in exile at Skár-Dú, under the protection of Aḥmad Sháh of Little Tibbat.

Hereafter I may possibly be able to trace the descent of these rulers in a more satisfactory manner.**

Some little time ago, when the late Afghán campaign was about to commence or had just begun, it was said that "our ally," the ruler of Kash-mír, was to be allowed to annex Upper and Lower Ḳáshḳár, in order to secure the "famous Baroghil Pass," as though such a scheme could be carried out by the stroke of a pen, or, at most, by a mere display of Kash-mírí force. I think, however, that it is very fortunate the Dograhs never attempted it, for, certainly if they had, they would have come off second best, if any of them had returned to tell the tale. The Ḳáshḳáris would have had the aid of Raḥmat-Ullah Khán of Dír, Chief of Panj-Korah, son of the late Ghazan Khán (of whom I gave an account in my former paper on "Ḳáshḳár and Panj-Korah," page 21), with all his Molízí Yúsufzís at his back, and very probably many other subdivisions of, if not the whole of, that great tribe. What a mere portion of them could do, the Anbela'h affair plainly indicated.

The chiefs of Panj-Korah and the rulers of Ḳáshḳár have been in alliance for three or four generations; and it was only a few years since, in 1872, when Maḥmúd Sháh, the ruler of Badakhshán, subject to the late Amír, Sher 'Alí Khán, attempted to invade Upper Ḳáshḳár, that the Afgháns of Dír came to the aid of their allies.

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* *See* pages 161 and 194.

† *See* pages 117 and 151.

‡ *See* "Notes on Káfiristán," page 50.

§ For the signification of Bádsháh here, *see* page 153.

‖ It was written at Púnah several years before it was published.

¶ This person is styled in Major T. G. Montgomerie's article on the "Havildar's Journey," in the "Journal Royal Geographical Society," for 1872, page 184, by the name of "the late Goraman of Yassin," while another writer calls him by the equally impossible name of "Gohr Aman."

Now Gauhar and Amán have both meanings, as have the words Amán-ul-Mulk, but "Aman-i-Moolk" and "Imán-ul-Mulk" are both equally incorrect. In geographical researches in Asia, as in other countries, a knowledge of the languages of the parts to be explored is as necessary as a knowledge of surveying, which two acquirements are not often found combined in the same person. The proper names of persons and places, however, might, at least, whenever possible, be obtained in writing from the people of the parts visited or surveyed.

** *See* note *, page 231, and notes to the last route in this Section.

From the facts recorded in history respecting the tribes of Yúsuf and Mandar,* and what we found a portion of the former able to do at Anbela'h in 1863, I believe them to be one of, if not really the most powerful, as well as one of the most numerous tribes of the Afghán nation, and to be even more powerful than the Ghalzís; and that, if thoroughly roused to combined action in a common cause, in combination with the Mandars, and the other kindred tribes of the Khas'hí sept, previously noticed, namely, the Tarkalárnís and Gagyánís, and their allied tribes, they would give an infinity of trouble, particularly if it should be found necessary to attack them in their own fastnesses. Under such circumstances, I believe, they would offer greater opposition than any lately shown, or any that has been shown by the Bárakzí Durráni faction even in their palmiest days.

Of course neither they, nor other Afgháns, can compare with regular troops. This could scarcely be expected, for they have no training nor organization; no arms of precision; nothing but rough weapons; while their ammunition is none of the best, and not easily obtained; and, to crown the whole, they have no artillery whatever, yet they offered a gallant and obstinate resistance in the Anbela'h Pass.†

In the twenty-two frontier expeditions undertaken against the Afgháns on our borders, from the first, which was against the Afgháns of Suwát and the Lúndaey Khwár valley, in December 1849 (in which I was present), up to the affair in the Kohát Pass in 1878, we sustained a loss of 516 killed, and 1,933 wounded, out of which the Anbela'h affair alone cost us 238 killed and 908 wounded, or more than all the other twenty-one put together.

Those who have had to deal with Afghán soldiers, including Yúsufzís and Mandars, especially in the Panj-áb Guide Corps, the Panj-áb Irregular Force, and the so-called "Balúch" Regiments of the Bombay Army, which contain a great number, more than half probably, of Afgháns, know what excellent soldiers they make; and, man to man, few nations can surpass them physically. It is also well known to those who have dwelt among them, not book-makers, that they neither lack courage nor enterprise. The trouble they caused, and the disasters they brought upon, the Mughal rulers of India, and their numerous armies, are a sufficient indication of it. One or two specimens of their successes I have narrated in these pages.

Khán Kajú, or Kachú, chief of the Yúsufzís and Mandars, already mentioned at page 39, and further on at page 225, could bring 100,000 men into the field.

Some 7,000 were at first assembled against us at Anbela'h, which went on increasing to 12,000 or 15,000; and, had not an accommodation taken place when it did, we should, in a few days more, have had more than double the number arrayed against us, for Ghazan Khán of Panj-Korah was ready to take the field‡ with his Molízí Yúsufzís, while those then opposing us were only the Buner Yúsufzís, some from the neighbouring valley of Suwát, and a few Mandars.

I venture to assert that any attempt on the part of the ruler of Kash-mír to gain a footing in Chitrál will bring such a combination as I have referred to about, and that the Khas'hí sept will prove more than a match for the whole power of the Kash-mír State, and that serious complications will result from such an attempt.

It is not without reason, as I have said before, that the Russians are pushing their *reconnoissances* in this very quarter. Darwáz is but a little over a hundred miles from the mountain range of Tíraj-Mír, and the Do-Ráhah, Khaṭíra'h, and Nukṣán Passes.§

I now proceed to give an account of the routes.

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* Sometimes mentioned as one, but are distinct tribes.

† Respecting the Yúsufzís of Buner, Colonel C. M. MacGregor says:—"Their conduct throughout cannot "but be regarded with some admiration; they fought us like men throughout the defence of the heights of "Ambéla, and when they made peace they stuck to their engagements like gentlemen."

‡ It has been generally supposed that Ghazan Khán was present at Anbela'h, but a Yúsufzí of Buner, who had been previously in my service, and was the standard-bearer of his tapa'h or district on this occassion, assured me that that chief was not present. He was about to set out for the scene of warfare, if not actually on his way, when news of the hasty settlement of the affair reached him. My informant laughed heartily at the idea that the poor decrepid old recluse, the Ákhúnd of Suwát, was present "as one of the "leaders, directing military operations." Such an idea seems to me to be too absurd to be commented upon.—*See* my "Account of Suwát," page 17.

§ *See* note ‡, page 133, and pages 184 and 185.

The following extract may not be out of place in connection with these observations:—"In the year 1877, "by order of General Kaufmann, Governor General of Turkestan, an expedition, escorted by 30 Cossacks, "and guided by several Khirgiz, set out from Kuldja, crossed the Alai mountains by way of Shaktt (?), and "reached Northern Pamir, whence it returned to its starting point in November. On the 1st July, in the "following year, the explorers again set out, crossed the Alai range through the pass of Artshat, made again "for Northern Pamir, from there to the east, and further to Pamir Abitsthong, returning to Kuldja by the

*Thirty-first Route. From Kábul to Dír, which is a distance of two hundred kuroh in the direction of north-east.*

"The route from Kábul to the S'hahr or K'hahr of Bájawṛ has been previously detailed (at page 112). From it four roads diverge towards Dír, which require to be separately described.

"I. From the S'hahr* to Dír by way of the Dara'h of Maidán.

"II. From the S'hahr to Dír by way of the Dara'h of Chanḍawul.

"III. From the S'hahr to Dír by way of Pashat of the Dara'h of Bábú-Ḳara'h or Bábá-Ḳará.

"IV. From the S'hahr to Dír also by way of the afore-mentioned Pashat.

*First road.*—"Setting out from the S'hahr, and proceeding three kuroh to the north-east, you come to a mountain pass which has to be ascended. It is called the Chirg Ghás'haey,† and is very level, but it has numerous ascents and descents in it. The Khalúzí river (mentioned at pages 113, 114, and 124) flows along below the S'hahr, and the village of Gang lies two kuroh distant on the left-hand side.‡ In the direction of east from the Chirg Ghás'haey is a small village, named Chirg, which lies close to the road on the right-hand side, and gives name to the pass. From thence one kuroh north is Da Míágáno Kalaey, or 'the Village of the Míás' or 'Míáns,' as descendants of holy men are styled, which lies at a distance on the left hand.

"One kuroh north-east from the Míás' Village is Tarlí, and east of it is a small river which comes from the left hand, from the direction of the Dara'h of Bábá-Ḳará,§ runs to the right, and in the neighbourhood of Jár joins the Khalúzí (or river of Láshoṛa'h). The village styled Ghás'haey or Ghák'haey‖ lies distant from the road on the left hand.

"Having passed over the before-mentioned river (Khalúzí) and proceeded one kuroh east, you reach Ṭákurá, a small village belonging to the district or Dara'h of Chanḍawul, and, on the way thither, you have to pass through a small defile, and from it, one kuroh north, inclining north-east, is Re-Shagey, which village also lies on the left hand.¶ From thence, two kuroh east, is Koṭ-kaey, the name of two or three hamlets on the east side of the Chanḍawul river, which comes down from the left hand, and, flowing to the right, passes on the east side of the village of Jár, opposite to Anís Khel,** and unites with the river of Bájawṛ. The village of Jár is the residence of the Ḥákim (governor) of this part, and lies three kuroh distant (from the Koṭ-kaey villages), on the right hand. Another village (the name of which is left blank in four MSS.) shows itself about half a kuroh distant on the left hand.

"From Koṭ-kaey two roads diverge. That on the left hand goes to Máyár,†† and from thence on to the Dara'h of Birawal, which is also written Biráhwol, but Afgháns reject aspirated letters. From this place (Koṭ-kaey) Máyár lies on the left hand, and is distant one kuroh north-west. North-east from Koṭ-kaey, and distant one kuroh,

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"same route, having chiefly explored the valleys of Khargosh-kul, Sares-kul, Rang-kul, Kara-kul, and "others. The aim of the expedition was to investigate the geography, natural features, &c., of the Pamir, and "to draw up exact maps of the same, a result which is described as having been fully obtained. Pamir is a "very mountainous country, as high as Himalaya; for instance, the peak of Kaufmann is 22,580 feet; Mount "Gurunda, from which many rivers of Central Asia flow, is 20,900 feet; Mount Mustag, 25,800 feet. Of "all these the summits are covered with eternal snow, the limit whereof on the northern slope is at 14,000 "feet high, on the southern at 19,000 feet. The valleys of the Pamir are described in general as barren, "only a few of them being covered with fertile meadows."

The Russian spies, under the name of explorers, were in these parts again last year. Hayward refers to the intrigues of Russian agents in these parts as far back as 1870. Their latest annexations have brought them within less than two hundred miles of the Yasin and Gilgit valleys.

* I shall only give one form of this word in future, as I have previously stated that Eastern Afgháns,—those bordering on Hind,—pronounce ښ as *k'h*, while the rest of the Afgháns pronounce it *s'h*.

† Signifying the "Cock's Pass." The writer, I may mention, gives the names of these places generally after the manner a Tájzík would refer to them. An Afghán would call this "Da Chirg G'hás'haey." *See* page 183.

‡ *See* page 182.

§ This river is the Mullá's "Bábudarah" (he has mistaken Ḳará, which is sufficiently well known, for dara'h) nála'h or nadí.

‖ The "Gha Khi" of the Indian Atlas map, but it is not in the Mullá's nor in Major Wilson's. *See* pages 143 and 152.

¶ The second road to Dír, given farther on, diverges from this village. *See* page 167.

** Mentioned at page 250.

†† The name applied to two villages lying on either side of the river flowing through the Chanḍawul Dara'h, the "Maiar" of Major Wilson's map. *See* page 167.

is Shál-Kandey, a large village, lying on the right hand, while on the same side, close to Koṭ-kaey, are several villages named Rasúl-Bánḍa'h. Near Shál-Kandey is a village called Pushta'h, and it is situated on a pushta'h or spur of the mountains, as the name indicates.

"The tract of country extending from the S'hahr of Bájawṛ to this place, namely Shál-Kandey, is known as Rúd, and, according to the phraseology of the inhabitants of this part, the extent of territory which was formerly held by the 'Arab tribe (referred to at page 114) they style Rúd, but why, or whence the name, is not stated.*

"Setting out from Shál-Kandey, and proceeding one kuroh in the direction of north-east, inclining north, you reach Rustam Bánḍa'h, situated on a ridge or mountain crag. From thence proceeding three kuroh to the north you ascend a high mountain range, and having descended (on the other side of it) for a distance of two kuroh and a half, in the direction of north-east, you reach the small village of Lapka'í. The dara'h which you thus enter they call the Maidán Dara'h,† and it is long and narrow, being about sixteen kuroh in length from north to south, but only three or four kuroh broad. The southern half of it is held by clans of the Yúsufzí Afghán tribe, and the northern half by Tarkalární Afgháns. A river issues from the north side of this dara'h, which, flowing on to the south, finds its way through an exceedingly difficult mountain tract, and, in the direction of Úḍí-Grám,‡ unites with the river of Panj-Korah.

"The village of Maidán, which is of considerable size, and the seat of government of this dara'h, lies two kuroh distant (from Lapka'í) on the right hand, and its inhabitants are Yúsufzís. Half a kuroh north-east from Lapka'í is the large village of Koṭ-kaey,§ and in order to reach it you cross the river of the Maidán Dara'h. From thence, one kuroh north, is the village of Kunbbaṛ, and about half way on the road thither, on the right-hand side, at some distance away, is the village of Rasúl Bánḍa'h.‖

"One kuroh north of Kunbbaṛ is the village of Bánḍa'í, and from thence, two kuroh west, the road ascending up the mountains, is Ṭop-sí, situated on a crag or acclivity of the mountains, and the river of the Maidán Dara'h lies away on the left-hand side of the road. Continuing your way from thence for the distance of half a kuroh upwards, in the direction of north-west, you come to Khir-Kata'í, a village situated on a mountain height, on the left-hand side of the route. Another half a kuroh of ascent from thence, in the direction of north, brings you to Kur-Shagauná, the name by which two or three villages are known, situated on mountain crags. Having proceeded onwards from thence, and still ascending, for a distance of three kuroh to the north, you reach the crest of the pass over this high mountain range, which is known as the Maidán Ghás'haey.¶ You pass, by the way, through forests of pine, oak, *kashlánah*, and other forest trees, and places teeming with the narcissus, shrubs, and herbage of various kinds; and the mountains capped with perpetual snow show themselves towards the north, from the crest of the pass. On the way thither there is danger from the Tor Káfirís, or Sí'áh-Poshán, who are wont to lie in ambush to waylay and slay travellers passing by that route.

"You now begin to descend on the other side, and proceeding downwards, in the direction of north, inclining north-west, for a distance of three kuroh and a half, reach Bánḍa'h, or 'The Hamlet,' now a place of considerable size, the residence of Muḥammad 'Alí Khán, of the Tarkalární tribe of Afgháns. The dara'h which you have now entered is called the Dara'h of Birawal** (which name is also written Biráhwol in other works, and which appears to be the ancient name, but the Afgháns, as usual, have rejected the aspirate), and it is about sixteen kuroh in length from east to west. In the mountains at the western end of it a river rises, which, passing south of Bánḍa'h, flows on to Chugyá-ṭan. The second road, described a little farther on, here joins this road again.

The inhabitants of the Dara'h of Birawal take the gravel out of the bed of the

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* *See* also the description of Bájawṛ and the Rúd Dara'h at page 116. There is a tribe or sept of people styled Kohistánís, inhabiting Upper Suwát, beyond the Afghán boundary, called Torú Ál or Torw Ál or Rúd-bárí, which latter name is apparently connected with the above word in some way. *See* my "Account of Upper and Lower Suwát to the source of the Suwát River," in the "Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society" for 1862, page 26, and the description of Suwát at page 194 of this Section.

† *See* the description of this Dara'h at page 117.

‡ A well-known place, but not in our maps. *See* pages 178 and 193.

§ This place is in the Ḥawál-dár's map, and in Major Wilson's.

‖ This is another Rasúl Bánḍa'h. It is a favourite name.

¶ Our maps are considerably out here, with the exception of the Mullá's, as far as it goes, but the Ḥawál-dár's and Major Wilson's particularly.

** *See* also the description of the Birawal Dara'h at page 118.

river running through it, smelt it, and obtain iron therefrom.* North of Bánḍa'h† is another subordinate dara'h of considerable size, inhabited by Tájzíks and Tarkalární Afgháns, called the Shingárí Dara'h, on the northern boundary of which lies the country belonging to the Tor Káfirí or Sí'áh-Posh tribes. A small river comes down from that end of the dara'h, which flows towards Bánḍa'h, east of which it joins the river of the Dara'h of Birawal.

"One kuroh north-east from Bánḍa'h is the village of Nagar‡ Koṭ, and another kuroh in the same direction from thence is Túrá.§ Half a kuroh farther on in the same direction is another village, called Sind-rawal. On the left-hand side of the route on the way to this village (*i.e.*, north-west), is a dara'h, which lies near the country of the Káfirí tribes, inhabited by Tájzíks and Tarkalární Afgháns. By this dara'h you can go to Nárísát and Shúr-ṭan.|| Water enough to turn two or three water-mills issues from this dara'h, and, flowing onwards, east of Sind-rawal, unites with the river of the Birawal Dara'h.

"Half a kuroh north-east from Sind-rawal is Tigra'í,¶ a small village, perched on a mountain crag, on the right hand as you proceed, on the opposite side of the river of Birawal. From thence two roads diverge. The left-hand one, leading through a small defile, goes on to Dír, but that road is dangerous, on account of the Káfirís. The right-hand road is as follows.** Setting out from opposite Tigra'í, and proceeding for half a kuroh to the north-east, you reach Sor-báṭey, and after proceeding another kuroh in the same direction you reach Abá-Kanḍ, which village lies on the left-hand side. From thence another kuroh in the same direction brings you to the village of Ganúṛaey, and another kuroh, also in the direction of north-east, to Chugyá-ṭan,†† a considerable village belonging to the Panj-Korah Yúsufzís, and contained within the Panj-Korah territory. The road runs along the mountain side, and the river of Birawal lies in a depression of the mountains on the right hand as you proceed.‡‡ On either side of the route are lofty mountains. The river of the Birawal Dara'h, having passed south of Chugyá-ṭan, unites with the river of Báshḳár, which flows on the east side of Chugyá-ṭan, and over it, close to the village, is a wooden bridge, from which point two roads diverge. The right-hand route leads over this bridge, and goes on to Báshḳár, Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár, and Panj-Korah. The left-hand route is as follows:—

"Leaving Chugyá-ṭan and proceeding for a distance of half a kuroh to the north-west, inclining north, you reach Ṭángaey,§§ a small village near by, on the left-hand side of the road. On the right hand, in a hollow or depression of the mountains, a small river runs. It comes from the direction of Dír, and, north of Chugyá-ṭan, joins the river of Báshḳár, and flows under the bridge before mentioned.

"From Ṭángaey two kuroh north-west is Koṭ-kaey—'The Fortlet'—and you proceed thither along the mountain ridges or heights. A road on the left hand, coming from the Birawal Dara'h, joins the route at this point. From Koṭ-kaey one kuroh north, inclining north-west, is Dír, a very large village, or rather small town, situated on a spur of the mountain range, and containing about two hundred houses. It has a fortress for its protection, situated on a high mound or bluff, in which are the residence of the Chief and the dwellings of his immediate followers, which make up the whole to just four hundred houses, and the number of its inhabitants to over two thousand. The fort is about four hundred yards in length, and rather less in breadth, and is protected by

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* Abú-l-Faẓl mentions the existence of iron mines in Suwád, but not those of Bájawṛ. What is meant by mines must not be understood in the light of what we understand by that term. "Stream works," as known in Cornwall, is more applicable here.

† This name is turned into Bandai in our maps. "Bíráúl," I may mention, is a strange way of writing Birawal, and is totally impossible out of the letters it contains. This, probably, is from a person "less likely to "be wrong than others when questioning Patháns."

‡ In one copy Tagar, but ; and ; are very liable to be mistaken one for the other, or for the two points to be run into one.

§ Túra'h probably, as Afgháns would write it.

|| *See* pages 151 and 173.

¶ In one copy written Tagri.

** This route does not touch "Janbatai" and "Bandia" of others. Our maps are much out here, Major Wilson's very much so.

†† I mentioned this place in my "Account of Upper and Lower Ḳáshḳár and Panj-Korah," as one of the principal places in the Panj-Korah Dara'h; and although this large village, or rather small town, is well known, and the river of the Panj-Korah Dara'h is often styled the river of Chugyá-ṭan after it, it is not to be found in any of our maps.

‡‡ Our maps are defective here also.

§§ The word is without points in the original, and, it may be, more correctly, Ṭánga'í. I have read it as such words are usually read when not pointed to the contrary

bastions or towers at the four corners. The Chief is Ḳásim Khán, the Molízí Yúsufzí, of the Pá'índah Khel.*

"A small river (previously referred to) comes down from the east, and another from the north of this dara'h, which, having united farther south, run on to Chugyá-ṭan. From Birawal to this place the route is infested by the Tor or Black-clad Káfirís, or Sí'áh-Poshán, who lie in ambush to intercept travellers and traders, and kill them.

"Traders from Pes'háwar and Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár come to Dír, and, having halted there for a time, proceed to their different destinations."

*Second road.*—"The road from the S'hahr of Bájawṛ as far as the village of Re-Shagey has been already described (at page 164). Having gone two kuroh north from thence you reach Máyár, the name applied to two villages situated on spurs of the mountains on either side of the river running through the Dara'h of Chanḍawul.† Proceeding another kuroh to the north you reach Ákhúnd Kalaey—'the Ákhúnd's Village'—and going another half kuroh from thence in the same direction come to Khání Dera'h, a village on the above-mentioned river, which you cross south of the village.

"From Ákhúnd Kalaey you go on to Bádín,‡ another kuroh north, and then about the same distance north, inclining north-west, to Shína'h, beyond which, still proceeding in the same direction for another kuroh, you reach the village of Bárwa'h.

"North-west of this place are several small villages belonging to the Tarkalární Afgháns, lying in a hollow of the mountains (at the head of the Dára'h of Chanḍawul), and out of this hollow or depression the river of the Chanḍawul Dara'h issues.

"North of Bárwa'h is a lofty mountain range, the pass over which, from the south to the crest, is called the Chanḍawul Ghás'haey, and that on the northern side, the Birawal Ghás'haey, and likewise the Daham Tál (Ghás'haey). These mountains are clothed with vast forests of pine, oak (balúṭṭ), wild olive, *kashlána'h*, *chírí*, and other forest trees, the bitter pomegranate, wild grape, and other fruit-bearing trees, various species of shrubs, herbs, and grasses, the narcissus, and other wild flowers. The Tor Káfirís, however, infest these mountains, and issue from their ambushes on the route, and slay travellers who chance to fall into their hands.

"Having started from Bárwa'h,§ and ascended the Chanḍawul Ghás'haey for a distance of three kuroh in the direction of north, you reach the crest of the range. You then commence to descend by the Birawal or Daham Tál Ghás'haey for a distance of three kuroh more, still keeping north, and arrive at the small village of Daham Tál, situated on a hill or crag on the mountain side. West of it a small river rises, which flows on to Chugyá-ṭan.

"From Daham Tál you proceed three kuroh in the direction of north-east to Ján-Baṭey,‖ which is a large village, also situated on a mountain steep, and every step you

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* He was the father of the late Ghazan Khán, the renowned Chief of Panj-Korah, and the most powerful ruler of those parts, of whom I gave an account in my paper on "Upper and Lower Ḳáshḳár and the Inde-"pendent State of Panj-Korah," page 23.

Ḳásim Khán here mentioned had three sons, Azád, Ghazan, and Sa'd-ullah. Azád, the eldest, by some untoward and unfortunate chance, became the slayer of his father, during the troubles which arose after the death of Timúr Sháh, Sadozí, Bádsháh of Kábul, and was subsequently slain himself by his younger brother, Sa'd-ullah.

Ghazan Khán supported by the late ruler of Ḳáshḳár, commonly known to us as "Shah Kator," but, correctly, Sháh-i-Kaṭor, or Sháh of the Kaṭor, became chief of the territory known as Panj-Korah, after the five septs or divisions (in Pus'hto "kor," *lit.* house) of the Molízí section of the Khwádozí Akozí division of the great tribe of Yúsufzí, who possess it. He is said to have gone to war with the Káshḳár ruler, and to have reduced his capital, but made no attempt to retain it. Whether this happened before or after this first alliance was entered into is not stated, and it was probably after, but since that disagreement arose the alliance between the two States has been kept up, and still continues. This it will be well to remember, in case the ruler of Kash-mír should attempt to interfere with Ḳáshḳár proper, which, if he should do, he will certainly repent of.

Ghazan Khán's younger brother, with whom he continued at enmity after the latter killed his elder brother, remained independent of him, supported by a small adverse party.

Ghazan Khán died about ten years since, leaving nine sons, but his eldest, Raḥmat-Ullah Khán, who filled important posts during his father's lifetime, has succeeded to the rulership, and reduced his other brothers to submission.

† This description clearly shows how much our maps are all at fault.

‡ *See* next page.

§ This is the "Havildar's" *Burwa* referred to at page 152.

‖ Here we touch the "Havildar's" track. He crossed by the two Ghás'haeys just named to "Janbattai," as it is written in his account, but these other names appear to have been entirely unknown to him as well as to the Mullá. In the Mullá's map it is "Janbatái." *See* note §, page 118.

take in proceeding thither is downward. The before-mentioned river lies on the right hand as you go along.

"Another kuroh north-east from Ján-Baṭey is 'Ídú, another considerable village, also situated on a mountain height, and the same river lies on your right hand. Going on from thence for another kuroh in the same direction as before, with the river still on your right hand, you reach Dárí Kan, another large village on a height. From thence you proceed, every step descending, for another half a kuroh, still keeping north-east, and reach Bánḍa'h,* or 'The Hamlet,' previously referred to in the first road (page 165). From Bánḍa'h to Dír the road has been therein described.

*Third road.*—"The road from the S'hahr of Bájawṛ to the village of Chirg has been described in the first road. From thence you proceed one kuroh to the north to Kalaey-i-Míágán—Da Míágáno Kalaey†—previously noticed at page 164, and from thence two kuroh north-west, inclining north, to Ḍágaey, then one kuroh to the north-west to Khaṛáraey. Another two kuroh farther on is Pashat,‡ the place of residence of Allah-Yár Khán, Tarkalární, the Ḥákim, or governor, of the Dara'h of Bábú-Ḳará. From the side of Gibar§ a river comes down, which, passing north of Pashat, flows on to the Chhár-mang Dara'h; and half a kuroh north-east of Pashat is Aṭka'í, a small village on the opposite side of the river.

"Half a kuroh north from the last-named village is Be-Gal (in one copy Ye-Gal), a small village, on the way to which you have to pass through a defile, which, however, is very even, and from this village northwards is a lofty mountain range. You ascend for the distance of a kuroh and reach the crest, and then, descending for a distance of a kuroh and a half, arrive at Rám-Gal, which is a small village dependent on the Chanḍawul Dara'h. Half a kuroh farther on is a large village called Ghanír, and proceeding from thence for another three kuroh you come to Bádín, the account of the road from which to Birawal and on to Dír, by the Chanḍawul and Birawal Ghás'haeys, has been already given (preceding page).

*Fourth road.*—"Leaving the S'hahr of Bájawṛ and proceeding four kuroh to the north you reach Dara'h, the name given to three large villages belonging to the Tarkalární Afgháns, and the village of Chirg, previously mentioned above (and at page 164) lies on the left hand as you proceed. Two kuroh distant from Dara'h is the small village of Kuwwá,‖ and after going on from thence for a distance of half a kuroh you reach Khaṛáraey. From thence to Pashat (of Bábá-Ḳará) and on to Dír by the Birawal Dara'h the road has been just previously described.

"The people of these parts style Chhár-mang, Útlacy, Bábú-Ḳará, or Bábá-Kara'h, Chanḍawul, Ján-Baidán, Birawal, and Rúd, the dwelling place of the Tarkalární Afgháns, each of which is a large dara'h with minor ramifications, mentioned in the preceding

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* This place is styled "Bandai" in the "Havildar's" account. Inflected it would become Bándey, it being a feminine noun, but not "Bandai." The Mullá's map makes it "Bandái," with the wrong vowels long. There is a village called Bánḍa'í at page 165, but it is different from the village here referred to.

† This place is certainly not "the capital of Bajáwár," if "Mián Kala" is meant for it, but it is said to be in "Yághistán," and that is a territory of which I have no cognizance, and never met with. It has just been stated, at page 165, that Bánḍa'h is the residence of the Chief of this part of Bájawṛ, but the S'hahr or the K'hahr is the capital of the Bájawṛ territory. Da Míágáno Kalaey, as the name plainly indicates, belongs to and is inhabited by the descendants of a holy man or holy men; and the present Ṣáḥib-Záḍah, to whom it appertains, is not called "Saheb-Zada" because he has "been to Mecca," but because, as his name indicates, he is the descendant of a holy man; and he is not a Tarkalární Afghán. He is styled the Ḥájí because he has performed the pilgrimage to Makkah and Madínah. Being the descendant of a holy man, he has great influence among the chiefs and people around, but not to that degree possessed by the late Ákhúnd of Suwát, whom some persons made the leader of armies [illegible]s, and [illegible]ers even made a king. *See* my "Account of Upper and Lower Suwát," in the "Bengal Asiatic Journal" for 1862, pages 15 to 21.

I have previously noticed the incorrectness of and discrepancies in our maps. I must mention another serious error here. In the "Havildar's" map the distance from Pashat to Kalaey-i-Míágán or Da Míágáno Kalaey, in a straight line, is 45½ miles; in Major Wilson's map it is 30¼ miles, but in the map of the Mullá, who is said to have surveyed the route between the two places, it is 38 miles, according to their respective scales. There are numerous other discrepancies and errors which these routes will rectify. The Mullá's map, upon the whole, appears the most correct, as far as it goes.

‡ *See* page 151.

§ This appears to be the tract of country, or part of it, in which the Chingiz Khán took up his quarters for about three months after his pursuit of the Ighráḳí Musalmáns, subsequent to the defeat of Sulṭán Jalál-ud-Dín, Khwárazm Sháh, on the banks of the Abáe-Sín or Indus. But this part could only have been occupied by a small portion of his immense host, which probably overran all the country from Aṭak to Nek-Anhár or Nangrahár. *See* my "Translation of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," pages 1021 and 1043, and notes. It was from these parts that he set out, by the road he had previously come, towards Buḳlán, and returned to his *yúrat* in Mughalistán, but not by the "famous Baroghil Pass." *See* note §, page 151.

‖ *See* page 151.

account, by the general name of Bájawṛ, but Saur Kamar, and the Kohistán, or mountain tracts inhabited by the Utmán Khel Afgháns, are considered quite separate; nevertheless, strangers, unacquainted with this country, imagine the whole to be contained and included in Bájawṛ, which is not correct."

At page 112 I mentioned that Zain Khán, the Kokal-Tásh,* had been sent to operate against some of the Táríkís, who had betaken themselves to the difficult tract of country in and around Bájawṛ.

Having entered Bájawṛ, as previously stated, Zain Khán erected small forts every here and there, in the lower and more open parts, and the Afghán inhabitants deserted their villages and withdrew into the different dara'hs. From these they used to issue at night, reap their corn—for it was harvest time—and carry it off into the fastnesses in the hills.

To put a stop to these proceedings, Zain Khán adopted the plan of sending out small bodies of troops as soon as night set in, to take up their position near the entrances of these dara'hs, and there conceal themselves, and not to molest any Afgháns issuing therefrom. About midnight the fugitive Afgháns used to come out in strong bodies, go to their fields, and set about reaping their corn. About the same time, however, Zain Khán used to send out other bodies of troops, which would come down upon the reapers, harass them, and compel them to suspend their operations, and retire to the dara'hs again. Then it was that the Mughal troops in ambush would assail them also, and the Afgháns had to fight their way back, each time sustaining some loss.

Such like desultory fighting went on, every now and again, for about eight months; and, during this time, the Afgháns, unable to cultivate their lands, and after numbers of them had perished, were forced to submit to the terms of the Mughal commander. What these terms were is not stated, but, doubtless, they were sufficiently hard, and must have included a pledge not to aid or succour the other Afgháns who were of the Táríkí sect, and other followers of the Táríkí leaders, and give hostages for their good behaviour, and the carrying out of the terms.

Having "settled" matters (as he supposed) in this part, Zain Khán was able to turn his attention to Suwát. At the point where the river of Panj-Korah issues from the mountains, he erected a strong fort, but the Yúsufzí Afgháns blocked up the roads around with rocks and breastworks, and were prepared to resist his advance. But while they were occupied in the celebration of the 'Íd-i-Ḳurbán—the festival of Abraham's offering up Isaac—which is held on the 10th day of the month Zú-l-Ḥijja'h, the last month of the Muḥammadan year, Zain Khán, whose intelligence department must have been efficient, having heard of a secret route, succeeded in entering Suwát thereby before the Yúsufzís became aware of it.†

At the end of the month Sha'bán, of the year 1000 H. (about May, 1592, A.D.), Zain Khán had again to be despatched, at the head of an army, to act against the Táríkís, and "to arrange for the re-peopling, and bringing under cultivation again, the "territories of Suwád and Bájawṛ, and to root out the remaining Afgháns." From this we must understand that the Mughals had been carrying out some "high-handed measures," in devastating those countries, burning the villages, slaughtering the people, and rendering those who remained homeless; and that it had been discovered that such proceedings were not calculated to make them "friends," or render them and their country "so prosperous" as to lead them to consider it "a boon" to be brought under the rule of the Mughals.

Previous to the disturbances breaking out in Kash-mír in 1001 H.‡ (1592-93, A.D.), Zain Khán had been again despatched against these same Afgháns of Suwát and Bájawṛ, but who, according to Abú-l-Faẓl's account, were always "completely reduced," and "made good subjects of." When the disturbances began in Kash-mír, the Afgháns also rose; and as the troops quartered in the Bagrám district (Pes'háwar) were neither very numerous, nor of the best, the Gagyání and Muḥammadzí Afgháns, who hitherto had been good and peaceful subjects, joined with the Táríkís and Yúsufzís,

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* Kokal-Tásh is a Mughal title. The Nú-yín, Íljídáe or Ílchíḳdáe, who destroyed and depopulated Hirát, was Kokal-Tásh to his uncle, the Chingiz Khán. Some European writers have said that it means a foster brother, but he could scarcely have been his uncle's foster brother. *See* my "Translation of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 1142, note 2.

† Afẓal Khán, the Khaṭak, in his History, says the place where Zain Khán was stopped by the Yúsufzís was called the T'ra'í. This word in the Afghán language signifies a narrow track or roadway at the skirt of a mountain, on one side, with cliffs or high banks of a river on the other. Its position will be found described at page 235.

‡ The year 1001 H. began on the 27th September, 1592.

and invested Muḥammad Ḳulí, the Turk-mán, and his troops in Bagrám itself. The appearance of Zain Khán upon the scene, with his forces, saved it, and the rebels dispersed.

The Yúsufzís, with some Táríkís, under the leadership of Waḥdat 'Alí, a kinsman (by some called a brother) of Jalálah, however, retired to the mountains of Bájawṛ, and Jalálah, sending his family along with Waḥdat 'Alí's party, betook himself to the strong district of Tí-ráh. The plan was that Waḥdat 'Alí should take up his quarters near that part of the Káfirí country lying close to Ḳáshḳár, and there prepare a place of safety, and a secure retreat in case of need.

Zain Khán first entered Suwád by the Malá-khand Pass on the 18th of Mur-dád, 1001 H.,* and then marched across Suwád into Bájáwṛ by the Maidán Dara'h, and "quiet was restored to both those tracts," according to Abú-l-Faẓl, "and the rebels, "unable to cope with him," retired into the mountains in the direction of the Káfiristán. Zain Khán then marched into the Birawal Dara'h, and "the hills and dales were cleared of the infidels (the Táríkís)." He had reached a point where, east of him, lay Suwád (and Panj-Korah also), west Kúnaṛ and Núr-Gal, immediately south the Bájawṛ territory (in which he then was), and north Ḳáshḳár and Badakhshán. The "rebels" had in that part prepared their place of retreat and shelter, which was Changází,† and there sat down in defiance.

Zain Khán determined to dislodge them. He entrenched his camp at every stage as he advanced, and so, whenever the Táríkís and their adherents made night attacks upon it, they failed. He reached their stronghold and invested it. On the 1st of Abán (October), after fighting a great battle, the particulars of which, unfortunately, are not given, and defeating the "rebels," he obtained possession of it; and, according to Abú-l-Faẓl, as usual, "the disturbances caused by them were suppressed."

In the following year, the 38th of Muḥammad Akbar's reign,‡ Zain Khán had again to take the field against these very same "rebels." After his capture of Changází, Zain Khán had returned to his fort of Fatḥ-ábád (mentioned at page 112), which he had founded in Bájawṛ, and there he took up his quarters. From thence he detached Mubárak Khán to hold Suwád in subjection, for all the different tracts of country between the Sind (Indus) and Hindú-Koh had been placed under Zain Khán's jurisdiction, consequent on these disturbances, and in order that he might completely root up the Táríkís.

Soon after, however, he had to leave Fatḥ-ábád and march into Tí-ráh against these schismatics, the particulars of which I need not enter into here, as I wish to confine myself more particularly to a short account of his movements in Bájawṛ and parts adjacent, one of the many so-called "blanks in Afghán history."

"After having been driven out of Changází, Waḥdat 'Alí and his adherents, after the departure of Zain Khán, by the help of the Yúsufzís, obtained possession of a fortification known by the name of Ganshál or Ganashál,§ and some small tracts of land within the Káfirí territory. Jalálah, unable to remain in Tí-ráh, consequent upon Zain Khán's movements therein, fled from thence in order to gain this new stronghold in the Káfirí territory. Zain Khán resolved to attack this place likewise, and wrest it from the Táríkís.

"Leaving a strong force at Jalál-ábád under Ḳásim Khán, and another at Bagrám, he began his march towards the Káfirí country, in which Ganshál lay; and so quick were his movements, that, before Jalálah could cross the river of Kábul, the Bádsháh's troops barred his road, and he had to make for Tí-ráh again. Zain Khán was advised to face about and pursue him, but he determined to root out Waḥdat 'Alí first, as he had obtained a strong place of shelter, which might prove a source of much mischief, if allowed to remain in the hands of the Táríkís.

"Leaving his heavy materials and baggage behind him,—it is not stated which route he took, but from what happened on the previous occasion it must have been by Danish-Kol,‖—he began his march towards the Káfirí country, by way of Sháh-zádaey,¶

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* July, 1593.

† *See* pages 117, 182, and 183.

‡ The Ṭabaḳát-i-Akbarí says on the 5th of Zí-Ḳa'da'h, 1001 H.

§ This is an ancient place, and extensive ruins are said to exist here. It is situated in the valley through which the river Tal flows, north-east of the Maidán Dara'h of Bájawṛ, and is about twelve kuroh from Dír. An account of the Maidán Dara'h, and the routes leading from it, will be found at pages 118 and 165.

‖ Abú-l-Faẓl, in his short notice of Bájawṛ in the Á'ín-i-Akbarí, says there are but three routes into it. One from the side of Hindústán, called the Dánish-Kol route, and two from the side of Kábul, styled the Smats and Kúnaṛ Núr-Gal routes respectively. From the mention of Jalál-ábád, Abú-l-Faẓl appears to intimate that Zain Khán went by the Smats route. *See* pages 112 and 181.

¶ There are at present two Sháh-zádaeys, near each other, on the west side of the river issuing from the Maidán Dara'h, and near its junction with the river of Panj-Korah.

and near the village of Kundí-gáhar (*see* Kundí-gár, pages 179 and 230), he threw a bridge over the river of Bájawṛ which, at that point, was seventy *gaz* broad,* and deep and rapid in proportion, and conveyed his whole army across. While this was being effected the troops got sight of the rebels. Leaving a strong detachment under the Khwájah, Shams-ud-Dín, to guard the bridge, Zain Khán moved forward, and, after proceeding seventeen marches from thence, up hill and down dale, through a most difficult country, he at last reached the entrance to a defile of eight kuroh in length, through which his troops must pass to get at the rebels. Waḥdat 'Alí was in the stronghold of Ganshál, arrogant in the supposed strength of his position. For one half the distance through this defile or pass, the road was so narrow that a single horseman could scarcely get along,† and the rest of the way led along the skirts of the mountains and precipices. The Táríkís and their allies had blocked up the road in ten different places with rocks and breastworks, with the determination of offering a stout resistance.

"Zain Khán, the Kokal-Tásh, on the 6th of Khur-dád (May), having previously sent on a large portion of his force, under Takhtah Beg and Sa'íd Khán, the Gakhar, and other leaders, to occupy a suitable spot whereon to encamp, and hold it, set out himself, attended by a small escort. The Afgháns had occupied the defile in force, and when he came up he found the troops engaged hand to hand with them, for the defile was very narrow, as already stated, and there was no means of getting along at the sides.‡ Nothing remained but to force his way on or fall back, and, as he was determined to force a way, this hand to hand conflict was sustained for three watches (nine hours). Suddenly, Waḥdat 'Alí, also unable to crown the hills for the purpose of aiding the others by creating a diversion, descended with his immediate followers into the defile itself, and the efforts of the rebels became more desperate than before.

"The upshot was, that, with God's help, they were entirely overcome, and compelled to fly; and the stronghold of Ganshál, with a considerable extent of cultivated land, fell into the hands of the Mughal troops."

The historian entered into some little detail respecting the defile, but, as usual with eastern historians, fails to give us any respecting this stronghold, and other details which we should have liked to have.

"Many of the Afgháns betook themselves to the higher mountains for shelter, and there remained. The most active of the force followed in pursuit of them, and succeeded in capturing several. Some of the headmen of the (Spín) Káfirí tribes came and joined the Mughal forces, and tendered their services.‖ These being accepted, they used their utmost efforts in pursuing and destroying the fugitive Afgháns, some of whom fled towards Chaghán-Saráe of Badakhshán,§ thinking to pass the river of Bájawṛ, and obtain shelter among other Káfirí tribes. This, however, was more than they could effect, and the fugitives were reduced to such straits that several Yúsufzí chiefs gave themselves up and sued for pardon; and Waḥdat 'Alí, also, finding no means of escape, had likewise to give himself up.

"That mountainous tract of country (in which the stronghold of Ganshál was situated) lay in a part in which a deputy (dároghah) of the ruler of Káshghar (Ḳáshḳár ?) dwells, and all the year round it is more or less blocked with snow."

In this affair, the Yúsufzí Afgháns and other adherents of Waḥdat 'Alí, the Táríkí, are said to have lost 400 killed, and great numbers taken captive, while the victors, according to Abú-l-Faẓl, only lost 30 killed and 150 wounded, which numbers do not indicate "very desperate fighting." The same writer also asserts that, "by this success, all the country as far up as Káshghar (Ḳáshḳár ?) and Badakhshán fell into the "hands of the Mughal commander," which, certainly, is not correct.

"After the fall of Ganshál and parts adjacent, and all the Táríkís had been killed or dispersed, Zain Khán, the Kokal-Tásh, prepared to return, having first amply rewarded the (Spín) Káfirís for their services, and given them great encouragement."

The Ákhúnd, Darwezah, gives some interesting details confirmatory of these events. He says the Yúsufzís were being exterminated everywhere, and that Muḥammad Khán, the chief of one of the clans of the tribe, with a portion of them, turned his face towards the mountains of Hindú-Ráj (mentioned at pages 126 and 143), and was

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* This breadth appears exaggerated, but such is stated in the copies of the history I am quoting, and by Abú-l-Faẓl in the Akbar-Náma'h. The gaz would be about twenty-six inches.

† A little exaggeration, possibly, for the sake of effect.

‡ Or crowning the heights.

§ According to Abú-l-Faẓl.

‖ The Spín Káfirís of Ḍángrak are here referred to. *See* pages 161 and 190.

clearing the tracts before him, along the banks of the river of Panj-Kora'h, of the Káfirís—the Spín Káfirís—and pushing forward with the object of getting into Ḳáshḳár and settling therein.

"Some time passed in these operations, when, unfortunately for them, one of Pír-i-Tárík's notables, Waḥdat by name, joined them; and the misfortune attending the presence, and their being followers of, this infidel brought ruin upon them. Muhammad Khán obtained martyrdom fighting against the Káfirís, and then the fugitive Yúsufzís, chose Ghází Khán as their Bádsháh, or Chief, but they did not get rid of their infidel Táríkí. Not one of the Chiefs of the Yúsufzís equalled Ghází Khán in piety, uprightness, and learning, and he also fell fighting against the Káfirís. His people subsequently fell into the hands of Zain Khán, Kokah, and those who escaped with their lives were transported to the Pes'háwar district (that is, south of the river of Kábul), and lands were assigned them on one of the *wála'hs* there (*see* page 177); and the rest of Yúsufzí tribe became dispersed in all directions, after having withstood the Mughals for a period of twelve years."

Zain Khán had by no means crushed the Táríkís, however, and for many years afterwards they gave an infinity of trouble to the Mughal Government, notwithstanding the repeated "severe chastisements" which they received, according to Abú-l-Faẓl and some other historians of Akbar's reign, but which assertions are contrary to fact. In reality, as is clearly proved by events, the Afgháns were never really subdued by the Mughals at any time, not even the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs and others around the Pes'háwar district; and the Mughals were unable to hold an inch of ground in their difficult country without overwhelming forces, and even then their communications were continually interrupted.

*Thirty-second Route. From Kábuḷ to Chitrál or Chitrár, the capital of the country of Ḳáshḳár, by way of Pashat, a distance of two hundred and fifty kuroh. This road also goes on to Yár-ḳand and Khitá.*

"The route from Kábul to Pashat of Kúnaṛ has been already described.

"Having proceeded half a kuroh east from Pashat, you enter a dara'h, or defile in the mountains, which the people of this part call Tangaey, which signifies a pass, gorge, or road between two mountain ranges, and the river of Chitrál, Chitrár, or Ḳáshḳár, as it is also called, lies distant on the left hand.

"From Tangaey to Kúz (Lower) Danúhí,* on the banks of the Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár river, the road has been detailed (at page 118), and the distance between them is about five kuroh. The way thither is dangerous, however, as the Tor Káfirís or Sí'áh-Poshán infest it. Two roads branch off from Kúz Danúhí, the right-hand one of which goes to the S'hahr or K'hahr of Bájawṛ, already detailed (page 112), and the left-hand one is as follows:—

"Proceeding three kuroh north, inclining north-east, from Kúz Danúhí, you reach Bar (Upper) Danúhí, a village inhabited by Sarkární Afgháns, situated on a mountain crag, and the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár lies on the left hand. From thence four kuroh farther in the same direction is Pál-Koṭ, the name of a ruin (or ruined place or site), on the right hand, on a spur of the mountains. On the left-hand side there is an established ferry over the river, which is called the Bádsháhí Guẓar, or Royal Ferry; and having crossed over by means of a raft you can go on from thence to Chaghán-Saráe. From this place (Pál-Koṭ) the territory of the Tarkalární Afgháns commences.

"Proceeding from Pál-Koṭ (not crossing the river) for a distance of three kuroh, in the same direction as before (north, inclining north-east), you reach Ḥiṣára'h,† a mud-built fort on a spur of the mountains, and the river still lies on the left hand. The villages of the Dara'h of Chaghán-Saráe can be seen on the opposite side of the river. Another two kuroh distant from Ḥiṣára'h is Maṛwirá,‡ and having wended your way from thence for another seven kuroh you come to Shúr-ṭan.§ From thence you go on to Asmár, a distance of four kuroh, and from thence another five kuroh north to

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* In Major Wilson's map this appears under the vitiated form of "Donai."

† *See* pages 143 and 152.

‡ The Afghán boundary, that is to say, of the territory under the sway of the late Amír, Sher 'Alí Khán, Bárakzí, Durrání, extended to this place.

§ *See* page 148.

Shanggar*, after which you proceed another five kuroh in the direction of north-east and reach Shál†, the residence of Manṣúr 'Alí Khán, Tarkalární. This village the Ḳáshḳárí people call by the name of Sálmá.

"From Shál you proceed four kuroh to Bal-yam,‡ a large village of the Tájzíks, the Afghán territory having terminated at Shál.

"Leaving Bal-yam you proceed onward for a distance of one kuroh, and reach Palás-Gor or Gúr, which the Afgháns style by the name of Nishá-Gám. Five kuroh farther on from thence, having proceeded in the same direction as before, you reach Sá-wa (in one copy Sá-ú), and seven kuroh farther on is the large village of Nárísát, belonging to the Tájzíks; and the tract of country extending from the village of Bal-yam to this place is known by the general name of Nárísát.§

"Four kuroh from the last-named place is the small village of Harandú;‖ and on the left hand, on the opposite bank (west) of the river of Chitrál, is a great dara'h named Luṭ-Dih, out of which two rivers issue. One flows towards the east and joins the Shaghut river,¶ and the other southwards, and unites with the river of Chitrál opposite Harandú. By this dara'h, and crossing over the Apá-luk Kotal, Badakhshán is reached. It is peopled by the Tor Káfirís or Sí'áh-Poshán, who issue from it and carry their depredations as far as Dír, the Maidán, and Birawal Dara'hs.**

"Leaving Harandú, still proceeding up the river for a distance of twelve kuroh, you reach Ḍamil, which is the name of a dara'h in the mountains nearly twelve kuroh in length, and which lies adjoining on the right hand. A river likewise issues from that direction and joins the Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár river.

"Proceeding from Ḍamil in the direction of north-east, inclining east, for a distance of fifteen kuroh, you arrive opposite Naghar, which is a large dara'h, on the left hand (described at page 157), on the opposite side of the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár, over which there is a wooden bridge.†† It adjoins the country of the Tor Káfirís or Sí'áh-Poshán on the north-west. A river issues from the Dara'h of Naghar which also unites with the main river, that is the river of Ḳáshḳár.

"Another four kuroh north, from the point opposite the Dara'h of Naghar, is Kal-Kanak, which is a large village, two kuroh farther north from which is Drúsh, one of the towns of Ḳáshḳár. In this town the dues are levied from the traders of Pes'háwar and Kábul. Round about the town is a wall of sun-dried brick, and the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár, as before, lies on the left‡‡ hand.

"The town is under the sway of the Mír, Sháh Riẓá, Bádsháh, who was the author's informant on many subjects connected with these surveys, and who has been referred to elsewhere."§§

The town of Drúsh is situated in the middle of the valley, on a rising ground, on the left or eastern bank of the river, over which there is a large and well built wooden bridge. The town is said to contain about two thousand houses, and between nine and ten thousand inhabitants. All the chief men of this part of the country have houses of considerable size, and are expected to reside here for the best part of their time. Persons engaged in trade, and artisans, dwell almost exclusively at Drúsh.

That part of the dara'h south of Drúsh is thinly peopled, but towards the north-east and west it is populous. The inhabitants are Tájzíks, who are Muḥammadans of the Shí'ah sect.

All complaints of importance, and cases of litigation, are investigated and decided at Drúsh by the ruler himself. All complainants dwelling within four days' journey of it are required to repair to that town, and prefer their complaints there.‖‖

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* This place is probably what appears in Major Wilson's map as "Sangar?" *See* also page 158. This name has also been written Sanghar, which is not correct: the initial letter is "sh," and there is no "h" in the word.

† In Major Wilson's map Shál is placed below "Sangar" (Shanggar) instead of above it.

‡ It is from this word, incorrectly spelt "Beilum," that the error of calling the river of Ḳáshḳár or Chitrál the "Beilum river" has evidently arisen. The people of Bal-yam may, at that point, call it "the river of, or "running by, Bal-yam," just as the people of Kúnar and Kámáṇ call the river, when it enters their territory, "the river of, or running through, Kúnar and Kámáṇ," but they do not mean to say that either of those names is the actual name of the river. At the same time it is quite certain that the people of Bal-yam never call it "the Koonur," nor "the Kama." The "Mullá," on the other hand, writes this word "Bálim." *See* also next page, and page 159, note §.

§ *See* page 166.

‖ *See* pages 133 and 149.

¶ *See* page 150.

** A detailed account of these important dara'hs will be found at pages 117 and 118. *See* also page 149.

†† *See* pages 157 and 179.

‡‡ That is, going upwards from Pashat.

§§ *See* pages 155 and 157.

‖‖ From the Report of the Sapper Ḥawál-dár, as given in the "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society,"

"From Drúsh you proceed fifteen kuroh north, and arrive opposite Á'ín, a large village on the left hand, on the other or west bank of the river of Ḳáshḳár, and proceeding another kuroh north from this point reach Barúz. Another two kuroh farther north brings you to Chamar Khand, situated on the east bank of the river. You proceed from thence another kuroh upwards to Jughúz,* another village on the river bank. At this place a wooden bridge spans the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár, and a little to the west of the bridge is Chitrár or Chitrál.

"This is a considerable town named after the dara'h described at page 157, and the residence and seat of government of this country, which is at present under the sway of the Sháh, Khair-Ullah, Bádsháh.† There is no *town* called Ḳáshḳár."

Tajammul Sháh was ruler of Chitrál at the time of the first Afghán war, and for some time subsequently, but he was afterwards assassinated by a nephew, who was soon after slain by Tajammul Sháh's son. The present ruler, the Amán-ul-Mulk, is the son of Tajammul Sháh's elder brother. *See* page 162, note ¶.

The late Tajammul Sháh‡ was able, upon occasion, to muster a force of 12,000 matchlock men, who were not paid for their services in money, but in kind. The whole of the people are well provided with fire-arms, with rests, indeed, there are few persons who are unprovided with arms. These matchlocks are long and heavy, similar to those of Turkistán, from whence they are probably obtained, and carry a ball a long distance.§

The Ḳáshḳáris are good marksmen, and powder and lead being very expensive, when they do discharge their pieces, they generally do so with effect, and no shots are thrown away.

"On the route from Pashat to Jughúz, you meet with many ascents and descents as you proceed along at the side of the mighty range which rises on the right hand, and the crest of which is not far off. You also pass many villages, and plenty of water; and the river of Ḳáshḳár runs along near by on your left hand.

"Although the country from Bal-yam to Ḍamil is not contained within the Ḳáshḳár territory, nevertheless, the inhabitants thereof are of the Tájzík race, and, consequently, pay submission to, and are under the rule of, the Chiefs of Ḳáshḳár.

"From Pashat to Naghar the Tor Káfirís infest the country, and lie in ambush, fall upon travellers, and slay them. It is therefore necessary to be provided with a proper and experienced guide; and, unless travellers form a strong party for self-protection, it is dangerous to proceed onwards."

Before giving an account of the various routes diverging from Chitrál, I must describe four other routes here; two leading from Kábul to Ṗráng of 'Ash-Naghar and Pesh'áwar by way of Kaṛappa'h, and two leading from Pes'háwar to Chitrál, as these routes intersect others here given."

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Vol. 42, for 1872, who passed through Chitrál in 1870, the Ruler or Bádsháh is styled "Aman-i-Mulk" (an error for Amán-ul-Mulk), but this is only his title, signifying "the Safety of the State," not his name.

According to the same Report, the town of Chitrál is now the "capital" of the country, and "Darosh," as it is called therein, is a mere village. What geographical information the Ḥawál-dár may have imparted to the late Colonel Montgomerie, of course, I cannot say, but, in the article in the Journal above referred to, it is of the most meagre kind: in fact his journey appears to have been a flying one, and the rough survey of a single route. All he says of Drúsh is (page 194):—"Leaving Ashreth ('Ashrit) on the 28th, they reached the "village of Darosh at night. . . . Darosh possesses a fort, which is the residence of Kokan Beg" (Beg is a strange name for a Tájzík), "brother of Aman-i-Mulk, the Badshah of Chitral. This Khan (*sic*) levies "on all merchants and others a toll or tax," &c. Subsequently it is mentioned (page 199) that "they," the Ḥawál-dár and his party, "halted for two days at Darosh, three at Dir, and two at Hotee Murdan," but no particulars are given.

* In order that no mistake might possibly be made with regard to this name by a careless scribe, the author describes it in writing, and also gives the vowel points, and says that the last letter is dotted ذ = ز "z" yet the Ḥawál-dár has "Joghor," and in Major Wilson's map it is "Jughur."

† *See* page 162.

‡ Under the heading of "Drúsh," Colonel C. M. MacGregor, C.B., "Central Asia," Part II., page 237, quotes my Ḳáshḳár paper in the "Bengal Asiatic Journal" for 1864, but makes me say that "it is the "residence of Shah Kator." This is a mistake. I say, "residence of Tajammul Sháh, son of Sháh Kaṭor." Another error is that, under a different heading, I am made to spell this name with one "*m*"—Tajamal—which renders it meaningless. The word is Arabic تَجَمُّل—Tajammul—as I spelt it, and signifies "enjoying the good things of life," etc.

§ At the present day the people may be better provided.

*Thirty-third Route. From Kábul to Ṗráng, which is one of the large villages of the 'Ash-Naghar District, by way of Khaṛappa'h or Kaṛappa'h,* a distance of one hundred and ten kuroh east.*

"The road from Kábul to Ílah Baghá, otherwise 'Alí Baghán, has been already described (at page 48).

"From the latter place two roads diverge. The right-hand one goes to Báṣaur or Báṣaul, '*r*' being interchangeable with '*l*,' and by La'l-púra'h to Gand-Áb. The left-hand road is as follows:—

"Setting out from Ílah Baghá you proceed to Da Musáfiro Chína'h, which has been referred to at page 120, and from thence eight kuroh eastwards is Ḍháka'h, a considerable village, situated on the banks of the river of Kábul, and the place of residence of Arsala Khán, Mahmand, chief of the Tragzí division of that tribe of Afgháns (whose fate has been mentioned elsewhere, at page 122). La'l-púra'h is on the opposite side† of the before-mentioned river, and Ḍháka'h in the Khaibar defile, near its western entrance.

"Nine kuroh north-east from La'l-púra'h is Bihí ká Júhaṛ,‡ the Bihí Júhaṛ, the name of a lake which is dependent on rain, and which the former governors of these parts, on the part of the Gúrgániah sovereigns, caused to be built round with stone and lime. The signification of the Hindí word júhaṛ has been already described. The road from La'l-púra'h to this point, which is very like the bed of a river, and without water, they call the Bihí Ḍág,§ Ḍág signifying, in Pus'hto, a hard and arid tract of country.

"From this place you proceed for a distance of eight kuroh, in the direction of north-east, to Gand-Áb or Gand-Áo,‖ the name by which several villages belonging to the Tragzí Mahmands are known. Leaving them you go three kuroh to the east, and enter a great defile known as the Kaṛappa'h Ghás'haey. Ascending it for a distance of two kuroh, you reach the crest of the defile, and then descend for a distance of seven kuroh, still in the direction of east. The road winds exceedingly; and from the crest of the Ghás'haey or Pass, the city of Pes'háwar and its buildings, and the towns and villages of the Do-Ábah, can be distinctly seen.

"Having thus descended from the crest of the Ghás'haey, you go on for another two kuroh, still keeping east, and reach Shab-Ḳadr, which is a small town in the Do-Ábah district, the village of Maṭa'h¶ lying on the left hand, and Mícharna'í on the right, as you proceed. Starting from Shab-Ḳadr you proceed ten kuroh east to the Ḥiṣár, and by the way have to cross the Jinda'h river by boat. The Ḥiṣár or Fortress is the name by which a large village in the sub-district of 'Ash-Naghar is now known, and which lies on the eastern bank of the Jinda'h river. It is the site of an ancient fortress, and the place of residence of Ghulám Maḥay-ud-Dín Khán, son of Faiẓ-Ṭalab Khán. Proceeding one kuroh farther east from thence you reach Ṗráng, another large village under the sway of the Khán before referred to.

"The route just described is known as the Khaṛappa'h or Kaṛappa'h route; and, whenever that by the Khaibar is closed by the rebel Shinwáris and Áfrídís, travellers with their loads and effects proceed to and fro by this route."

'Ash-Naghar—the name the district now called Hasht-Nagar was known by in ancient times, and down to the time these surveys were made—at the period when the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs, expelled from the neighbourhood of Kábul by the Mughals, issued from the Khaibar defile, and besought the Dilazák Afgháns to assign them lands on which to dwell, as already described (at page 35), was in the possession of the Shalmánís. They are one of the Tájzík tribes, now known to us, but erroneously so, as Dihgáns or Dihḳáns, which words merely mean a husbandman, and have been very

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* *See* page 180.

† I have put down La'l-púra'h as it is at present situated, on the northern bank of the river, but the author plainly states here, as he did before (page 43, Section Second), that La'l-púra'h lies on the south bank. This statement seems incredible, but the question arises, whether the physical nature of the tract within a few miles is such as to permit of the river changing its course at any period. From the fact of there being several islands in its bed for some miles above and below La'l-púra'h, such a change is not impossible. Strange to say, Faiẓ-Bakhsh says that "Dhakha" is on the *north* bank of the Kábul river, and that "Lalpurah" is north of it Ḍháka'h is now on the *south* bank.

‡ This is called the Joeyṛ or Júhaṛ of Mullá Baní at page 120.

§ *See* pages 180 and 183.

‖ This is the place where Ac-mal Khán, Áfrídí, and the confederate tribes, overthrew and annihilated the Mughal army under Jaswant Singh and Shujá'át Khán, soon after the annihilation of the Mughal army in the battle at the Landey Khána'h Kotal, narrated at page 40.

¶ Turned into "Muttah" in our maps.

loosely used. They came originally from Shalmán, subsequently known as Shanúzán and Shalúzán, and Karmán, which dara'hs appear to have been their ancient seats, and hence they are known to history as Shalmánís. They had been displaced by other tribes from the westward, by the Khalj, Ghuzz, and other Turks, in all probability, as already mentioned at page 82.

The Shalmánís of 'Ash-Naghar, at this period, were subjects of Sulṭán Awes of Suwát, son of Sulṭán Pakhal, one of the Jahángíríán Sulṭáns mentioned elsewhere. The governor of the 'Ash-Naghar district dwelt in the Hiṣár of 'Ash-Naghar, the place above referred to, which can be distinguished from Pes'háwar on a clear day.

At the time the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs came into these parts, the governor of 'Ash-Naghar was the Mír, Handá, son of Arzú, a Tájzík of the family of the Dúd-Ál, and he was a Sardár of renown, and one of the bravest men of his time. His authority extended over the whole tract of country south of the mountains bounding the Dara'h of Suwát in that direction, which tract extended as far east as the river known as the Kálah or Kalá-Pární, which has been described at page 244. He resided within the Hiṣár or fortress of 'Ash-Naghar, which was stone built, and a place of great strength, situated on a mound of considerable elevation. After the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs obtained possession of 'Ash-Naghar, and that district was subsequently assigned to the Muḥammadzí tribe of Afgháns, who still possess the district, it became the residence of Malik Fatḥ Khán, son of Malik Sá'íd Khán, son of Malik Khizr Khán, a Bárakzí* of the Muḥammadzí tribe. At the time these surveys were made the fortress was in ruins.

It is amusing to notice the plunges made by would-be historians, and the absurd statement that "Hashtnagar" was only brought extensively under cultivation in the time of Akbar by "Mahamadzai emigrants from Kandahár."†

There are very few Shalmánís at present to be found in the Pes'háwar district, but there are numbers, under the name of Dihgáns, dwelling in the neighbourhood of Jalál-ábád, in Bájawṛ, and in Lamghán; and there are two villages of Shalmánís,‡ bearing the same name, in the Khaibar mountains, between the Tahtara'h mountain range and the river of Kábul,§ and some in Agroṛ, east of the Indus.

*Thirty-fourth Route. From Kábul to Pes'háwar, by way of Khaṛappa'h or Kaṛappa'h, a distance of one hundred kuroh.*

"This route is the same as the preceding one as far as Shab-Ḳadr, where the road diverges.

"From Shab-Kadṛ you proceed two kuroh to Katúzí, a large village on the banks of the Jinda'h river; and on the left hand, on the opposite side of the river, is the 'Ash-Naghar district. You then go on for a kuroh and a half more to Ḥasanzí, another considerable village, and from thence proceed half a kuroh farther to Kángṛa'h, which is a very ancient village, contained in the jágír or fief of the Ḳází, Faiz-ullah, Tímúr Sháh's chief minister, mentioned at page 122.‖

"Leaving Kángṛa'h you proceed a kuroh and a half in the direction of north-east to Baṭ-Girámn, and then on to Yághí Band, distant one kuroh to the south-east, and from thence two kuroh farther, in the direction of south, to Tarkhaey, another village of considerable size. Rather more than a quarter kuroh south from thence brings you to

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* This clan of the Muḥammadzís must not be mistaken for Durráni Bárakzís, like a clan of the Mandaṛs has been for an offshoot of the royal tribe, which, of course, they are not.

† *See* page 225. The Muḥammadzís were settled in the Hasht-Nagar district in the reign of Bábar Bádsháh, Akbar Bádsháh's grandfather.

‡ According to Muḥammad Afẓal Khán, the Khaṭak historian, there appears to have been a tribe of people located in the Tahtara'h mountain range called Táhtarah.

§ There is a small elevated valley still known as Shalmán after this people. It is situated on the southern bank of the river of Kábul, between Ḍháka'h and Mícharna'í, but nearer the former, and lying in the Tahtara'h (but not "Tártara," for there are not two "r's" in the word, but there are two "h's") route, also known as the Áb-Khána'h route, between Pes'háwar and Ḍhákah. A short distance east of the latter place the river of Kábul makes a bend from east to north-east for ten miles, and then bends again almost due south for the same distance. After that it makes a sharp turn, at right angles, to the east again. This sharp turn is just opposite the middle of the Shalmán valley, which there slopes down towards the river. Coming from Pes'háwar you first reach the village of Kam Shalmán, or Shalmán-i-Khúrd, or Lesser Shalmán, at the eastern end of the valley, and at the other, Lo-e Shalmán or Shalmán-i-Kalán, or Greater Shalmán. A few Shalmánís inhabit the former village, and the latter is inhabited by part Mahmands, and part Mulágúrís, an Afghán clan long connected with and dependent on the Mahmands. They also have several other small hamlets in the mountains near the right bank of the river of Kábul, where it bends sharply to the south, as mentioned above.

There are still a few Shalmánís to be found scattered about in some of the villages to the north of the Landaey Sín or river of Kábul, as the Settlement and Census Reports show. I shall give a more detailed account of them in my Afghán History. *See* also page 125, and page 222.

‖ Vast changes have taken place in this as well as in other districts of the Pes'háwar valley since these surveys were made. What then must they have been during eight centuries?

the banks of the river of Kábul, and then, leaving the Do-Ábah and the Muḥammadzí Afgháns, you cross the river by means of a boat. After going another quarter kuroh farther from the river bank, still in the direction of south, you reach the large village of Ḍab,* south of which again is a small canal, brought from the right hand (west), from the river of Kábul, and which canal runs to the left, and joins the Jinda'h river.

"From Ḍab you go on to Kúchán, distant a kuroh and a half to the south-east, a village inhabited by Dá'údzí Afgháns, and then proceed about a quarter kuroh to the south of it to Gul-Bela'h, which is also a large village. On the right hand of it is another canal, which has been cut from the river of Kábul. It runs towards the left, and unites with the Jinda'h river.

"Setting out from Gul-Bela'h you proceed two kuroh to the south, and reach Murwárá or Murwára'h, which is the name given to a considerable river (a branch of the river of Kábul), which, coming from the right hand, flows towards the left, and unites with the Jinda'h.† Another kuroh south from thence is the small village of Kharak, and from that place you go on for about the same distance, in the direction of south-east, and reach the small village of Gújar, situated on the river of Kábul.

"This river consists of two (large) branches; the first branch was crossed by boat, as already related, and the branch now reached cannot be passed except by means of a boat likewise. Between these two (unfordable) branches the country is intersected by several canals; and hereabouts the Dá'údzí tribe of Afgháns dwell, together with some of the Dilazák tribe of the same people.

"A canal which is cut from a river is called a *wála'h* by the Afgháns, and a naturally formed one, that is to say, a channel formed by a river, they call a *bela'h*, both being Pus'hto words.

"Leaving Gújar you proceed a short distance south-east to Yalam Guzar, also called 'Alam Guzar, the name of the ferry over the branch of the river of Kábul, just referred to, which you have to cross by boat. On the other or southern bank is a village of the same name, which lies near by on the right hand. On the left are several villages belonging to the Afghán tribe of Dilazák.‡ From the banks of the river you proceed three kuroh in the direction of south-west, and reach the Bálá Ḥiṣár, or citadel of Pes'háwar, and by the way cross several canals, pass many villages, and much cultivation."

*Thirty-fifth Route. From Pes'háwar to Chitrál, by the direct route of 'Ash-Naghar, now called Hasht-Nagar, and Panj-Korah.*

"The route between Pes'háwar and Práng has been described farther on (at page 243), and also from thence to the village, or rather town, of Tangaey.§

"Setting out from Tangaey and proceeding eight kuroh north, through a dara'h of the mountains, along the banks of the Jindá or Jinda'h river, you reach Búcha'h‖ a small village belonging to the Utmán Khel tribe of Afgháns. The river of Suwád or Suwát, coming from the kohistán or highlands of N'al-Band and Mekh-Band, passes to the northward of, and under (below) the village, and, flowing towards the west, joins the river of Panj-Korah, and obtains the name of Jindá or Jinda'h, and continues its course on to 'Ash-Naghar.¶

"From this village of Búcha'h two roads diverge. By the left-hand road you cross the Jinda'h river on a *jhola'h* or *jhála'h*, or raft, which, in the Pus'hto language, is called a *zángo*, and go on to Bájawr. In taking the other road, you cross the river of Suwád by a bridge north of the village of Búcha'h, and, after proceeding twelve

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* It was in the neighbourhood of this place that the famous battle of Shaikh Tapúr, also called Patúr, was fought. *See* page 227.

† "River of Swát" is as loosely applied as Kúnar and Koonoor to the river of Ḳáshḳár or Chitrál. On entering the plain of 'Ash-Naghar the river of Suwád or Suwát is called the Jinda'h as far down as Nisata'h, at the Do-Bandí ferry. After that it unites with the river of Kábul, and receives the name of Landaey Sín or Little River, to distinguish it from the Abáe Sín or Father of Rivers—the Indus, and is also called the river of Kábul as before its junction with the Jinda'h. The channels of both these rivers have considerably altered since these surveys were made, the number of small branches have increased, and numerous cuts have been made from them for irrigation purposes. *See* page 243.

‡ There are three villages in the Dá'údzí district of the Pes'háwar province, as at present constituted, still peopled by Dilazák Afgháns.

§ *See* page 239.

‖ Originally Bútsah, in all probability, with Pus'hto 'ts.' *See* page 250.

¶ It is also known as the Ágaṛah, between its confluence with the river of Panj-Korah and its issuing from the mountains into the 'Ash-Naghar district. Ágaṛah is also the name of the ferry here referred to.

kuroh north along (the banks of) the river of Panj-Korah, reach Khema'h,* a large village, also belonging to the Utmán Khel, on the opposite side of the river of Panj-Korah. Having passed over the river by a wooden bridge, you enter the bounds of the village afore-mentioned. The river of Bájawṛ issues from the mountain tract to the west, and, running to the south of Khema'h for about the distance of one kuroh, unites with the river of Panj-Korah.

"From thence (Khema'h), having proceeded three kuroh north, you come to Gunáṭír,† a large village belonging to the Yúsufzí Afgháns. The before-mentioned river lies on the right hand. From thence you proceed three kuroh north-east, inclining north, to Úḍí-Grám,‡ another large village, from which two roads diverge. The left-hand one passes over the great mountain range to the Maidán Dara'h and the Dara'h of Birawal, while by the right-hand one you cross the river of Panj-Korah, east of Úḍí-Grám, by a wooden bridge, and, going on from thence for a distance of two kuroh in the direction of north-east, reach Shar-batí, the before-mentioned river being on the left hand as you proceed. A distance of three kuroh farther, in the same direction, brings you to Ribáṭ,§ which is also a large village. The river runs on your left hand. Continuing onwards for another five kuroh in the same direction, you reach the large village of Toṛ-mang, situated on a mountain spur, and south of the village is a small stream,* which comes from the right hand, from near the village of Gáwṛín,‖ and, flowing to the left hand, joins the river of Panj-Korah.

"A little to the north-west of Toṛ-mang is Ḍokarí, a small village close by (the road), on the left hand. Proceeding on from thence for a distance of two kuroh in the direction of north-west, inclining north, you reach a small river, coming from the right-hand side (the eastward), which issues from a dara'h in the mountains, called the Kárú Dara'h,¶ and flowing towards the left, joins the river of Panj-Korah. Another kuroh and a half towards the north brings you to the little village of Wáṛah,** lying on the right hand.

"Leaving Wáṛah, and proceeding onwards in the direction of north for a distance of one kuroh more, you arrive at two rivers. One comes from the right-hand side, out of the Dara'h of Ṉihák,†† also called Níáka'h, runs to the left, and unites with the river of Panj-Korah; the other flows from the left hand, out of the Dara'h of Panj-Korah, which will presently be described, and joins the river of Panj-Korah, that is to say, the main river of the Panj-Korah Dara'h. From this point (the junction of the two rivers) you proceed onward for another two kuroh in the direction of north, inclining north-west, and reach Jughá-ban, the name given to two small villages which lie on the right-hand side of the road.‡‡ You then go on for another three kuroh in the direction of north, and reach the large village of Dáṛúṛa'h. The river of Jabar comes from the right-hand direction, and falls into the river of Panj-Korah to the west of the village.

"The river of Panj-Korah, from this point, is called the river of Chugyá-ṭan. After crossing the river of Jabar to the north of the above-mentioned village, you proceed two kuroh farther north, and reach the village of Kundí-Gál, also called

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* *See* my "Account of Ḳáshḳár and Panj-Korah," page 19. Khema'h is the chief place in the Maidán Dara'h, which is included in Bájawṛ. *See* pages 117 and 250.

† It is incorrectly spelt "Koonateyr" in the Indian Atlas map, and also placed more than a kuroh south-west of the river, instead of three kuroh to the north-east of it; but, in a map which accompanies an article on "Dardistan" in the "Geographical Magazine" for August, 1876,—in which the names of places are terribly vitiated, notwithstanding my papers referred to below have been used in its construction,—it is "Komâtir."

This place is now noted for the manufacture of soap, and it supplies all the districts round with that article. *See* my account of "Upper and Lower Ḳáshḳár and Panj-Korah," page 16, and of "Upper and Lower Suwát," in the "Journal of the Asiatic Society, Bengal," for 1864 and 1862 respectively.

‡ *See* also pages 165 and 193.

§ This is the Ribáṭ-i-Muḥammad Khán, mentioned in my Panj-Korah paper, page 17, so called after a ribáṭ or caravansary founded by or named after a person of that name. It also means a station on an enemy's frontier.

‖ In one copy, this word is written Gáḍrín in four places, but two others, equally plainly written, have Gáwṛín, which I have consequently adopted. *See* page 231. There is also a pass called the Gáwṛín Ghás'haey, the crest of which is the boundary between Suwát and Panj-Korah in that direction.

¶ Not "Karoh." It is called Kárú, after the dara'h, that is, the river of the Kárú Dara'h, but that is a feeder of the Áo-Sherí river, or Ú-sherí, as it is sometimes written, or river of the Dara'h of that name. I gave some account of it in my Panj-Korah paper, and also mentioned that Sulṭán Muḥammad Khán, Bárakzí, had taken guns by this route into Panj-Korah several times. The Sherí river mentioned at pages 143 and 182 are totally different from the Ú-sherí river here referred to, for which *see* page 250.

** Sometimes called Wárey, but this must be in its inflected form, the word being feminine in Pus'hto.

†† Nihák or Níáka'h, and not Nahák, is the correct name of this dara'h, which is also called Láhor. *See* also page 231.

‡‡ The "Dardistan" map, before referred to, is somewhat mythical here in many ways.

Kundí-Gahár or Kundí-Gár,* on the north side of which is the tomb and shrine of a Darwesh, and a burying ground.

"Leaving Kundí-Gál and going one kuroh and a half in the direction of north, inclining north-west, you reach the small village of Bab-Baur, on the left-hand side, on the other (west) bank of the river of Chugyá-ṭan. From thence you proceed four kuroh in the same direction and reach Jiblúk, which is another small village on the other side of the river before mentioned, which here is spanned by a wooden bridge. From this village you go on a distance of two kuroh and a half in the direction of north-west to Bey-Namází, situated on a mountain crag.†

"From the village of Shar-batí to this place a great mountain range lies near by on either hand; and the river of Chugyá-ṭan, chiefly known as the river of Panj-Korah, flows close by on the left hand as you proceed on your way.

"From the village of Bey-Namází two roads diverge. The right-hand one leads into Báshḳár,‡ and on the left hand there is a wooden bridge of sufficient strength to enable horses, camels, and bullocks to pass over it. The river of Báshḳár and that of Dír, having united a little to the north of it, flow under this bridge.

"Having crossed this bridge, to the west of it lies the large village of Chugyá-ṭan, the account of the route from which to Dír has been previously given (at page 166).§

"From Dír you proceed onwards for a distance of four kuroh in the direction of north-west to Ḳol-Ḍandí, the name of a small village belonging to the Yúsufzí Afgháns. Near this village a small stream rises which runs on to Dír.‖ From Ḳol-Ḍandí you begin to ascend considerably, and, having proceeded upwards through the Láhorí defile, for a distance of six kuroh in the direction of north-west, you reach the crest of the great mountain range separating Bájawṛ and Panj-Korah from the Ḳáshḳár territory. This crest, which is very lofty, is called the Láhorí Kotal;¶ and from the crest of this kotal the territory of the Yúsufzí Afgháns, in this direction, terminates, and the Ḳáshḳár State commences.**

"Having commenced to descend the north-western face of the range, and proceeded downwards in the direction of north-west, inclining west, for a distance of nearly six kuroh, you reach 'Ashrit Khanḍey,†† a village inhabited by the sept or race of people known as Kohistánís.‡‡ The language and usages of these people are similar to those of the people of Ḳáshḳár, or the Ḳáshḳárís, as they are styled after their country.

"Five kuroh from 'Ashrit Khanḍey towards the north, on the right hand, is the Dara'h of Mír Khanḍey, and from it a small stream issues and unites with the Áb-i-'Ashrit, or river of the 'Ashrit Dara'h, both described at page 158.

"Leaving 'Ashrit Khanḍey, and proceeding three kuroh northwards, inclining north-west, you reach the wooden bridge leading to the Dara'h of Naghar, which lies on the left hand, on the opposite (west) side of the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár (that is to say, you reach the eastern bank facing the Dara'h of Naghar at the point where stands the wooden bridge, as stated in the Thirty-second Route).§§

"An account of the route from thence to the town of Chitrál or Chitrár has been already given at page 173.

"On the way thither there is danger from the Tor Káfirís or Sí'áh-Poshán, who

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* Erroneously printed Kandí-kár instead of gár or gál in my former paper; *k* and *g*, if not marked, are very liable to be mistaken in names of places. It was near this village that Zain Khán threw a bridge over the river when marching northwards against the Táríkís, as mentioned at page 171.

† *See* page 228.

‡ *See* pages 161, 162, and 193.

§ All our maps are very defective hereabouts.

‖ The river of the Láhorí defile. Here, too, the "Dardistan" map is imaginary. *See* my paper previously referred to, pages 13 and 14.

¶ Compare this account, written some ninety years ago, with the "Havildar's" account in the "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society" for 1872, pp. 182 and 183.

** According to the Mullá, the heights of the mountains on either side of the Láhorí Kotal are 13,700 and 14,300 feet respectively, but between his calculations and the Ḥawál-dár's there is considerable difference.

†† The name is not 'Ashrit only, but 'Ashrit Khanḍey: "Ashreth" is incorrect.

‡‡ Some of the aboriginal Tájzík inhabitants of these parts probably, or, possibly, a remnant of the Turkish tribes formerly possessing large tracts on the river of Kábul and farther south, who have been, from time to time, dispossessed of much of their territory by the immigration of the Khas'hí sept of Afgháns. The word "kohistání," I may mention, merely signifies a mountaineer or highlander. I believe the term Nímcha'h or half-breed has been rather loosely applied to those people. *See* also page 158, and note †.

§§ Major Wilson's map seems defective here, and the positions of Naghar, spelt "Nagar," and Mír Khanḍey, spelt "Mirkani" therein, are misplaced.

infest this route, and lie in ambush to attack caravans of traders and travellers, and slay them. There are also dense forests of walnut, oak (balútt), pine, *kashlána'h*, and other forest trees, and the bitter pomegranate, wild grape, fig, and other fruit-bearing trees, shrubs, and various species of herbage, are almost beyond description. The mountain ranges from Tangaey* to Chitrál or Chitrár tower to the heavens, in such wise that the sun shows itself with difficulty,† and the keenness of the air is to that degree, that even in summer time you cannot pass the nights without blankets and a fire."

*Thirty-sixth Route. From Pes'háwar to Chitrál or Chitrár by way of the S'hahr or K'hahr of Bájawr.*

"The route leading from Pes'háwar to Shab-Ḳadr has been given at page 176. From it two roads diverge. The left-hand road is called the Khaṛappa'h route, also written Kaṛappa'h and Kaṛapa'h by Afgháns, and the right-hand one the Lakhaṇdey‡ route. This latter consists of two branch roads, one of which is well known as the Ghaṛángey Road, and the other as the Láchí Road; and both again emerge at Dánish-Kol. From the last-named place three roads diverge:—1. The Náwa'h-ga'í Road; 2. The Yakh-Ḍaṇḍ§ Road; 3. The Anbhár‖ Road. Of these roads, although the first mentioned is the easiest of the three, it is not practicable for artillery and such like heavy *materiel*,¶ while the Yakh-Ḍaṇḍ and Anbhár roads are beyond description difficult."

I. *The Left-hand or Khaṛappa'h, or Kaṛappa'h, or Náwa'h-ga'í Route.*

"The left-hand route is as follows. From Shab-Ḳadr to Gand-Áb the road has been described elsewhere (page 175). From thence proceeding half a kuroh north you reach the little Kotal of Náḳaey, and from thence another kuroh in the direction of north-east is Darwáza'í, the name of a dara'h in the mountains; and at this place, the left-hand road coming from the direction of the Bihí Ḍág, and the right-hand one coming from Dánish-Kol, both again converge.

"Leaving Darwáza'í, and proceeding for two kuroh north, you reach Am-rú-í,** which lies on the left-hand side of the road. On the left hand, likewise, there is a great mountain range; and as you proceed along the road you pass by much cultivation.

"Setting out from Am-rú-í, and going one kuroh north, you reach two villages, called Chingaey, lying on the left hand, and a quarter of a kuroh farther on is Palo-Sind, and, about the same distance, still farther on, Tsaparaey,†† also on the left-hand side. Another quarter kuroh brings you to Gogaey, another kuroh farther, to Tirkah Tangaey, and another kuroh from thence, to Bábú Tangaey. Proceeding onwards for another half a kuroh you reach Pashat,‡‡ and after a similar distance, the Zíárat,§§ or Shrine, and half a kuroh more brings you to Khazína'h. All these villages belong to the Sáfí tribe of Afgháns, and lie near by the road on the left-hand side. West of these villages the lofty mountain range rises, bounding Kúnaṛ on the east.

"A quarter kuroh from Khazína'h is a hill called Da Butáno Ghuṇḍa'í, signifying,

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* *See* page 177. There is more than one place so called.

‡ The writer means probably that the sun is seen only for a small portion of the day. The great range forming the eastern boundary of the Ḳáshḳár State, and separating it from Panj-Korah, crossed by the Láhorí Kotal or Pass, already described, is sometimes called the Lás-púr range. It rises gradually, from near La'l-púrah on the river of Kábul, to the height of about 9,000 feet some miles north of Pashat, but increases in elevation as it runs north-eastward, until, to the eastward of the town of Chitrál, it attains the vast height of about 18,500 feet. *See* note **, preceding page.

‡ The correct spelling may possibly be Lakhaṇḍa'í, for no vowel points are given. *See* page 183.

§ Literally, "The Ice Lake or Mere." It is also the name of the village near which it lies. *See* page 183.

‖ Also called 'Anbar. *See* page 123, and note ‡.

¶ This is the writer's private opinion only, but, with some little engineering, the route might be made practicable for light guns.

** "Oomeray," of the Indian Atlas map.

†† *See* page 152.

‡‡ Pashat of Bábú-Ḳará. *See* page 151.

§§ I notice here again another instance in which our maps contradict each other. If a line be drawn from Chaghán-Saráe to Fort Abází, and another, in the contrary direction, from La'l-púra'h to Jár, it will be found that in the Mullá's map this Zíárat lies just 2 miles *north* of the line from Chaghán-Saráe to Abází, and 5 miles to the *westward* of the cross line from La'l-púra'h to Jár.

In Major Wilson's map, on the contrary, the Zíárat is 7½ miles *south* of the first line, and 6½ to the *westward* of the cross line. In other words, the Zíárat, according to the Mullá, is 5 miles from the point where the two lines cross, in the direction of *north-west*, while in Major Wilson's it is 9½ miles *west* inclining to the

in the Pus'hto language, 'The Idols' Hill,' or 'Hill of the Idols,' where, in ancient times, a large and lofty idol temple stood.* About another quarter kuroh from thence is Da Smats Ghunḍa'í, signifying, in the same language, 'The Hill of the Cavern,' which is another hill of the same mountain range in which is the great cavern of Kábul Tsapar, and the Hindú-Ráj Ghás'haey,† where the route coming from the west, from Kábul, joins this route.

"From Da Smats Ghunḍa'í a quarter kuroh farther on is Kúz (Lower) Chinárí, from which place to Náwa'h-ga'í the route has been described (at page 113). From thence (Kúz Chinárí) two roads diverge. The right-hand one is known as Khuṭa'h Lár, and has been previously described (same page), also the routes from the S'hahr or K'hahr of Bájawṛ to Dír, from Dír to Naghar, and from Naghar to Chitrál."

We have here, I think, quite a nest of Buddhist sites, as I shall endeavour to show.

The Dragon Lake of Hwui Seng and Sung Yun in the Puh-ho-i (untrustworthy) Mountains is the lake of Chiṭṭí-Bú-í. The great Snowy Mountains, "which in the "morning and evening vapours rise up like gem spires opposite one" (Beal, page 184) is the Tíraj-Mír range (*see* pages 157 and 188). "Ná-kie" appears to be Nihák, the dara'h so called, mentioned at pages 178 and 231, also called Níáka'h and Láhor. The name "Náḳaey" also occurs in this route, but that is the name of a little kotal or pass, which lies to the southward of Kábul Tsapar. Da Butáno Ghunḍa'í is possibly the site of the temple of Po-kin (Beal, page 196), or, more probably, the To-lo temple north of the city (the name of which is not given—the S'hahr of Bájawṛ?) in the country of Ouchang, and in which were "sixty *full length* figures." Da Smats Ghunḍa'í is in all likelihood "the rock cave of the Prince (Beal, page 194), to the south-east of the crest of the "hill of Shen-chi." Kábul Tsapar is apparently the great cave in which Buddhah left his shadow, "east of the river and south of the city," which was "to the south of "Ná-kie, half a yôjana, on the south-west face of a large mountain." The rock "east of the river and south of the city," on which Buddhah stopped to dry his robe (Kasha), and "about 12 feet high and 24 feet square, and smooth on one side," is Laka'h Ṭíja'h, a remarkable rock, mentioned at page 123. The Nága Rájah's tank too, "west of the river," is probably the *júhaṛ* mentioned at page 120, or page 183.

Compare these sites with the accounts in Fah Hian, and Hwui Seng, and Sung Yun, and the striking similarity will be noticed, but in the course of many centuries names become altered, especially when the old inhabitants are expelled by new-comers and foreigners, and they, in their turn, are also ousted by others.

Beal says, in a note at page 27, that Ná-kie is "Nagrâk, and that the town or village of Nagrâk is close to Jellâlabad." What map shows it he does not say, nor does he give his authority. He appears, or his authority, to have mistaken Kangḳrak for "Nagrâk," by dropping the first two letters to suit his theory, or the name was incorrectly spelt in the map he consulted. *See* Ḍángrak, at page 161, and page 190.

There is a village called Gang in the neighbourhood of these evidently Buddhist sites, mentioned on the next page, and near it is a spring of water known as the Gang, which the Hindús from parts adjacent come to bathe in in the month of Baisákh.

It may not be out of place to say something here respecting the word Wihár, which Muḥammadans write Bihár.

Al-Bírúní says that the Buddhists are called Shamanán by the people of Khurasán,

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*south*, consequently, there is a difference between the two maps respecting the situation of the Ziárat of *ten* miles.

There is equal discrepancy regarding the situation of Náwa'h-ga'í. In Major Wilson's map, "Mount *Naoghai*" is situated just 2 miles *south* of the line from Chaghán-Saráe to Abází, and 9 miles *west* of the point where the line from La'l-púra'h to Jár crosses the former line, while, according to the Mullá's map, "*Nawágí*" is 10 miles *north*, inclining *east*, from the former line, and 8 miles *north-west* of the latter or line from La'l-púra'h to Jár, so that between the situation of "Mount Naoghai" of Major Wilson, and the "Nawágí" of the Mullá, both meant for Náwah-ga'í, and both incorrectly spelt, there is a difference of no less than *nine* miles. The Indian Atlas map differs from both the others.

* Those writers who attempt to trace the routes taken by the Buddhist pilgrims, and Fah Hian in particular, from Khutan downwards towards India, will do well, I think, to try and trace him by the light of these routes. I do not imagine, from reading the account of his pilgrimage in Beal's translation of his Travels (London: 1869), that Fah Hian kept so far to the eastward as the Indus after crossing the "Tsung-Ling," or "Onion Mountains" (which I shall again refer to when I come to write of Bilaur), neither does he appear to have come down the valley of the river of Chitrál, but to have taken the route by the Tal river—"To-lí"—also known as the river of Panj-Korah, and river of Chugyá-ṭan, after the Afgháns possessed themselves of these tracts. *See* Beal's "Buddhist Pilgrims," page 21.

† *See* page 143.

and that their monuments called *bihárs*, and their *idols* styled *farkhárs*, are still to be seen on the frontier territories (of Islám).

Musalmáns interpret the word Bihár as "an idol-temple, a fire-temple, a place "adorned with carvings of figures or paintings, and ornamented with gold or colours," in fact, any place of worship containing images of any kind or description, whether a monastery or a temple; and, at page 63, I have given their interpretation. The Burhán-i-Ḳáṭi', a very excellent authority, says "Bihár—بتخانهٔ چین , آتشکدهٔ ترکستان و خانهٔ منقش و طلا کاری بود" In a paper read before the Society of Arts on the 10th of December last, Mr. W. Simpson, the artist, who examined some of the Buddhist remains near Jalál-ábád, and who appears to have studied the subject, says, with reference to the religious structures thereabouts, "A style of architecture was followed, in which "sculpture was largely practised, and in which the effect was heightened by the use "of colour and gold;" and he also refers to niches for figures of Buddhah. Any one who can read the definition of Bihár above given can tell how correct the description is. Such buildings Muḥammadans call idol-temples, whatever its technical Buddhist name may be. *See* also Wood's "Oxus," new edition, Introduction, page xxviii.

The Turk tribes which held the different tracts of territory on either side of the river of Kábul, where so many Turkish names still attest their occupation prior to the irruption of the Muḥammadans into those parts, were Buddhists, hence the remains of so many Buddhist monuments are to be found in these localities.

It must not be forgotten that numerous ancient ruins exist at Ganshál in the Tal Dara'h, where the Táríkís took refuge, and which Zain Khán, Akbar Bádsháh's general, took, the details of which are given at page 169. Anbhár, or 'Anbar, mentioned at pages 116 and 123, is said to be the site, or close to the site, of an ancient city; and about two kuroh west of Dír are other ruins. These latter are said to be extensive.

"The left-hand route from Náwa'h-ga'í is as follows:—

"One kuroh and a half from Náwa'h-ga'í, in the direction of north-east, is Bánḍa'h, the Pus'hto for a hamlet—'The Hamlet,'—a small village on the left-hand side of the road, on a crag or spur of the mountains, and about the same distance from it, in the direction of north, is Tangaey. Another half a kuroh farther brings you to Shewaey, also on the left hand, on a mountain height; and from thence, having proceeded another two kuroh, you come to Koṭ-kaey, or the Fortlet, as its name implies. This is a village of considerable size, which is noted for the excellent bows made there.

"You proceed from thence half a kuroh to the east, and afterwards about the same distance north, and reach another Bánḍa'h, lying on the right-hand side of the road on a ridge of the mountains. Going onwards for another kuroh and a half to the north, you arrive at Ḍág, which is a large village lying on the left hand at some distance from the road. You then go on for one kuroh and a half to the south-east, when you reach a small river called the Sherí, which comes down from the left hand, and flows to the right towards the S'hahr or K'hahr of Bájawṛ.

"In the direction of east lies Tarín, which is a large village; and the village of Khalúzí lies on the left hand, at some distance off, on the east side of the stream in question—the Sherí.*

"Two roads diverge from Tarín. The right-hand one is this. Leaving the latter place and proceeding south-east for the distance of one kuroh you come to Da 'Ináyat Kalaey—''Ináyat's Village'—which lies on the right hand of the road, on the opposite side of the stream before mentioned. South of the village is a spring of water, exceedingly cold and sweet (pure), and known as the Ghazní Chína'h, or 'The Ghazní Spring.' Going farther on, in the direction of east, for half a kuroh, you come to the village of Chawítzí, lying near by on the left hand. The stream previously referred to flows close by on the right hand. Proceeding on from thence one kuroh to the south-east you reach Changází, with the stream before mentioned, as before, on your right hand, and the fort of Láshoṛa'h shows itself on the other (right) side of it. Proceeding from Changází for a distance of two kuroh south-east you reach the S'hahr or K'hahr of Bájawṛ, on the other (right) side of the before-mentioned stream.

"The left-hand road diverging from Tarín, previously referred to, goes on from thence to Chawítzí, as in the right-hand route just described, and really diverges from the last-named place. Leaving Chawítzí, therefore, and proceeding a distance of one kuroh and a half east, you come to a small village called Gang, situated on a hill, a spur from the mountains, and west of the village is a spring of water, which is called

* The same as mentioned at pages 143 and 250.

the Gang; and in Baisákh,* the first solar month—April, May—the Hindú people of these parts come and bathe therein. A little water flows out from this spring, and close to the village named Mahmand unites with the Sherí stream, previously referred to. The village of Changází lies about one kuroh and a half from this spot, on the left hand.

"From Gang you proceed two kuroh east, inclining north-east, and reach the Chirg Ghás'haey or Pass; and the route from thence to Dír has been described at page 164."

### II. *The Right-hand, or Lakhandey Route, from Shab-Ḳadr.*

"From Shab-Ḳadr you proceed three kuroh north to Maṭá, also written Maṭa'h, a large village belonging to the Gagyání Afgháns, in the district of the Do-Ábah. They have cut a canal from the Jinda'h river, which is called the Wála'h,† and brought the water therefrom into the lands of this district. Leaving Maṭa'h and proceeding three kuroh to the north, the ascent of the mountain range commences. You go on, ascending for a distance of seven kuroh, until you reach the crest of the range; and in this distance of seven kuroh there are thirty-two Kotals or Passes, each of which is known by a separate name. The Pass terminating this succession of Kotals is called the Lakhandey Ghás'haey;‡ and from it the buildings of the city of Pes'háwar, and the villages of the Do-Ábah and 'Ash-Naghar, can be plainly seen.

"From thence, after having descended one kuroh north-west, another half a kuroh in the same direction brings you to Muḥabbat Kalaey, also called the Kalaey of Muḥabbat Khán, and another kuroh and a half north-west brings you to Punḍ-yálaey, a village of considerable size belonging to the Tragzí Mahmand tribe of Afgháns. Leaving that, and proceeding a distance of three kuroh north, you reach a point where two roads diverge. The left-hand road they call the Ghaṛángey road, which again converges with the other at Dánish-Kol. The right-hand one is this. From this Do-Ráhah, or 'Two Roads,' having gone half a kuroh to the north, you come to Láchí, a great defile of considerable altitude, and to reach the crest of which you have to ascend for a distance of half a kuroh. Having descended from thence on the other side for about the same distance, you reach Dánish-Kol, the name by which three large villages§ are known, belonging to the Tragzí Mahmands. North of these villages is a *khwaṛ*, or bed of a mountain torrent, which comes from the Bihí Ḍág (mentioned at page 180), and, running to the right, passes through the hill tracts of the Utmán Khel Afgháns, and unites with the river of Panj-Korah.‖

"Proceeding half a kuroh north from Dánish-Kol, you come to a place where there are also two roads. That on the left hand is the Ghaṛángey road, which comes from the left hand and joins this one. Having gone on from this point of juncture a short distance farther north, the road separates into three.

"The first, or Náwa'h-ga'í, or left-hand one, goes on to Chinárí; and the road from thence to the S'hahr, or K'hahr, has been already described (page 182).

"The second, or Yakh-Ḍanḍ, road is as follows. You leave Dánish-Kol and go on for a distance of one kuroh in the direction of east, and reach Kamálí, a large village of the Tragzí Mahmands, on the right hand of which, and near by, is a lofty mountain range. From that village you proceed three kuroh east to Yakh-Ḍanḍ, another large village belonging to the same sub-tribe of Mahmands. You then have to proceed for a distance of six kuroh to Ḳalá'-ga'í, signifying 'The Fortlets' (*ḳalá'* being the plural of *ḳala'*,¶ a fort, with the Pus'hto termination, as explained respecting Náwa'h-ga'í at page 113), another large village, but belonging to the Sáfí or Sápí Afgháns. East of the village is a great Kol-Áb (*lit.*, Kol-i-Áb, signifying a lake or large pond) of rain-water, which is filled by the accumulation of water from the mountain range of Chamar Khandey and Kalaey-i-Bahádur, after heavy falls of rain.** When this Kol-Áb, or lake, becomes dry (in the hot season), the inhabitants have to bring their water from the Chína'h, or

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* The Eastern Afgháns, especially those nearest the Panj-áb, have adopted the names of the Hindú months for agricultural purposes. For the names of the Afghán months, *see* my "Grammar," page 187.

† Signifying a canal in Pus'hto.

‡ The "Mullá" has this Ghás'haey down in his map, but it is incorrectly spelt "Lákande Pass."

§ A recent writer, quoting some "Report," says:—"'Dánash Kúl' is the name of *a* village in the Pandiálí "Mohmand country." This is a great mistake, and the mode of writing the name of the villages and the tribe is equally erroneous.

‖ Our maps are defective here, too.

¶ It is also written with *i*, "ḳila'," which is equally correct.

** *See* pages 113, 116, 119, and 120.

Spring of Pashat,* mentioned previously (page 120), which lies from Ḳalá'-ga'í one kuroh and a half to the west.

"From this last-named village, likewise, two roads branch off. The left-hand one goes on two kuroh and a half to Náwa'h-ga'í, from which to the S'hahr, or K'hahr, of Bájawṛ has been already explained (page 113). The right-hand road leads on to the S'hahr, or K'hahr, a distance of eighteen kuroh, through numerous defiles of great elevation, where water is scarce, and in which tract the Utmán Khel tribe of Afgháns dwell as *íláts* or nomads.†

"The third, or Anbhár, road from Dánish-Kol is as follows. You proceed from thence to Yakh-Ḍanḍ, which road has been described above, and from the latter place go on five kuroh east to Anbhár,‡ a large village belonging to the Gagyání tribe of Afgháns. From it Ḳalá'-ga'í lies between three and four kuroh away on the left hand. From Anbhár you have to proceed for a distance of twenty-five kuroh north-east, inclining north, to reach the S'hahr or K'hahr of Bájawṛ. There are several mountain ranges to be crossed by the way, the practicable crossing places or passes over which are but few in number."§

*Thirty-seventh Route. From Chitrál to Badakhshán, by way of the Kotal-i-Do-Ráhah, or "Pass of the Two Roads."*

"From Chitrál you proceed two kuroh north to Changgúz,‖ and the river of Ḳáshḳár or Chitrál lies near by on the right hand. The river of Shaghut¶ unites with the river of Ḳáshḳár on the northern side of this village. Having set out from thence (Changgúz) and proceeded for half a kuroh to the north-west, you cross over the river of Shaghut by a wooden bridge, and reach the small village of Sín, on the river in question, and continuing onwards from thence four kuroh, still keeping in the direction of north-west, you reach Búr-túlí, a large village on the river of the Shaghut Dara'h. A smaller river comes down from the right hand and joins the above-mentioned river, and this smaller one you also cross by a wooden bridge. Having proceeded four kuroh from thence (Búr-túlí) to the north-west, you reach Shaghut itself, which is a village of considerable size. The river of the Momí Dara'h** comes from the right hand, and, flowing towards the left, unites with the Áb-i-Dur-shub,†† or Dur-shub river. This having crossed by the wooden bridge you enter Shaghut.

"Leaving that, and passing over the river of Dur-shub by the wooden bridge south-west of that place, you go on for a distance of four kuroh in the direction of south-west and reach Múgh,‡‡ and another three kuroh in the same direction brings you to Dur-shub. From thence two roads diverge. The left-hand one leads into the Dara'h of Luṭ-Dih, as has been already mentioned (at page 133). The right hand one is as follows. Setting out from Dur-shub, and proceeding towards the right hand, in the direction of south-west, for the distance of five kuroh, you reach Jitar, and then go on three kuroh farther, in the direction of north-west, to Parbik, which is a strong

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* Pashat of Bábá Ḳará.—*See* pages 151 and 168.

† The Utmán-Khel Afgháns will be mentioned farther on.

‡ This is the place referred to at pages 116 and 123 as one of the earliest parts of Bájawṛ occupied by the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs. It is now chiefly known as 'Anbar. Anbhár appears to have been its ancient name, but as the Afgháns eschew aspirates in their language, which prevail so much in the Sanskrit family of tongues, they dropped the ४ and turned the simple initial ا into ع. At the present time there are several small villages round about Anbhár or 'Anbar.

Bábar Bádsháh refers to the Anbhár and Punḍ-yálaey route in his "Tuzúk" under the year 925 H. (1519 A.D.). He was encamped, he says, at the junction of the Bájawṛ and Panj-Korah rivers, and, having held counsel with the Dilazák Afgháns (he always styles them Afgháns, because he knew who and what they were. *See* note ††, page 225), he was advised to proceed by that route, cross the river of Suwát above the 'Ash-Naghar district, and invade the Sama'h of the Yúsufzís. It was, therefore, determined to send back the heavy materials and baggage to Lamghán by way of Kúnaṛ, thus showing the practicability of that route. He says:—"The next morning—it was early in February, 1519—having made over the heavy baggage and camels "to the care of the Khwájah, Mír-i-Mírán, and despatching him by way of Jorghátú, Darwáza'h, and the "Kotal of Ḳará Kobah (in one copy Kojah), we set out ourselves, accompanied by the unincumbered cavalry, "made a forced march, crossed the Anbáhír *Kotal*, and, having crossed another great one, we reached Páni-"yálaey—the Punḍ-yálaey of this route—before afternoon prayers, and alighted." The latter place in Erskine and Leyden's Bábar is, by mistake, turned into "Panimáli."

§ *See* page 152.

‖ *See* pages 159 and 186.

¶ *See* page 158.

** *See* page 158.

†† *See* page 150.

‡‡ *See* page 150.

fortified position. From thence you proceed four kuroh farther to the north-west and reach Úghaití,* which is a village of considerable size at the foot of the mountains of perpetual snow (the Tíraj-Mír range. *See* pages 157 and 188). A stream falls down from that range, and flows on to Shaghut; and in going towards Úghaití you follow the course of that stream, while mountains, towering to the skies, lie close by on either hand.

"Leaving Úghaití and proceeding eight kuroh to the north-west, and ascending the afore-mentioned range, you at last attain the crest of it, at which point the territory of Ḳáshḳár terminates. This pass over the range is known as the Kotal-i-Do-Ráhah, the Ḳotal or Pass of the Two Roads;† and having descended from the crest of the range on the other side, in the direction of north, for a distance of eight kuroh, you come to the Gogird Dasht—'The Sulphur Plain or Waste'‡—and reach a desolate halting place known by the same name, within the territory of Badakhshán, which is under the sway of the Bahádur,§ Asḳál. From this halting place, Faiẓ-ábád, which is the seat of government of the ruler of Badakhshán, is four stages distant."

*Thirty-eighth Route. From Chitrál into Badakhshán by way of the Kotal-i-Khaṭíra'h and the Kotal-i-Nukṣán.*

"The route from Chitrál to Shaghut has been already described. From the last-mentioned place you proceed four kuroh north, inclining north-west, to Momí,‖ which is a village of considerable size, and from thence continue onwards for another four kuroh to Shaley. Leaving that place and proceeding seven kuroh more, in the direction of west, you reach Argarí, and from thence, another three kuroh west brings you to the small village of Úí-rú,¶ situated at the foot of the mountains of perpetual snow, or Tíraj-Mír range. From this point two roads diverge. The left-hand one is named the Kotal-i-Khaṭíra'h—'The Perilous Pass'—and the right-hand one the Kotal-i-Nukṣán—'The Pass of Mischief or Detriment.'**

"Setting out from Úí-rú, and proceeding upwards for twelve kuroh, in the direction of west, you attain the crest of the range, and here also the territory of Ḳáshḳár terminates. You now begin to descend the northern face of the mighty range, and having descended for a distance of about twelve kuroh, in the direction of south-west, you reach another desolate halting-place called Sang Lakh or Sang Lákh—'The Place of Stones,'—and the desolate halting-place of the Gogird Dasht, or 'Sulphur Waste,' before referred to, lies five kuroh on the left hand (south-west). From Sang-Lakh you go on for a distance of another twelve kuroh to Zíbák, which is a small town, under the sway of the before-mentioned Bahádur, Asḳál. From Zíbák four stages more bring you to Faiẓ-ábád, each stage being long, about fifteen kuroh each.

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* *See* page 160.

† That is to say, it branches off into two which again unite. *See* page 159. Do-Ráhah is not an uncommon term, there are two other roads styled Do-Ráhah in this Section of Notes. *See* page 183.

‡ Dasht having this signification, it is ridiculous to call it "the Gogirdasht valley."

§ "The Mughals call a warrior Bahádur." *See* "Translation of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 968.

‖ *See* page 158.

¶ In the account of the "Havildar's" journey these places are turned respectively into "Hurkarri" (adding an "*h*" where none exists) and "Aweer." In Major Wilson's map, on the contrary, they are "Harkari" and "Obir."

** *See* note †, page 159.

"The nearest road from Chitrál to Badakhshán lies across the Hindú-Kush range, on the northern slope of which a small river rises, which, after flowing about twenty-five miles, enters the Panj, or upper branch of the Oxus, at Ishtárak in the latter country. The path lies along the banks of this stream, and is only practicable in the summer months, and then only for persons on foot, who can thus reach Chitrál in three days.

"Another route into Badakhshán, practicable for beasts of burden, and that pursued by caravans of merchants and traders, is by the Mastúch Pass, and by descending from thence, along the banks of another small stream, rising on the northern slope of the mountains bounding Lower Ḳáshḳár or Chitrál to the north-west, which falls into the Panj at Iṣár (Ḥiṣár?) in the district or territory of Wákhán. This is the main road between Badakhshán and Gilgiṭ to Kash-mír. The Yár-ḳand road branches off from Iṣár to the north, through the dara'h or valley of the lake, called Sar-i-Kol, over the table land of Pá-mír.

"Farther west there is another pass into Badakhshán, called the Kotal-i-Nukṣán, or 'Defile of Mischief or Injury.' This road winds along the face of precipices, and through frightful defiles, by which the hamlet of Gáo-Khána'h, lying in a plain, may be reached in two or three days. Farthur north is Rabáṭ (Wood's 'Robat') on the Wardoj river.

"A route into Káfiristán joins the above road amongst the defiles of Hindú-Koh, by which the districts, held by the Kám-úz, Skín or Askín, Shpín or Ashpín, tribes of Tor Káfirís or Sí'áh-Posh, may be reached in from three to four days, without much difficulty in the summer months."

The above was written twenty years ago, and printed in 1864. *See* my "Account of Upper and Lower Ḳáshḳar," etc., pages 6 and 7.

"By the right-hand road from Úí-rú you first proceed for a distance of three kuroh to the right hand, and then have to ascend, in the direction of west, for a distance of twelve kuroh, when you reach the crest of the range. A similar distance of descent, in the direction of south-west, brings you to the usual halting place. From that point, Sang-Lakh lies twenty kuroh to the south, and the distance from thence to Zíbák has been previously mentioned."

*Thirty-ninth Route. From Chitrál to the Village of Ujur.*

"The route from Chitrál to Shaghut has been previously given. From thence setting out and proceeding for a distance of twelve kuroh in the direction of north, you come to Ujur.* This is a large village, situated at the foot of the mountains of perpetual snow, out of which a river issues, and which, near Shaghut, unites with the Momí river. On the way towards Ujur you pass through much cultivation and population, and wend your way along the said river. All this cultivation belongs to the race of people known as Kohistánís, referred to in many places in the account of these routes.†

"In the winter time all the Kotals here described become closed, and, even in the summer season, it is necessary to regard the appearance of the clouds and the direction of the wind before setting out with the object of crossing this great mountain range."‡

*Fortieth Route. From Chitrál to Tíraj-Mír.*

"Leaving Chitrál and proceeding north-east, you cross the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár by a wooden bridge, and then go on one kuroh north-east to Daníl, on the afore-mentioned river, and from thence proceed for a distance of two kuroh north to Kárí, also situated on that river. The village of Changgúz§ lies at a distance of two kuroh on the opposite (east) side of the river. From Kárí you go on for a distance of one kuroh to the north and reach Rágh, and then another kuroh farther north to Ḳaghúzí,‖ below which village, on the north-west side, is a wooden bridge. On the other side of the river (that is, on the western side, for Ḳaghúzí is on the east) there is a village called Múrí.

"Leaving the village of Ḳaghúzí you proceed four kuroh north, and reach the village of Múrí, below which village is the wooden bridge. You then continue onwards for another four kuroh, and reach Barnis, and another stage of the same distance brings you to Rishan. Proceeding two kuroh farther you reach Chiran, from which place two roads diverge. The right-hand road leads to Mastúch by the river side,¶ and the left-hand one is this. Crossing over to the west bank of the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár by the wooden bridge, and proceeding five kuroh to the north-west, you reach the Dara'h of Darasin, from the northern part of which dara'h a river issues, which west of the bridge at Chiran unites with the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár.

"The tract of country between Darasin and the before-mentioned bridge is called the Dara'h of Múrí Kuho.** From Darasin you go on for a distance of five kuroh to the north-west to Warkub (in two copies of the original written Warikub). This tract is called Kuhob-i-Pá'ín, or Lower Kuhob. From Warkub, after proceeding for a distance of four kuroh north, you come to Rayan or Rayana, from which place two roads diverge. The right-hand route leads to Kuhob-i-Bálá, or Upper Kuhob. The left-hand one is as follows. Leaving Rayana you proceed for a distance of twelve kuroh to the north-west and reach Tíraj-Mír, which is a large village situated at the foot of the great mountains of perpetual snow, which range is also known as Tíraj-Mír, one great mountain of which towers immediately north of the village. On the way to this village you pass through a populous and well-cultivated tract of country, and follow the course of a small stream, with a lofty mountain tract on either hand. This small stream, south of the village of Rayana, unites with the Áb or River of Kuhob-i-Bálá, or

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* *See* pages 150, 158, and 159.

† *See* pages 102, 108, 132, 145, 146, 147, 158, 160, 161, 179, and 189.

‡ *See* page 159.

§ *See* pages 159 and 184.

‖ This is the place which the Ḥawál-dár styles "Koghuz," but in Major Wilson's map it is actually turned into "Kirghiz."

¶ *See* the Forty-second Route, page 187.

** This place, apparently, is what Major Biddulph turns into "*Moolkhoo*." It is written plainly as above.

Upper Kuhob, and that village is situated in the *do-ábah* or space between these two streams.

"The country from Chitrál (town) to Rayana is inhabited by Mughals, and this people are sometimes erroneously styled Tájzíks, through dwelling in a Tájzík territory, but they are nevertheless Mughals."*

*Forty-first Route. From Chitrál or Chitrár to Kuhob-i-Bálá or Upper Kuhob.*

"The route from Chitrál to Rayana has been already described. Setting out from the latter place, you go seven kuroh north to Shagarm, and then proceed another three kuroh north-east, inclining north, to Washaj.† Advancing from thence for the distance of five kuroh more, in the same direction, you reach Kut, which is a large village at the foot of the mountains of perpetual snow, or Tíraj-Mír, and the dara'h, for such it is, is called the Dara'h of Kuhob-i-Bálá or Upper Kuhob. From this direction (the upper part of the dara'h) a stream issues which, south of the village of Rayana, unites with the river of Tíraj-Mír.‡

"Every footstep which you take from Chitrál to this point is upwards, and you have to wend your way along the mountain heights and the sides of precipices. In some places, on account of the impracticability at certain points, *rafáḳs* are erected, the meaning of which term may be gathered from this, that in places where the cliffs rise sheer upwards from the bed of the river, and the mountains cannot be scaled, great logs of wood are placed upright (in the bed of the river below, or on ledges of rock where available), a platform of wood laid upon them, and a road or crossing place formed, and such a construction is termed a *rafáḳ*.§

"From the village of Kut, you begin to ascend the mighty mountain range of Tíraj-Mír; and, having proceeded upwards for a distance of ten kuroh, you reach the crest of the range, and enter upon a vast and comparatively level tract of country—a great table-land—covered with snow for great part of the year, extending in length, from the Kohistán or mountain tracts bounding Panj-her on the west, as far east as the territory of the Ḳírghiz or Ḳírghíz, a distance of two hundred kuroh, and about fifty kuroh in breadth. This level tract, however, on account of the excessive cold, is incapable of cultivation, but, in the summer season, grass is plentiful; and at this time tribes of nomad Mughals and Turks repair to it, and range about it in accordance with their nomadic ways."‖

*Forty-second Route. From Chitrál or Chitrár to Mastúch.*

"The road leading from the town of Chitrál to Chiran village has been previously described in the Fortieth Route.¶ Leaving the latter place, and proceeding five kuroh to the north, you come to Baní, and the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár lies on the left hand. You proceed from thence two kuroh north to Awí,** and, after that, four kuroh more, in the same direction, and reach Sunghur.†† Another kuroh farther brings you to the river of Lás-púr, which you cross by a wooden bridge, and reach Mastúch, which is a place of considerable size.‡‡ The river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár,

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* Mughal and Turk tribes, or rather sections of tribes, also inhabit the tracts between this and Káshghar, but they are nomads.

† In one copy written Washíḥ—وشيح—but 'Arabic ḥ at the end of a name here is very unlikely to be correct, and the two dots of ح appear to be but an error of the copyist for ج or چ and thereby giving an extra letter to the word.

‡ The stream mentioned in the preceding route.

§ In some places, probably, beams of wood are driven horizontally into holes in the sides of cliffs made for their reception, and planks laid over them, for, in some places, logs of wood placed upright would scarcely be long enough.

This is the "easy route" of "Muhammad Ameen" quoted by Colonel C. M. MacGregor, C.B.

‖ A part of this great open tract is what we call Pá-Mír, and the Mírzá, Muḥammad Ḥaidar, the Doghlátí Mughal, also calls it the Pá-Mír, but it is strange that the author of these surveys, who proves how much he does know, does not call it by this name. *See* note on the Pá-Mír, in the Seventy-second Route.

¶ Preceding page.

** These are the "Buni" and "Ava" of Major Wilson's map.

†† In one copy this word is written Shunghur.

‡‡ Mastúch appears to have declined considerably of latter years, for, from the information which I embodied in my account of these parts, in the article previously alluded to, although, even then, it was a place of no great size, it contained about four hundred houses, with a population of some 2,000 people.

It lies on the western bank of the Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár river. The town is protected by a small fortress; and the main routes followed by caravans of merchants from Pes'háwar, Badakhshán, and Yár-ḳand, meet here.

as before, lies on the left hand as you proceed; and you have to go along the mountain skirts, and at the sides of the cliffs, sometimes overhanging the river, and over broad and extensive *rafáḳs* or wooden platforms to reach it."*

*Forty-third Route. From Mastúch to the Kotal or Pass of Palpí Sang, which lies on the extreme northern point of the Ḳáshḳár State.*

"Setting out from Mastúch, and proceeding for a distance of three kuroh north, you reach Birap, and go on from thence for a distance of another kuroh to Wezak. You then proceed another four kuroh and reach Mírá-gram, and then, after going another two kuroh, reach Gazzin. In coming from Mastúch to this place you have to wend your way, in the direction of north, along the mountain sides and precipices, and over narrow *rafáḳs* or wooden platforms, with the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár running on the left hand.

"At Gazzin, two roads diverge. The right-hand one leads eastward, over a lofty mountain range, into Ḍángrak, and the left-hand one is this. Leaving Gazzin, you cross the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár by a wooden bridge,† and, proceeding for a distance of twelve kuroh north, reach Sar-i-Yár-Khún, the name of a desolate village at the foot of the mountains of perpetual snow—Tíraj-Mír or Sarowar. From thence you begin to ascend the mighty range, and, moving upwards in the direction of north for a distance of four kuroh, you reach a ridge of the mountains, where you come to a halt. The crest of the range, which towers to the heavens, and which from the abundance of ice and snow appears like unto *bilaur* or crystal, lies on the left hand, and the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár on the right. This defile or narrow valley is also called Sar-i-Yár-Khún.

"From this halting place on a ridge of the mountains, twenty-four kuroh north-east, inclining north, is Chiṭṭí-Bú-í, the name of a deep *kol-i-áb* or narrow lake, at the foot of this great mountain range, and its water, from the excessive coldness of the air, continues frozen. From beneath the ice, water, sufficient in volume to turn six or seven water-mills, issues. This becomes a great river, which flows on to Mastúch and Chitrál through Ḳáshḳár‡, and unites with the river of Kábul, north of Ílah Bagbá, and east of Jalál-ábád, as mentioned at page 119. In the summer season, when the snows in vast quantity melt, the river becomes greatly flooded, as has been previously stated (at page 156).

"Leaving the lake of Chiṭṭí Bú-í on the right hand, and going northwards, you ascend the great mountain range; and the long and narrow dara'h or valley through which you proceed upwards is known as the Kotal or Pass of Palpí Sang. It extends upwards for a distance of nearly ten kuroh; and having gained the crest of the range, you reach the great level plain, previously mentioned, which is full of snow for great part of the year.

"In bygone times, the Badakhshí race (the descendants of the ancient inhabitants of Badakhshán) were in the habit of making inroads into the Ḳáshḳár territory by this Kotal, and carrying off the people of Ḳáshḳár as slaves, and plundering caravans of travellers. At the present time, however (when the author wrote), now that the people of this territory have given their allegiance to the sovereign of Khiṭá, the irruptions of the Badakhshís into these parts are put a stop to.§

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Gauhar Amán, Bádsháh, surnamed Chál, who was the ruler at the time I wrote the article in question, resided a good deal at Yasin, which is smaller than Mastúch, but is more conveniently situated, being nearer towards the Dar-band, or fortified pass, leading into the country from the west.

The route from Chugyá-ṭan to Mastúch by the Lás-púr Dara'h will be found at page 228.

* This is another of "the Mírzá's" easy roads—"The road from Mustooch to Chitral is said to be a good "one."—Montgomerie's Report in the "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society for 1871," page 148.

† This bridge is mentioned by the Mullá.

‡ In the Mullá's map—which appears to have been based upon that of Hayward, who did not actually visit this lake or the pass, he never having penetrated farther west than to what he calls "the Moshabur Pass"—a difference is made between the lake, which is called "a glacier," and "Chatiboi," as though the latter was the name of a place some miles north of the lake in question; and the river of Ḳáshḳár, or river of the Palpí Sang, is made to appear as rising some ten miles farther up, in the direction of E.N.E., instead of out of the Chiṭṭí Bú-í lake, as it undoubtedly does. This part of Major Wilson's map, which is evidently taken from the same, has this difference, that "Ghattiboi," as he has it, is put in as the name of the village or halting place, a few miles north of the Chiṭṭí-Bú-í lake. All three appear to have confused the names. I have previously noticed Hayward's error in calling the lake "Ab-i-garm," for such a name, signifying "hot water," is an impossible one for a *frozen lake*, and what the Mullá calls a "glacier." In the map, illustrating the Ḥawál-dár's journey, Ab-i-Garam—hot springs—appear at the foot of the "Dora" (Do-Ráhah) Pass, and these words have caused another error which I have referred to at page 154. *See* also pages 150 and 160.

I notice that Montgomerie calls the "Yarkand river" (the river of Yár-ḳand he means) the Boi river, which is certainly curious, but probably erroneous. "Report," page 150. *See* also the Seventy-second Route.

§ *See* page 154, and the note on Bilaur at the end of the Seventy-second Route.

"By the Palpí Sang route you can proceed to Yár-ḳand through the elevated tracts frequented by portions of the nomad Turks styled Ḳírghíz,* previously alluded to. By this road Yár-ḳand is nearly thirty caravan stages distant, and by the way there is great paucity of inhabitants and excess of snow.

"The crest of the Kotal of Palpí Sang is the extreme boundary of Ḳáshḳár in this direction."†

*Forty-fourth Route. From Chitrál to Warshigum, and from thence to Gilgiṭ and Saigur.*

"The account of the route from Gazzin to Chitrál has been given in the preceding route. East of Gazzin‡ is a lofty defile always covered with snow, called the Kotal-i-To-e.§ It is completely closed in the winter time, and, even in summer, it is necessary to pay attention to the direction of the wind, and rain, if there should be any, before setting out and attempting to cross it.

"Leaving Gazzin for the purpose of doing so, after proceeding for a distance of ten kuroh in the direction of east, you reach the crest of the Pass, and then begin to descend.‖ You go on for a distance of eight or nine kuroh, in the same direction as before, and reach To-e (in one copy written Tú-e), which is a large village inhabited by the race of people styled Kohistání. Setting out from thence, and continuing in the same direction as before, for a distance of eight kuroh, you reach the village of Sindey, belonging to the same people. As far as this point the dara'h through which the route lies is known as the Dara'h of To-e, and it is contained within the Ḳáshḳár territory.

"In this dara'h a river rises, which, south of the village of Sindey, unites with the river issuing from the Dara'h of Darkut.¶ This dara'h is situated on the left-hand side from Sindey, towards the north, and is of considerable size. Through this dara'h you can also proceed to Yár-ḳand.

"From Sindey you go on for a distance of four kuroh more, in the direction of south-east, and reach Yasin;** and the river before mentioned (the united streams) lies on your left hand. Setting out from Yasin, you go on for a distance of seven kuroh in the direction of south-east and reach Gupz,†† and from thence for another four kuroh, still in much the same direction as before, to Rawashan‡‡. Up to this point this tract of country is known as Warshigum (ورشگم),§§ and the Dara'h of Khalṭey‖‖ lies on the right hand, a little to the south of west.

"Leaving Rawashan, you proceed four kuroh, but in a direction more to the north-east, to Súma'h, and then eight kuroh farther, still in the same direction, to Hautang,¶¶ which is a village of considerable size.

"On the left hand (north-east), on the other or farther side of the before-mentioned river, there is another large Dara'h styled 'Ana-Sar, which is close upon forty kuroh in length. A river of considerable size rises in this dara'h,*** which, near Hautang, unites with the river of the Dara'h of Warshigum (and To-e), and the combined streams

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* It does not follow because a tract of country is inhabited by nomads, or parts of nomad tribes, that it should be straightway styled Ḳirghíz, as some writers endeavour to make out. *See* page 139, and note to the Seventy-second Route.

† Some of the members of the late "Yarkand Mission" appear to have reached as far south as Sar-Ḥadd—the same place as "The Sárigh Chopán" of the Mírzá, Muḥammad Ḥaidar (*see* page 140)—and the "famous Buroghil Pass" from Ák-Tásh, but we hear nothing from them of the Chiṭṭí Bú-í, the Palpí Sang, or the Kuhobs. *See* note †, page 155.

‡ The "Gazan" of Major-General Walker's map is probably intended for this place.

§ Spelt with simple "t"—ـتـ—at page 161.

‖ This is Hayward's "Moshabur Pass," a fanciful name, or a mere local one, I believe.

¶ To guard against error the writer describes the vowels in this word in writing. "Darkot," consequently, is not correct.

** There is but one "s" in Yasin, and the "a" is short, not long, neither is it "Yasan". There is a practicable road from this place into the upper part of the Suwát valley by the Ushú Dara'h of the Gárwís.

†† The "Gopis" and "Gupis" of others.

‡‡ Not "Roshan."

§§ Such words as "Woorshigoom," "Warshgúm," "Vorshigon," "Warchagam," or "Varshgum," are out of the question, and show what can be made of original words when trusting to the ear alone. To prevent error the vowels, in the original, are explained as well as written. Hayward calls this "the Yassin river or Warchagam river," but its proper geographical name is mentioned under.

‖‖ The Mullá's, "Khalta" apparently. It is "Khulti" in Hayward's map.

¶¶ Not Utang as in Hayward's map; the "h" has been left out.

*** Hayward calls this "the Karambar River," and Lieutenant-Colonel Tanner, in the latest survey, styles it the "Ishkoman River," which last name is a mistake, because the latter is but a tributary of the former.

obtain the name of Rúd-i-Ḍángrak, or River of Ḍángrak. The climate of this dara'h ('Ana-Ṣar) is exceedingly severe, and uncongenial to the health of travellers. By it you can proceed towards Yár-ḳand and Káshghar.*

" Setting out from Hautang, and proceeding seven kuroh south, you arrive opposite Grunjur, which lies to your left hand, on the opposite (or northern) side of the afore-mentioned river (the Rúd-i-Ḍángrak). From this point you go on for a distance of three kuroh in the direction of south-east to Bubbur,† and then eight kuroh more, in the same direction as before, to Chúár. Another three kuroh, still in the same direction, brings you to Balophar,‡ which is a place of considerable size for this part, with a strong fort, the place of residence of Prí-Tham, the Bádsháh, or Chief, of the Spín or White (clad) Káfirís.§ The river of Ḍángrak, previously mentioned, lies on the left hand as you proceed, and east of the fort there is a wooden bridge.

" Leaving the town of Balophar, and going three kuroh to the south-east, you arrive opposite the village of Shirawut, which lies on the left hand, on the other side of the afore-mentioned river. You then proceed, from that point, three kuroh farther (in the same direction), and reach Shkí-út, which lies on the southern side of the river. From thence, the next stage is Bárgur, a distance of three kuroh in the direction of east, and after that a further distance of nine kuroh south-east brings you to Gilgiṭ, which is another considerable town, also under the sway of the before-mentioned Prí-Tham, Bádsháh, who pays allegiance to the Sháhs of Ḳáshḳár.

" After leaving Gilgiṭ, you proceed for a distance of six kuroh in the direction of south-east to Da-yaur,‖ which place is under the sway of another Bádsháh or Chief, named Khusrau Khán. The distance between Gilgiṭ and this place is not more than about three kuroh in a direct line, but you cannot get there without going a considerable way round. You have to go down the river for some distance, cross, and then go up the river again by the opposite bank. On the left hand (north), just before you reach opposite Da-yaur, there is a great opening in the mountains, which is the entrance to the Dara'h of Kanjut,¶ and the place of residence of its ruler is called Ḥonz,** which is a town of considerable size, situated in the upper part of the Kanjut Dara'h.

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* In former times, the Russian traders used to reach Kash-mír from Badakhshán by the Oxus valley. They probably crossed the Tíraj-Mír range by one of the Passes already noticed, and, very likely, took this route by Gilgiṭ to Kash-mír. It is scarcely probable that they would cross the Pá-Mír steppe and go all round by Yár-ḳand and Laddákh to reach it when such a road as this existed, but some writers, unaware of the existence of the route here described, have supposed so. *See* note **, page 185.

† Not "Babar," nor Búbar.

‡ In two copies it is written both Balobhar and Balophar (this is what Hayward calls, or lets appear in his map as, " Gulapur"), but the latter is the most correct, the three points of the Persian 'p' having been run into one in MS., thus making 'b' of it. Hayward and others probably mistook the sound of the word for Gulapur; and a good deal would depend on the person who pronounced it, whether a Kash-mírí, a Sikh, or a native. The above, however, is the proper and correct mode of writing the name.

In a paper entitled " Monograph on the Oxus " in the " Royal Geographical Society's Journal," for 1872, by Major-General Sir H. Rawlinson, K.C.B., the writer remarks, with reference to Colonel A. Gardiner's account of his travels, and mention of the names Darkoot (Darkut, just mentioned above), Rivanshur, and Booloophir, as lateral valleys of the Upper Gilgit country:—" I always doubt his independent authority, and in the present " case am rather inclined to believe that he *copied* the names of Darkoot (printed Varkoot), and Booloophir " from Arrowsmith's map of 1834. . . . . At any rate, thanks to Mr. Hayward's enterprise, we are now " sufficiently acquainted with the nomenclature of Gilgit and Yassin to be satisfied that *no such names* are " known in the present geography of these districts."

The three names, nevertheless, do exist, but with the spelling much vitiated, but scarcely more so than in most of the names in our maps, viz., Darkut. Rawashan, and Balophar; and " Darkot," and the " Darkot Pass," appear in the Mullá's map, and, strange to say, also appear in Hayward's as " Darkote " and the " Darkote Pass," as well as " Roshan;" and the first-mentioned place he appears to have visited. Still more strange to say, " Darkote " was the very place where he was murdered, and which Mr. Frederick Drew, in his letter to Sir Roderick Murchison, of 21st December, 1870, giving an account of his murder, calls " Darkút."

This information is contained in the volume preceding that in which the " Monograph on the Oxus " appears. *See* also the " Quarterly Review " for April, 1873, page 529.

I may mention that I met Gardiner at Multán in 1855, and he placed the manuscript of his travels in my hands. He was anxious that they should be edited, but I was then fully occupied with my Pus'hto works, and could only glance at the manuscript, and returned it. Some things struck me as being rather marvellous. If his travels were now examined by the help of the geographical information contained in this Section of Notes some light might be thrown upon them, and their accuracy tested. I must remark, however, that he told me the original MS. had been lent to Sir Alexander Burnes, and was lost when the outbreak occurred at Kábul, in which Burnes lost his life; and that the account he then lent me had been subsequently written from recollection. This fact may account for some errors.

§ *See* page 130. " Tham " signifies king in the Khajunah language, which is spoken in the territories of Yasin and Naghar.

‖ " Dainyur " in Hayward's map, and " Dainyor " in Tanner's, but there is no " n " in the word. Vigne, more correctly, calls it " Dyur." This is one of the places where gold washing to a considerable extent is carried on.

¶ Not Kunjoot certainly.

** Hunza of others. It is also known as Naghar, from the town of that name, its chief place.

It is the capital of the before-mentioned Khusrau Khán, and is contained within the territory of Little Tibbat.

"The distance from Da-yaur to the village of Kanjut is about twelve kuroh in the direction of north, and from the latter place to the town of Honz is a distance of nearly thirty kuroh to the north-east. By going towards the north-east from Kanjut for a distance of fifteen kuroh, you reach another dara'h among the mountains to the north through which you can go to Yár-ḳand by Tásh-Ḳúrghán—'The Stone Fort.'

"From the direction of Honz and out of that Dara'h (Kanjut), a considerable river flows, which, near Da-yaur, unites with the river of Ḍángrak, and then the combined streams are known by the name of River of Gilgiṭ. At this point, likewise, the mountains on the right and left begin to recede, and the dara'h or valley becomes broader and more open.

"Leaving Da-yaur, you proceed ten kuroh south-east, following the course of the river, until you reach a point where stands a wooden bridge. You cross the Abáe-Sín, which unites, some three kuroh farther north, with the Gilgiṭ river, by this bridge, and enter the village of Búnjzey,* also written Bújzey. From this place you proceed for another ten kuroh, in the same direction, and reach As-túr,† sometimes written Ash-túr, the Abáe-Sín flowing on your right hand as you go along for part of the distance, and the river coming down from As-túr for the remainder of the way. From As-túr you proceed for a distance of twelve kuroh east and reach the large village of Saigur.

"North of it is a great dara'h called the Dara'h of Balotar, which, on the east and north-east sides, adjoins the territory of Little Tibbat. A great river flows down from that dara'h and unites with the river of Gilgiṭ, after which the united rivers receive the name of Abáe-Sín.

"From Warshigum‡ to this place (Saigur) the country is called Ḍángrak, and its inhabitants are Spín or Safed-Poshán, or White-clad Káfirís."

### *Forty-fifth Route. From Gilgiṭ to Kúz (Lower) Tahá-Koṭ, and from thence to Maṛaiṛ.*

"The route leading from Gilgiṭ to As-túr has been described in the preceding route. From the last-mentioned place two roads diverge. The left-hand one leads to Saigur, and the right-hand route is as follows.

"Having re-passed the Abáe-Sín below As-túr to the west bank by means of a wooden bridge, you proceed thirty kuroh in the direction of south, inclining south-west, and arrive opposite to Jál-Koṭ, which is the name of a dara'h among the mountains, lying on the left hand as you proceed, on the other (east) bank of the Abáe-Sín, containing a number of villages and hamlets, but on the road to it there is neither cultivation nor inhabitants,§ and mountain ranges show themselves at a considerable distance.

"From Jál-Koṭ to Saigur is a distance of forty kuroh, and on the way to it there are numbers of villages and much cultivation, and you proceed thither along the banks of the afore-mentioned river (but by the east bank).

"Crossing the river on a raft from opposite Jál-Koṭ to the east bank, and going on for a distance of twelve kuroh in the direction of south-west, you reach Pális,‖ and the river, as before, lies on the right hand. Setting out from thence, and proceeding for a distance of three kuroh, also in the direction of south-west, you come to Koh-lí, and then go on for twelve kuroh more, still in the same direction, to Baṭeṛa'h or Baṭeṛá, the road winding considerably.¶

"From thence you continue onwards for a distance of twenty kuroh, the road still winding considerably, and in much the same direction as before, and reach Kúz (Lower) Tahá Koṭ, which is within the Pakhla'í district. On the way you meet with many ascents and descents, and the river Abáe-Sín flows on your right hand.

"In continuing on your way to Maṛaiṛ, you leave Kúz Tahá-Koṭ, and go on for a distance of twelve kuroh south, inclining south-west, along cliffs, and skirting mountains, and then cross the Abáe-Sín by means of a raft and reach Kábul-Grám, a large

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* The "n" here is nasal. This place is not known as "Bowanji."

† The "Astor" of our maps. It is written Asht-wár in the Histories of Kash-mír.

‡ *See* page 189.

§ Except at the halting places.

‖ This place is not called "Palos:" the way it is written in the original precludes it, neither is it "Palas."

¶ From this point a road leads to Ḳaryah-i-Bádsháh, or 'The Bádsháh's Village,' in Buner. It will be found farther on as the Sixty-second Route.

village belonging to the Yúsufzí Afgháns, situated on the west bank. The ferry where you cross is called the Guzar or Ferry of Kábul-Grám.

"You have now again entered the tracts held by the Afgháns, their territory west of the Abáe-Sín terminating, on the north, a little above Kábul-Grám.* South of that place is a considerable stream, which issues out of the Dara'h of Sháng (described in the Sixty-second Route), and unites with the great river. Having crossed it, you proceed southwards, keeping along the heights, and skirting the mountains, which every here and there abut on the Abáe-Sín, the great river flowing in a depression on your left hand, for a distance of seven kuroh, and reach Bagíána'h, a small village belonging to the Yúsufzí Afgháns. From this place another kuroh south brings you to Marair,† and the road is of much the same description as before.

"The details respecting the road from Marair to Atak will be found in the route from Atak to that place, described farther on."

I have now gone round from Kábul, up the river of Chitrál or Kashkár on either side, into the Káfiristán, and to the utmost limits of the Káshkár State and its dependencies, and the great snowy mountains on the north, to the Abáe-Sín or Indus on the east, and down again to within a short distance of its junction with the river of Kábul, into which two rivers all those of the different tracts described drain. I must now, therefore, give some account of the various other districts and valleys not yet described, contained within this intermediate space, and then will proceed to give the details of the various cross routes leading into and out of them, and the Afghán tribes inhabiting them.

## The Yúsufzí Tribe of Afgháns and their Country.

The Yúsufzí tribe‡ belongs to the Khas'hí or Khak'hí sept, being descended from Mandaey, son of Khas'haey or Khak'haey, who had two sons, 'Umar and Yúsuf. 'Umar had a son named Mandar, and Yúsuf an only daughter. 'Umar sought his cousin in marriage, and they had two sons, whom they named Yusúf and Mandar, in order to perpetuate the names of their respective parents. The two great tribes, the Yúsufzí and Mandar,§ are descended from them; but they are sometimes, rather loosely, and certainly incorrectly, styled by the general name of Yúsufzís by writers unacquainted with these particulars.‖

Yúsuf had five sons,—1, Músá; 2, Ako; 3, Malaey; 4, 'Ísá; and 5, Bádaey. The four first-mentioned sons were the progenitors of a number of sub-tribes, but they are too numerous to be mentioned here. In my History of the Afgháns I shall enter into full details respecting these matters. Suffice it to say that, in point of number of clans and sections, the descendants of Ilyás, son of Músá, are the most numerous; and

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* Their territory extends farther up at present: they have been pushing northwards by degrees, and now reach nearly opposite Pális.

† This well known place is not in either of the Mullá's maps.

‡ I may mention here that a male of this tribe is correctly called a Yúsufzaey, a female, a Yúsufza'í. The plural masculine form of *zaey*, namely *zí*, is applied to the tribe as a whole, therefore to call the tribe Yúsufzáis is quite incorrect, and "Yúsafzai" still more so: "Yúsúfzái" is wholly wrong. This rule applies to all tribes the names of which end in زي or in ي. *See* my "Pus'hto Grammar," on the Declension of Nouns.

§ This name is written مَنْدَڑ—Mandaṛ—with the Pus'hto "ṛ," and sometimes مَنْدَڼ—Mandaṛn—with the Pus'hto letter "ṛn" which partakes of the sound of "ṛ" and "n," a sort of nasal sound, only to be learnt from a true Afghán's lips, hence persons unacquainted with the language, on hearing the latter form of the word pronounced, would write it "Mandan," which, however, conveys no correct idea of it.

‖ A recent European writer says that "one Mandai" had two sons, "Úmar (*sic*) and Yúsaf," and that "Úmar died, and had one son (*sic*), Mandan," and that the "Yúsafzais" are descended from "Mandai's" son, and the "Mandans" from his grandson. With this account of their descent I do not agree, nor will they.

Two sections of the Barech tribe emigrated from their old seats in Shorábak many years ago, and took up their quarters with the Yúsufzís, and are confounded with them by writers unaware of the facts. Hence we find one writing,—"These Malízais (who may be termed the Búner Malízais, to distinguish them from the "Panjkora Malízais) occupy the lower portion of the Búner valley," &c. The two Barech sections I refer to are Malízí and Chaupánzi. But few Barechís now dwell in their old seats, a vast number having emigrated into and settled in Hindústán from time to time, as have a great many Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs, and sections of many other Afghán tribes.

The Panj-Korah Yúsufzís, that is, of the Khwádozí *section* of the Akozís, descended from Ako, are always called Molízí by the Khas'hí historian, and correctly so, in order to distinguish them from the *sub-tribe*, the descendants of Ako's brother, Malaey, who are called Malízí.

There are twelve *astána'hs*, or families, among the Afghán tribes of the Saraban division, who are considered sacred by them, from their progenitors having been devotees, and chiefly Sayyids, who settled among them. One of these *astána'hs* dwell among the Yúsufzís, but they are not peculiar to that tribe, as some would lead us to believe who were not aware of the existence of the others.

the father's name has been eclipsed by the more famous name of his son, whose descendants are the Ilyászí. The next most numerous are the descendants of Ako, who are known as Akozí. The descendants of the other two sons are the Malízí and 'Ísází. The descendants of Bádí, or the Arrogant, were always few in point of numbers, and soon became extinct.* They were known by the name of Bádí Khel. The Yúsufzí are by far the most numerous and powerful of all the eastern Afgháns, and are computed to number about two hundred thousand families.

"They dwell in a very strong and mountainous tract of country, to which access is difficult. A large number of Yúsufzís dwell in the Dara'hs of Panj-Korah, Báshḳár, Suwád or Suwát, and Buner, and some, but not a considerable number, are located in Chhachh Hazára'h, on the east bank of the Abáe-Sín. These latter have to pay taxes to the Durrání Government, and to furnish a contingent of troops to the Bádsháh's army, but all the others are entirely independent, and acknowledge no allegiance but to their own chiefs.

"Although they are not now under the authority of a single chief, as they used to be in former times, when their power was far greater than at present, nevertheless, in time of danger or necessity, they unite under Ḳásim Khán of Dír, Chief of the Molízís, of the Páindah Khel. He resides at Dír, as has been previously stated, and sometimes undertakes expeditions against the Tor and Spín Káfirís.

"Each of the four great Dara'hs, in which the Yúsufzís chiefly dwell, contains within itself a number of minor dara'hs branching off from, or rather opening into, the main one. These large dara'hs are five, Panj-Korah, Dír, Báshḳár, Suwád or Suwát, and Buner."

## I. *The Dara'h of Panj-Korah.*

"This is the most northern of the dara'hs possessed by the Yúsufzí Afgháns. It extends in the direction of north and south for a distance of thirty kuroh in length, from Úḍí-Grám† to Chugyá-ṭan; and from the crest of the mountains bounding Suwád on one side to the commencement of the mountains of Bájawṛ on the other, it is about eighteen kuroh in breadth from east to west.

"Throughout the whole of this area, there is scarcely a single spot of level ground; and the people dwell on the hill sides, and there, in available places, cultivate as much land as they require. The climate is very severe, to that degree that, even in the height of the summer season, you cannot pass the nights without a blanket and a fire.

"A considerable river issues from the Dara'h of Báshḳár, which, near Chugyá-ṭan, unites with the river of Dír. Subsequently it is joined, lower down, by the river of the Birawal Dara'h, and the united streams, flowing through the midst of the country of the Utmán Khel tribe of Afgháns, unite with the river of the Suwád Dara'h.

"On either side of the mighty cleft in the mountains to which the Dara'h of Panj-Korah may be compared, are six other and smaller dara'hs opening out upon it, each of which is from ten to twelve kuroh in length. Out of each of them a river issues which unites with the main stream. These lesser dara'hs have also others still smaller opening out into them. The largest village in the Dara'h of Panj-Korah is also called Panj-Korah."‡

## II. *The Dara'h of Dír.*

"From Chugyá-ṭan, previously mentioned, to the pass known as the Láhorí Ghás'haey, the narrow strip of territory which extends for a distance of twenty kuroh in the direction of north, inclining north-west, is known as the Dara'h of Dír. It is very narrow and gloomy, and cold all the year round. A small river issues from the direction of the Láhorí Kotal, which, near Chugyá-ṭan, unites with the river of the Báshḳár Dara'h.

"Dír is also the name of a small town, the dwelling place of Ḳásim Khán, the Sardár or Chief of the Yúsufzís of Panj-Korah, and who is looked upon by his tribe as

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* There were still a few of the Bádí Khel dwelling among the Chagharzís in the Ākhúnd, Darwezah's time.

† *See* pages 165 and 178.

‡ *See* my previous account of them in my paper on "Ḳáshḳár and Panj-Korah," in the "Bengal Asiatic Journal" for 1864.

The article on "Panjkora," in Colonel C. M. MacGregor's "Central Asia," Part I., Vol. 2, page 541, contains twenty-six paragraphs, and out of this number eighteen paragraphs are taken verbatim from my paper above referred to, and the others partially so, and at the end the authorities are said to be "Bellew, Lockwood, Sapper." Any one referring to the article in question would not, for a moment, suppose that the paragraphs were mine, and would naturally attribute them to "Bellew, Lockwood, Sapper." *See* note ‡, page 130.

a sovereign prince. He can assemble a force of 40,000 horse and foot. The merchants and traders of Pes'háwar, Suwád, and other parts, come to Dír, and from thence proceed into Ḳáshḳár; and here certain fixed taxes are levied from them.*

"The Tor and Spín Káfirís are in the habit of infesting the mountains on the west and north, and lie in wait for travellers off their guard, and put them to death. The Khán, however, manages to propitiate them generally by sending them a few presents of pieces of cloth and other fabrics, and thus enters into a sort of truce with them, which is known as *arogh*, and explained in the account of the Tor Káfirís or Sí'áh-Poshán (at page 131). Traders proceeding into Ḳáshḳár, nevertheless, out of fear of the Tor Káfirís, take care to provide themselves with a *badraḳa'h* or escort of tried men of the Afghán clans of this part."

## III. *The Dara'h of Báshḳár.*†

"This is the name of a long and narrow dara'h in which the cold is very great, and snow is always to be found there. It extends from Chugyá-ṭan, on the south, to the Kotal or Ghás'haey of Tal,‡ for a distance of thirty-five kuroh, in the direction of north, inclining to the north-east. A considerable river flows through it, known as the river of Báshḳár, which unites with the river of the Dara'h of Dír near Chugyá-ṭan.

"The southern half of the Báshḳár Dara'h is inhabited by Yúsufzís, but the upper part is inhabited by the race of people known as Kohistánís (referred to more particularly at pages 161, 171, and 190).§ Traders occasionally proceed by the route through this dara'h into Káshḳár."

August 7th, 1880.

## IV.—*The Dara'h of Suwád or Suwát.*‖

The brief account of the Dara'h of Suwád or Suwát, in the possession of the Yúsufzí Afgháns, I now propose to give, as an account of the upper parts of the Dara'h, or Kohistán, has been given farther on, at page 235, will greatly

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* *See* page 166, and compare the work just mentioned, Part I., Vol. 1, page 486, with my Panj-Korah paper, page 20.

† The name of this Dara'h has hitherto remained unknown. *See* pages 161 and 162.

‡ *See* note * to "the Mullah's" Narrative, page xxiii., contained in Major-General J. T. Walker's General Report for 1878–79, and note ‡, page 118, and page 161 of these "Notes."

§ Since this account was written the Yúsufzís have been gradually extending farther up the Dara'h.

‖ In his "Central Asia," Part I., Vol. 3, page 145, Colonel C. M. MacGregor, C.B., has an article on "Swát," consisting of seventy-nine paragraphs, of which thirty-eight paragraphs, constituting the bulk of the article, and all about the geography, the divisions, customs, products, etc., are taken from my paper on Suwát published in 1862. Some of the most important of these paragraphs have been wrongly attributed to "Lumsden" (*see* para. 4, page 146), but I am credited with *three paragraphs*, and two of these are sufficiently indicated by numerous brackets. These errors and omissions are the more inexplicable, and appear to be caused by the faulty editing, for the other thirty-six paragraphs are taken nearly verbatim from my paper. For these reasons, and because I am elsewhere incorrectly quoted, I think it best to give here a brief notice of the Suwát Dara'h and the Yúsufzí clans inhabiting it, in order to make the following routes the more useful. *See* also note *, page 196.

Since the fair copy of this portion of Section Third of these "Notes" was written out, I have obtained, by favour of the authorities at the India Office, a copy of Major-General J. T. Walker's Report on the Indian Surveys for 1878–79, which contains "the Mullah's" survey of "Swat," etc., and the map accompanying his explorations. This Report has come under my notice at a most opportune time. Having been the first to despatch a person into Suwát to gain some information respecting that dara'h, I was naturally much interested in the explorations of "the Mullah," who is a qualified surveyor, but I must say I have been totally disappointed in the result of them.

I am pleased to find, however, that I have nothing to alter in my account of the dara'h, the information contained in which had been chiefly derived from the account furnished by my explorer, who preceded "the Mullah" by twenty years. My man went in August, 1858, and "the Mullah" in July, 1878. My man knew Pus'hto (which the other evidently does not), as well as he knew his native tongue—the Tájzík Persian. He had acquired a taste for geographical as well as historical research, during the years he was in my service; and he knew the history of Suwát, from the time of its conquest by the Afgháns, by heart, having assisted me in the collection of materials for a history of those people, some of which have already appeared in these "Notes."

I am glad, in some ways, that the Surveyor General shut his eyes upon my account of Suwát in the "Bengal Asiatic Journal," referred to above, and the rough map accompanying it, a copy of which I now append to the present account of Suwát and its people. I compiled it from my explorer's description and information; but he was not a surveyor, nor did he know the use of a single instrument save a common pocket compass, but his account shows that he was a keen and intelligent observer. He did not reach the upper part of the dara'h, the Kohistán, so called; and that portion of the map was composed by himself from the information furnished by an intelligent man who had lived several years there, and whose account "the Mullah's," as far as it goes, confirms, but, from Kálám upwards, the dara'h bends to the north-west. A great deal will, however, be found mentioned in the following account, that did not come within "the Mullah's" explorations. *See* page 235.

I have pointed out some of "the Mullah's" shortcomings farther on.

tend to elucidate the routes which follow, and in this I shall embody, within brackets, what the author of these surveys says on the same subject.

In doing so, I propose to follow the route from Pes'háwar and 'Ash-Naghar or Hasht-Nagar, through the Sama'h by Kátlang, and enter the Suwád valley by the villages of Pala'í, Zor-manda'í, and Sher-kháná'í, which places I have some personal knowledge of, and by the Mora'h Ghás'haey or Pass.

Leaving Kátlang, the route to which from Pes'háwar has been described elsewhere, you proceed by way of the little village of Ghází Bábá, so called after a reputed Musalmán saint, whose descendants are its inhabitants, situated on a hill, a spur from the Mora'h mountain range, known as Mora'h Ghar, on the right hand of the defile leading to Pala'í, a walled village of considerable size, situated on the border of British territory in this direction. From thence you go on to Zor-manda'í and Sher-kháná'í, two other large walled villages belonging to, and inhabited by, another section of the Bá'ízí Yúsufzís, the chiefs of which are often at feud with the Pala'í chief, although the two last villages are only distant about one and two miles respectively from Pala'í, but higher up. These three places were set fire to and partially destroyed by the force under Colonel J. Bradshaw, C.B., in December, 1849.

Proceeding onwards from Zor-manda'í for about a mile, you reach the entrance of the defile leading into the Báz Dara'h—Falcon Dara'h or Valley, and to the two villages of "Bar," or Upper, Báz Dara'h, and "Kúz," or Lower, Báz Dara'h, and known to non-Afgháns as "Bálá" and "Pá'ín." The dara'h is so called because a number of falcons are taken here, and it belongs to the chief of Pala'í, who is, like the chief of the other two villages, connected with the head of the Bá'ízí Yúsufzís, who dwells at Tárnah, in Suwád.

From the Báz Dara'h there is a road practicable for bullocks and ponies, although seldom used except by men on foot, through a narrow defile and over the hills down to Girára'í, in the Salárzí *tapa'h*, or district, of Buner, distant five miles. It then unites with the road from Suwád by the Bijwára'h Ghás'haey, leading to Karyah-i-Bádsháh, or "The Bádsháh's Village," subsequently referred to (at page 252), in one direction, and to Túrsak and Koga'h, or Kogá, in another, also subsequently described. There is, however, another practicable way, more to the south, which branches off rather more than a mile from Bar Báz-Dara'h, and leads over a *kotal* to Kingár-Galí, and from thence to Girára'í, where it unites with the other road previously referred to.

To return to the ascent of the Mora'h Ghás'haey or Pass.

Having passed beyond the road leading to Bar, or Upper Báz Dara'h, you have to dismount and proceed to ascend the pass on foot. You soon pass another road, on the right hand, leading to Kúz, or Lower Báz Dara'h, which is not far off, but hidden from the sight by a spur of the mountains. The ascent is fully two miles from this point; and no laden camel could possibly get up it, unless indeed it were one of the double-humped Bákhtrián breed, and even then not without considerable risk. The pass, however, is practicable for ponies, horses, mules, and bullocks. Much grass, which is known as *sábah*, grows in this pass, as well as another description, called *sar-garí*. The path is a steep ascent, and, like most paths in this part of the world, is full of fragments of rock and boulders in all directions. The path does not lead along between two cliffs as it were, but is trench-like, as if deepened by the action of heavy floods. It is very winding, and appears to consist of a soft description of stone, like sandstone. If one wanted to make a good road into the Suwát Dara'h, this is the best for the purpose, probably, on account of the softness of the stone, while in the other *kotals* or passes there is only hard rock. The breadth, as you ascend, is, in some places, enough to admit of two persons walking abreast, but, generally, it is so narrow that you have to ascend in single file. There are no pine trees near the path itself, but the sides of the mountains, to their very summits, are clothed with patches of forest.

This pass also contains, in fact all these mountain tracts contain, immense quantities of a sort of gravel, both coarse and fine, which is like small shot almost, and very heavy. It is called *charata'í* by the Afgháns, who use it to shoot partridges, pigeons, quail, and other small birds. It may be found in most of the passes leading in and out of Suwát, and, in Upper Suwát, near Khúzah Khel, and other places, it is found in the roads and paths. Its colour is that of earth, turbid, or nearly black, very heavy, not smooth like pebbles, but rough or many sided, like stone broken into particles, and partially rounded from having been rubbed together. It is emery, possibly. In Upper Suwát this gravelly substance is called *giṭa'í*, but this is the Pus'hto term for gravel in general. It has evidently given name to the pass which

lies a little to the west of the Mora'h Ghás'haey, now under description, which is known as the Charat Ghás'haey. It is very steep and difficult, and only practicable for men on foot, and animals without loads.

In proceeding from Sher-Khána'í up the Mora'h Pass, the road branches off a little to the right, and the path leading to the Charat Pass lies to the left, in a direction about north-west.

Having by degrees reached the crest of the Mora'h Pass, on descending a short distance on the other or northern side, you come to a large plane tree, beneath which there is a spring of cool, pure, and sweet water, and round the spot the spikenard flourishes. It is a very pleasant spot, enhanced by the fact that it is the only place in the pass where water is procurable. When standing on the crest of the mountain at the summit of this pass, you can see part of the lower half of the Suwát valley stretched out below you to the north and west, but you cannot see Tárnah, for it is hidden by the mountains. You can, however, see the village known as Ñal-Bánḍa'h, and by going a little on one side, towards the east, you can discern Sher-Khána'í to the south.

Malik Sháh Manṣúr, son of Malik Sulímán Sháh, the chief of the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs, who was put to death by Mírzá Ulugh Beg, along with the other Yúsufzí and Mandaṛ notables, and cousin of Malik Aḥmad, used to reside in a large and lofty building, belonging to the Suwátís, near the crest of the pass. It was known as the Takht of Sháh Manṣúr, and is still well known at the present day. It was here that Bábar Bádsháh, in the disguise of a ḳalandar, first beheld Sháh Manṣúr's daughter, whom he subsequently married, as mentioned at page 224.

You now commence to descend into the Suwát Dara'h or Valley. The southern side of the mountain range, forming its boundary in this direction, and which has just been passed, is very steep, but you do not find this to be the case in descending into the valley on its northern side, Suwát being much more elevated than the Báz Dara'h, and Pala'í, passed by the way. Continuing to descend, at the foot of the pass is Nal-Bánḍa'h, the first village in Suwát reached by this route. It lies at the very skirt of the Mora'h range of mountains, on a spur which has become separated from the higher range, and runs about three or three and a half miles a little south of Tárnah.

After passing Nal-Bánḍa'h, the land slopes down towards the river, but gradually, and not in such a manner that anything set a-going would of itself slide down to the river. The land consituting Suwát has been compared to a flat-bottomed boat, the sides of the boat being the mountains, and the bottom part, or flooring, the land as differing materially from the mountains on either side. The lowest land in the dara'h is that portion through which the river flows, and it gradually rises on either side until close up to the mountains. It has also been compared to the two hands placed together like as when a person wishes to drink out of them, but only just sufficiently raised at the sides as to prevent the water from running out.

Leaving Nal-Bánḍa'h, and proceeding about two kuroh farther in the direction of north-west, but inclining north, you reach the town of Tárnah, to the west of which there is a small stream, and on its banks there is a fine grove of *chinár* or plane trees, about a hundred in number, all very large and lofty, and very old.

The town of Tárnah lies at a short distance from the skirt of the mountains bounding Suwát on the south, which throws out a cross ridge towards the river to the north, immediately east of the Mora'h Pass, and runs down to within about half a mile of the main branch of the river. The hills, at one point, approach towards and overlook the town, which consequently is commanded by them, but this is by no means indicated by our maps, which would lead us to believe that Tárnah is at least half a mile or more from them.

It is the most considerable town in Suwát, and contains somewhat more than a thousand houses, which, at the usual computation, gives over five thousand inhabitants. The people are Afgháns of the Bá'ízí branch of the Yúsufzí tribe. About a hundred houses are inhabited by Hindús, Paránchahs, and other traders, and those who follow such occupations as that of shoemakers, smiths, barbers, and the like.

Tárnah*—generally supposed to be a corruption of the Sanskrit Thánah, signifying

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* I have several times mentioned how Afgháns, and Tájzíks likewise, reject the 'h' in the Sanskrit letters "tth," "ṭh," "jh," "gh," in names of places, and, therefore, the way in which, in modern times at least, they write and pronounce the names of places in these parts, once under the sway of Hindú sovereigns, especially in such as are likely to have contained these letters, is no criterion of their correctness. The Hindús, for example, write the name of this dara'h or valley Suwáthh, instead of Suwád and Suwát, in the same way as they write Sathánah instead of Satána'h, Garhí instead of Garí, and the like. It is a curious fact, however, that the ancient Yúsufzí chronicler, from whose work I have often quoted in these "Notes," in his account of the conquest of the dara'h, invariably writes its name Suwát or Suwád, dropping the "h," while, in

"a station," "a guard," etc., but erroneously so—when the Khas'hís entered the Do-Ábah by permission of the Dilazáks, was the home of Mír Hindá or Hindah, who, on the part of the Sulṭán of Suwát, was governor of 'Ash-Naghar, and those parts of the Sama'h or Taḥt-ul-Jibál. He was of the Dúd Ál,* and his family resided at Tárnah.

It was usual with the Sulṭáns of Suwát, in cases of emergency, or on any momentous affair, requiring consultation with their chiefs and great men, to leave Manglawar and proceed to Tárnah, as being more central, and there hold counsel with them. At the time in question it was known as the place of Aṭan, which word, in the Gibarí language, signifies a council or assembly, "The Place of Assembly."

In former times, the Bábúzís, as well as the Bá'ízís, were located at Tárnah.

The Kháns or Chiefs of Tárnah are the descendants of Hamzah Khán, the founder of the village of that name in the Sama'h, on the Guzr Rúd, about eight miles north from Útí Mardán. He lived in the time of Khush-ḥál Khán Khaṭak; and it was his daughter that Khush-ḥál refers to in his poem on Suwát, as having married there, and she was the mother of his son, Ṣadr Khán, a poet like his father and some of his brothers. Hamzah Khán was then the supreme chief of the Yúsufzís and Mandars, and held sway over Suwát and the Sama'h. It was he who fixed upon Tárnah as the permanent residence of the chiefs, as it was centrally situated, among his own clan, the Tsolízís of the Bá'ízí division, by which name the people of Tárnah are still called, but they are sometimes also styled the Khán Khel, or Chieftain's Clan.

The Khán Khel, however, may be subdivided: one consisting of the family to which the chief *de facto* belongs, the whole of the males of which are styled Kháns, and the other, the family to which the chieftainship rightfully belongs, or the chief *de jure*, but whose family may have been set aside, or passed over, which is merely the Khán Khel. It may be asked, for example, what clan a person belongs to, and the reply may be, to the Khán Khel. It would then have to be asked whether the person is a Khán or only one of the Khán Khel. If he be a member of the family of the chief *de facto* he is a Khán, but, if of the family of the chief *de jure*, he is not: he merely belongs to the Khán Khel.

The Tárnah chiefs *de facto* at the present day, who are the heads of the Bá'ízí division of the Yúsufzís, are of two families, the *bar kor*—the upper family or house—and the *kúz kor*, or lower family or house, in reference to Tárnah and its dependencies above the Mora'h Ghás'haey or Pass, and Pala'í and its dependencies below. These two families are descended from Jalál Khán, son of Hamzah Khán, above referred to, and are constantly at feud.

In proceeding from Tárnah towards Upper Suwát, the route lies towards the north from that place, but inclining to the east. You pass the villages of Jalálá, Haibat-Grám, and Ḍanḍakaey, and reach the mountain of Landakaey, close at the foot of which the river of Suwát flows. On this account, in the summer months, when the river is swollen by the melting of the snows towards its source in the direction of Gilgit, the road lying along its banks, at the foot of the Landakaey mountain, is impracticable from the force of the stream, which foams and boils along with great violence. A road has, in consequence, been made over the crest of Landakaey itself, but it is extremely narrow, and so frightfully steep that it makes one giddy to look down.†

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the words Thárnah, Mhora'h, and Malah-khand, he retains it, but, when he wishes to employ the Hindí word *thánah*, to signify "a station," "post," or "guard," and not for the name of the town, he writes it *tána'h*. There may be a reason for his doing this, as he says the name of the place was anciently Aṭanah, the Gibarí for "place of assembling, or assembly," and not a *thánah* or guard, and, doubtless, he is right.

In these pages I have generally followed the present Afghán mode of orthography, and as pronounced by that people. Abú-l-Faẓl also writes the word Suwád, without the "h."

* Signifying posterity, kindred, family, tribe, house, etc. The same word occurs in Pal Ál.

† The Indian Atlas Map, Sheet 14, is exceedingly incorrect here. "The Mullah" has mistaken the Landakaey Pass for the Shámelí Pass, which he calls "Shamilai Pass," and in his map it appears as situated *three miles* west of Tárnah, his "Thana," whereas it is just that distance west of Manglawr in Upper Suwát, *nearly twenty-two miles in a straight line north-east from Tárnah.*

It is evident that "the Mullah's" account has got into confusion here, and his map too, in consequence. My man went up the valley by the left bank of the river, and over the Landakaey Pass, in company with an Afghán chief and a British subject, who was on his way to pay his respects to the late Ákhúnd. He came down the opposite side of the river. The Mullá hugged the stream the whole way, and kept the right bank as far as Kúz or Pá'ín Darwesh-Khel, when he crossed to the opposite bank; and to the end of the dara'h, or rather his journey, he kept close to the river, now on one side, now on the other.

If any doubt should exist as to the error here pointed out respecting the Shámelí Pass, it can be easily tested at Pes'háwar, for there must be numbers of Khaṭak traders who cross these passes yearly, or by deputing a person specially. The Mullá makes no mention of the Landakaey Pass, a few miles north-east of Tárna'h, which appears in the Indian Atlas Map of Major-General Walker as "*Lionduki*," for, as previously mentioned, the Mullá kept the opposite side. *See also* page 203.

In the cold season, when the volume of water decreases, the pathway at the foot of Landakaey is used. This last-named mountain has no connection with that of the Mora'h Ghar, but it is a spur from the great range of which the Mora'h Ghar forms a part, which has come down close upon the river, or rather the river washes its base.*

In this part of the river there are two branches, one much more considerable than the other. The lesser one becomes quite dry in the cold season, and in the hot season has about three feet depth of water. This branch is very narrow, with steep banks and rugged bed, along which the water rushes impetuously. The other branch contains a much greater volume of water, and lies farthest from the Landakaey mountain. On ascending it, up to the extremity of the spur, the road leading along the side of the precipice is very difficult, being naturally scarped like a wall for about fifty paces, and the road, if it can be so called, is built up into rough steps with slabs of stone, worn so very smooth that a person is liable to slip. After this dangerous part of the road has been passed, you have to ascend about fifteen paces, then go some twenty more in a horizontal direction, and, finally, about fifteen paces more down again. This difficult path is not quite a yard broad, and is, at least, two hundred yards above the river, which, in the hot season, foams beneath. There is another road to the east of the one just described, which leads over the crest of Landakaey itself, and by it animals are taken when the water is at its height, but I have no further information respecting it. Landakaey is about three miles north of Târnah.

On the opposite side of the river of Suwát, the mountains forming the north-western boundary of the valley in this direction, and separating it from Panj-Korah, to which some European writers have incorrectly applied the name of "Laram Range," which is unknown to the people, approach within about three miles of this point. The river is said, at this part, to have entered that part of Suwát known as *wuchah* or "the dry," which will be referred to in its proper place.

After descending and clearing the Landakaey, immediately at the skirt of it, on the eastern side, you reach the small village of Kota'h, to the south of which, on the very summit of the mountain, there are the extensive ruins of an ancient city. Two of the buildings, which are of great size, have been described as appearing at a distance something like the large European barracks in India. The similarity disappears on coming close to them. They are still in excellent preservation, in fact, almost entire; so much so, that during very heavy rains, the villagers take shelter in them. The houses of this ruined city are not built contiguous to or adjoining each other, but are detached, with an open space of ground around them. They are square in shape, and are built of blocks of hewn stone, and are described to me as "very shapely in appearance," but not very lofty, being not more than six, and not under four yards in height. The walls are about half a yard in thickness, and in some places less, and each building contains an area of about six yards in length. The cement used is probably bitumen, for my informant stated that, "the cement used in joining the "stones together is of a black colour, but I could not tell whether it was lime "mortar, or some other substance. Each house has a door (way ?), as have the two "large buildings likewise. I could not discover anything in the shape of carvings, nor "could I find any idols anywhere about. These ruins are Buddhist, and similar, in "many respects, to the ruins at Bihí, which we visited together in December, 1849."

The two large buildings are built on the very brow of the mountain, and are said by the people to have been erected by Suwátís of former times as watch houses, but the probability is that they are the remains of Buddhist monasteries, or idol temples, often built in such places. There is no made road leading to these buildings, which lie very near to the open ground of the valley, at least, not that could be distinguished, but, probably, there was once a made road, which has now disappeared. This ruined city is situated close to the Landakaey mountain, and nearer to the village of Kota'h than to Barí-kot.† "The ancient ruins in Suwát," says my informant, "are situated "in such difficult and out-of-the-way places, that it becomes a matter of astonish-"ment to conceive how the inhabitants of them managed to exist, where they obtained "water, what they employed themselves upon, and how they managed to pass to and "fro, for some of the houses are situated every here and there, and some on the very

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* But it is not "a spur of the Laram range," which is said to "divide Swát from Panjkora." *See* MacGregor's "*Central Asia*," Vol. II., page 276. The spur I refer to is in a totally different direction, south of the river of Suwát, but Panj-Korah lies a considerable distance on the opposite or north side of the river, and the mountains bounding the Suwát Dara'h in that direction separate that valley from Panj-Korah.

† Khush-hál Khán, the Khatak chief and poet, who wrote a poem on Suwát in the year 1087 H. (1676 A.D.), says on this subject:—

"There are large and lofty cupolas, and idol temples also.
Large forts there are, and mansions of times gone by."

" peaks of the hills. Suwát, however, does not contain so many ruined cities as some " writers would lead us to believe."

Setting out from the village of Koṭa'h, and passing near the villages of Nowaey Kalaey, Abú-wah, Gurataey, and Barí-koṭ, you come to Shankar-dár. Close to this latter place there is a *Ṭop*, a cupola or tower, called the Burj-i-Shankar-dár, or Tower of Shankar-dár. The word Shankar, in Sanskrit, is one of the names of Shíw or Shíwá. It stands on a square platform of stone and earth, seven yards in height, and just forty yards in length and breadth, which my informant measured. On this square platform, the cupola or tower, which is of stone, joined by the dark-coloured cement before mentioned, stands. My informant computed the height, from the platform which he had measured, to be about thirty yards, or ninety feet; and he also measured the base of the *Ṭop*, which was twenty-five yards or seventy feet in circumference, and egg-shaped at the top. There is no way by which the summit may be reached, nor did it appear to be hollow within, but there are a number of small holes just large enough, to all appearance, to admit the hand, and which seem to have been intended to give light and air. From top to bottom the tower is vaulted without like the miḥráb of a mosque, but not so deeply indented or niched that a person might place his foot thereon, but about a finger's breadth only, still the vaulted shape can be distinctly traced to the summit. Each niche or recess is about a yard or more in length and breadth, and between each of these there are the holes before mentioned. As the height increases, the ṭáḳs or niches diminish in proportion. The Afgháns of the neighbouring villages have been removing stones for building purposes from the northern face of the tower, and have built several houses from the materials, hence it has sustained considerable injury in that direction. The people tell all sorts of tales about this tower; and all agree that the Ákhúnd Darwezah gave out, in his lifetime, that it contained seven idols, one large and six smaller ones.

After leaving the village of Shankar-dár, so called after the *Ṭop* or cupola, you go on to Ghálí-gaey, and reach the village of Mán-yár, formerly known as Máni-har,* probably its ancient name, lying near the banks of the river of Suwát, where there are two other ancient cupolas or *Ṭops*, but small in size, facing each other. From Mán-yár you pass on to Gog-Dara'h, Panjí-Grám, and Waḍí-Grám, which latter place is about thirteen miles and a half from Tárnah; and here travellers generally halt on their way upwards, it being considered the first day's stage.

To the east of this village, on the central summit of a mountain, there are numerous ruins, consisting of dwellings, and a very large range of buildings, in appearance from a distance like a very lofty fortress, which can be distinctly seen a long way off. There had been carvings and images there, my informant was told, but that the children of the village had from time to time defaced and destroyed them. There is also an immense cave in the side of one of the mountains near by, which cannot be entered from below, and from above, even by the aid of ropes, it cannot be reached, or, at least, those who have hitherto attempted it have not succeeded. The people of Waḍí-Grám state that several persons, on one occasion, did make the attempt. They lowered down a rope, in order to reach the mouth of the cave if possible, but it was not long enough, and they gave up the attempt. The tale goes that the cave belonged to the Káfirís of old, who had a secret path or entrance to it, and, having deposited treasuries within it, concealed the path, and closed access altogether. The people also say that idols have been found in the neighbourhood, but they had, as a religious duty, destroyed them, and not a remnant of them now remains. Between Mán-yár and Waḍí-Grám there is a rudely carved idol in a cliff by the side of the road, cut out of the white stone of the cliff itself. It is in the figure of an old man in a sitting posture.† Every one that passes by throws a stone at it, so there is an immense heap of them near by.

From Waḍí-Grám you go on towards Míngowaṛa'h, and then on by the villages of Kambar and Káṭlí, where the road takes a south-easterly direction towards Saiydú or Saiydúgán,‡ now famous in these parts as having been the residence of the late venerated Ákhúnd of Suwát, of whom I gave an account about eighteen years ago. The village, which is pleasantly situated, and which is shaded by several fine plane and

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* *See* pages 207 and 241.

† A figure of Buddhah probably.

‡ Not "Syadú-Gam." There is a road from Míngowaṛa'h to Saiydú, at which place two roads branch off to Gulaey-Grám, at which point two roads again diverge, one of which leads to the Ḳaryah-i-Bádsháh in Buner by the Bijwáṛa'h Ghás'haey, passing the Hulam lake, down to Saifal-Bánḍa'h. The other goes from Saiydú to Islám-púr, then up the mountain side for the distance of a kuroh, and then down to the same place where the two roads unite. Another road leads from Islám-púr into the Dara'h of Manglawar, from which point you proceed south-east, cross the mountains, and come down into the Gadází Dara'h, *see* page 252.

other trees, is built in a darah or valley which, like many others, opens out at nearly right angles on the main valley, and through which streams flow and unite with the river of Suwát. A little farther up the valley, in the direction of south-east, towards Buner, lies the village of Islám-púr, in which dwell the descendants of the Mián, Núr, grandson of the Ákhúnd, Darwezah.

To return to the direct route into Upper Suwát. On leaving Míngowaṛa'h you proceed towards Manglawar, near the site of the ancient capital of the Jahángíríán Sulṭáns, ascending the Shámelí *Kotal*,* which lies to the north-eastward of the village of Míngowaṛa'h, and nearer to the river. This village contains a number of Hindú inhabitants. After proceeding a distance of about three miles farther, you reach the village of Manglawar, which is situated at the entrance of a small valley of the same name, running to the north-east. At this point also, the river has approached very near to the spur from the mountains, over which lies the Shámelí *Kotal*, just referred to, so much so, that there is no passage into the central part of the Suwát valley in the hot months, when the river is at its height, except by the road now being described, but, in winter, there is a practicable road along the river's bank.

Near the present village of Manglawar, on the mountains to the east, are some ruins, but they cannot be distinctly traced without ascending the hills for the purpose. They are the ruins of the ancient city referred to at page 234.

The village is pleasantly situated, with streams from the mountains running past it, and a number of umbrageous plane trees like those at Tárnah.

From Manglawar you continue your journey to the large village of Chhár-Bágh, and from thence go on for a distance of about four miles and a half, in a direction between north and west, along the river's bank, to Kábul-Grám. From thence, about the same distance, much in the same direction as before, brings you to Khúzah Khel. Here a perceptible difference of temperature is felt. In the month of August the air is described as being very chilly. The Suwát valley begins to contract in width very considerably, and at this point is not over half a mile in width, the fields are few, and the extent of cultivation insignificant. Here also rice cultivation ceases, and the banks of the river begin to be very high and steep. The land on which Khúzah Khel stands, as well as other villages near, on the left bank of the river and facing northwards, is high. Some villages are situated on spurs from the hills; others on more level ground, or in small open glades at the very skirts of the hills; but the ground of this part of the Suwát valley is not level until you come close to the river's banks, for the land here resembles the back of a fish. The banks on either side, sometimes, but not often, are steep and scarped like a wall almost, and overhang to the height of eighteen or twenty feet from the water. The villages generally lie about half a mile distant from the banks, and about one hundred and fifty feet, or thereabouts, above the river's bed, the ground sloping gradually downwards.

Pí'á is the most northern place in Upper Suwát belonging to the Afgháns, and at that point Upper Suwát terminates.† In order to return from thence down the valley by the opposite side of the river of Suwát, you have to retrace your steps for some distance, as there is no raft there, and such a thing as a boat is unknown. You have to return for about three miles to Ban-waṛí, and there cross the river by means of a raft to the village of Landaey, which lies about two hundred paces from the right bank, the breadth of the stream at this ferry being about one hundred yards, and very deep. At this point too the banks are steep. It was remarked that, where the river ran deep, the banks were scarped and high, but, where the water was shallow, the banks were more sloping and gravelly like the sea-shore.

Leaving Landaey, you proceed downward for about eight miles, passing several small *hánḍa'hs*, or hamlets of from four to five houses, by the way, and reach Darwesh Khel-i-Bálá or Bar Darwesh Khel, or Higher or Upper Darwesh Khel. The road lies along the skirt of the mountains the whole way, and is very rugged and irregular. The cultivation is scanty. A rivulet runs through this village, which is shaded by a number of fine trees, beneath the shade of which are *masjids* and *hujra'hs* (cells or closets, they may be termed) for *ṭálibs* or students, many of whom come here to study. Altogether it is a very picturesque and pleasant spot.

From this large and well peopled place you go on to Darwesh Khel-i-Pá'ín or Kúz Darwesh Khel, or the Lower, some distance from the other. The scarves, called *shálaka'í* (*lit.* little shawls), both white, black, and flowered, are chiefly woven at

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* This is the pass which "the Mullah," by mistake, evidently, describes as about three miles west of Tárnah, and enters it accordingly in his map, whereas it is about that distance west of Manglawar, his "*Manglor*," and north-east of Míngowaṛa'h, his "*Mingraura*."

† *See* page 236.

these two villages, great numbers of which are exported to Ṛes'háwar and other places.

From thence you proceed to Banbá Khel (referred to at page 233), which faces the village of Khúzah Khel, already mentioned, distant about a mile and a half on the opposite bank. Most of the villages in Upper Suwát can be seen from each other, with the exception of a very few, such as Khizána'h and Gaṛaey, which lie to the west of the Súe-galí spur, and Saiydúgán, and Islám-púr, which are situated in the Dara'h bearing the latter name; for in the whole centre of Upper Suwát there is neither mound nor hill to obstruct the view. Its appearance is most picturesque: the river flowing in the centre, and branching out into several channels, with the green fields swelling gently upwards on either side until they melt, as it were, into the lower range of hills.

Passing on from Bar or Upper Banbá Khel you reach Banbá Khel-i-Pá'ín, or Kúz, or Lower Banbá Khel, and then go on, by Ṣaubat and Khareṛa'í, to Shakar-Dara'h, at which village travellers generally stay the night, unless they have plenty of time before them for clearing the Ním-galí Kotal or Pass before night sets in. This *kotal** leads over a great spur which juts out abruptly for about three quarters of a mile, towards one of the branches of the river of Suwát, from the mountains on the right hand as you proceed, which form the north-western boundary of Suwát,† and, after clearing it, you descend to the village of Ním-galí, which is named after the *kotal*,‡ and which lies under the southern side of this spur, and just opposite Chhár-Bágh, on the other side of the river. After this, you pass on to the villages of Bánḍí-i-Bálá and Bánḍí-i-Pá'ín, Bar and Kúz, or Upper and Lower Bánḍí, the former of which, after Tárnah and Manglawar, is the largest place in the Suwát valley. From it you pass on to Kánjú-án,§ at which place the shrine of the Ákhúnd, Karím Dád, son of the Ákhúnd, Darwezah, is situated. Proceeding onward you reach Damghár, already mentioned (at page 230), and then on to Díw-lí and Ákhúnd Kalaey, where is the tomb of the Ákhúnd, Ḳásim, author of the Fawá'íd-ush-Sharí'at. His descendants still dwell there.

Soon after passing the last-named place, you begin to enter the Súe-galí Kotal‖ or Pass, and proceed towards the Súe-galí mountain, another great spur from the same range before referred to as forming the boundary of Suwát on the north-west, which runs down towards one of the branches of the river, and then, for a short distance, turns rather abruptly to the south. The length of this Pass, leading over the Súe-galí mountain, is about twelve miles, for the first three of which the road is pretty good. The next three miles are very difficult, and the remaining six are not very trying to descend, but would be to ascend. About half a mile before reaching the crest of the Pass, and about two miles and a half from the commencement of the ascent, you come to a *ziárat* or shrine, with a rivulet running past it, and shaded by fine *zaitún* or wild olive trees, an immense forest of which—the largest of the kind in the whole of Suwát, and reaching to the summits of the mountains—here commences. On reaching the crest of the Pass, and looking downwards, you can see the village of Gaṛaey, which you afterwards pass, and then go on to Khizána'h, the men of which are the strongest in Suwát. At this village, my informant says, "we met a very pretty young woman, "who, I remarked to my companions, was the first good-looking one I had seen in the "Suwát valley."

From Khizána'h you go on to Zírah Khel, which lies just opposite to the Landakaey mountain, with the road up it overhanging the river, on the other side, and previously described, and then proceed to Úchh-i-Bálá and Úchh-i-Pá'ín,¶ generally known

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* *See* page 233.

† Our maps are very much out here.

‡ Not a word is said by the "Mullah" in his narrative about this Kotal, which lies only a few miles north-west from Chhár-bágh, and yet, in going upwards from Bánḍí-i-Bálá or Bar Bánḍí (his "Barabandai") to Khareṛa'í (his "Kararai"), he had it near by, on his left hand. He seems to have kept close to the river banks on his way.

§ From this place you can go to Chugyá-ṭan, in Bájawṛ, by proceeding to 'Alí-Grám, Chanda'h Khwarey, up the Nikbí Khel Dara'h, Kalá, Túṭán Bánḍa'h, and Manjha'h, over the Gáwṛín Ghás'haey, and down the Shikolí Dara'h. *See* page 231.

‖ Never called "Such Gali" by me. *See* MacGregor's "Gazetteer," Vol. III., page 139.

This pass also escapes the "Mullah" explorer, although in going from Rámoṛa'h to Gaṛaey and Díw-lí (his "Ramora," "Gari," and "Dagi"), which last two villages are by his account about a mile apart, but according to my explorer's account about nine miles, the Súe-galí Kotal lay near by, on his left hand. He appears to have hugged the river banks on most occasions, and his explorations must have been as rapid as a bird's, from his own narrative. The Súe-galí Kotal is mentioned three centuries and a half ago, in the history of the conquest of Suwát. *See* page 234.

¶ This word was spelt originally, I expect, in the same way as the famous and sacred Úchchh, or Uchchah, in the Panj-áb, south of Multán.

among the Yúsufzís as Úchhúnah and Úchhún—that being the plural form of Úchh, or the two Úchhs. These two villages lie close to each other, and are situated just inside a long narrow dara'h or valley, containing water, and through which there is a route through the small district or territory of Tálásh, by the Káṭ-gala'h Ghás'haey or Pass into Panj-Korah. There is another route lower down, in Lower Suwát, but this one is generally preferred. This Pass has been previously referred to, at page 234, in connection with Bábar Bádsháh's dash into Suwát, and his marrying Malik Sháh Manṣúr's daughter. Tálásh, I would observe, is not a part of Suwát, and never was so considered.

When the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs had gained a footing in Lower Suwát, at Tárnah, and the places adjacent, they soon began to make raids into Tálásh* by the Káṭ-gala'h Pass. On one occasion, a party of Afgháns had harried the villages of Tálásh, and had driven off some of the cattle belonging to the Dihgán Káfirís, or infidels of that territory. The chief place in Tálásh at that time was the fortified town so called, which gave name to the territory, and which was situated on the brow of a hill, and surrounded with pomegranate gardens. The chiefs and headmen among these Dihgán Káfirís dwelt within the walls, while the peasantry lived outside in the open country. The ruins of this town may still be seen. These people were renowned for their bravery, and they sallied forth in pursuit. While some followed the Afgháns and the cattle, others, by by-paths, endeavoured to gain the pass before the marauders, and cut off their retreat, but by the time they reached it, the Afgháns had gained its entrance. Desultory skirmishing occurred, and the Afgháns, with some difficulty, reached Lower Suwát again.

On this occasion some of the Afgháns rode up the hills in pursuit of some Dihgáns they perceived there, and one among them, a Sadozí Mandaṛ, named Mazíd (the Ákhúnd, Darwezah, calls him Bar-mazíd), a full brother to the renowned Khán Kajú, perceived a Dihgán on the hills on the north side of the defile, and made after him. The Dihgán jumped down into a gorge, and began to climb the cliff to get away. He had just gained the top of the cliff when Mazíd urged on his 'Iráḳí horse—it was a dark brown steed—in pursuit of him. The animal leaped across the gorge, and just managed to plant its fore feet on the top, near the edge of the cliff, with its hind legs lower: the horse could not manage to reach the top with his hind ones, but he planted his hoofs firmly where he was. At the very instant of reaching the opposite side, without knowing, in the excitement of the moment, the dangerous position of his horse, Mazíd ran the Tálásh Dihgán through with his spear, its head coming out on the other side. At this crisis, another Mandaṛ, 'Ismá'íl by name, came to Mazíd's assistance, and cut down the Dihgán with his sword, releasing Mazíd from all further trouble with him. The latter, only now perceiving the dangerous position of his horse, leaped off his back, seized the bridle, and drew him up to the level space, and rejoined his companions.

"The place," says the historian, "in the Káṭ-gala'h Ghás'haey, where Mazíd's "horse made this leap was measured, and found to be nine Akbarí *gaz*, just twenty-"five feet." On each side of the ravine two little hillocks of stones marked the spot, when the Yúsufzí historian wrote, and probably exist up to the present time; and the spot is known as Goṛ-Trap, or The Horse's Leap,† to this day.

To resume. From Zírah Khel you have to go on several miles to Chak-Dara'h, near which village is the ferry across the river of Suwát. It was here that Zain Khán, the Kokal-Tásh, built a fort, as mentioned at page 259, and it was also from this place that he set out, along with Bír-Baṛ and others, when the Mughal army was destroyed

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"The Mullah" explored the "*Uchnu* Dara," as he calls it, a mistake for Úchúnah or Úchhún, the Pus'hto plural form, as above stated, but he only explored one of the two villages, and but one appears in his map. What sort of village it is he does not inform us, but he tells us what was perfectly well known before, that "there are no *courts* throughout the Swát district," and that the people "are Patháns of the Yusafzai *sect*" (*sept*, possibly), and actually "speak the Pashtu (Pus'hto, probably) language." He gives us another wonderful piece of information, to the effect that "Ráhmat Ulla Khán, an *inhabitant* of Dir, in Malezai, is the "*Khán* or chief of all the villages in the Uchnu Dara." The "inhabitant" in question is no other than the son and successor of the late Ghazan Khán, chief of all the Molízís, and the *most* powerful north of the Indus, indeed, I may say, more powerful than the whole put together.

* A range or two of hills separates Tálásh from the dara'h in which the two villages of Úchh are situated, and from which places its south-eastern boundary is but a few miles distant. Tálásh is no part of Suwát, and never was included in it. It forms part of the territory of the Panj-Korah Chief.—*See* my "Account of Ḳáshḳár, "and the Independent State of Panj-Korah, including Tálásh," in the "Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal," page 26.

† Trap is a Pus'hto word, and from it is formed the verbs "trap wahal," "trapedal," and "trapawul." It is curious to note the use of a vitiated Sanskrit word,—goṛ, from ghoṛ,—with a Pus'hto word, a complete proof, some philosophers will say, that the Afgháns are "a purely Aryan race."

in the Karakar and Malandarí Kotals, the details of which have been given farther on. Chak-Dara'h is a large and populous village, in which a number of Yúsufzí traders dwell. You cross over from it to Allah-ḍanḍ, about a mile and a half from the river side, thus leaving the *lánw-dah* or moist part of Suwát, and again enter the *wuchah* or dry part. These terms will be explained farther on.

Allah-ḍanḍ is a village, or rather a town, of considerable size, but it is chiefly noted as being the place of residence of the chief of the Rárnízi branch of the Bá'ízí division of the sub-tribe of the Akozí Yúsufzís. The present chief is Sher-dil Khán, son of 'Ináyat-Ullah Khán.* The most notable and powerful chiefs of Suwát (notwithstanding the fables related about the poor old Akhúnd being "the leader of "armies and king-maker"), indeed, the heads of the two families who have exercised for years, and who still exercise, the chief power in the whole Dara'h of Suwát, are those of Tárnah, and the chief just named. Ṣuḥbat Khán, son of Ḥukúmat Khán, brother of Sher-dil Khán's father, has also a portion of the Rárnízí territory, but he is—or rather was, for I do not think he is still living—four or five years older than his nephew, who is the chief of this branch of the Yúsufzí tribe.

From Allah-ḍanḍ you reach the Sama'h by the Malá-khanḍ or Malah-khanḍ Ghás'haey or Pass, described at pages 239 and 259, and go on to 'Ash-Naghar or Pes'háwar. On reaching the foot of the pass, on the southern side, you proceed to Dargaey, distant three miles, and Sháh-Koṭ, two miles farther, and re-enter the British territory.

I must now attempt to describe the geographical features of the Suwát valley.

On descending from the Mora'h Ghás'haey or Pass, on the way into Suwát, and issuing from the narrow valley or glen in which Nal-Bánḍa'h lies on your way to Tárnah, the dara'h appears to lie almost east and west. It then makes a bend in a north-easterly direction as far as the Shámelí Ghás'haey, and from thence to Pí'á, the last village held by the Afgháns in that quarter, the direction is almost due north. Beyond Pí'á again, as far up as the source of the river of Suwát, at the *jal-gáh*, it diverges slightly towards the north-west. It will, therefore, be seen that the Dara'h of Suwát is divided, as it were, into three natural divisions; and, where the three bends or turns, above mentioned, commence, the dara'h gradually narrows through the mountains on either side converging towards each other, and then it opens out again by their receding.

"It is a dara'h of great extent, being about forty kuroh in length, and from the crests of the mountains separating it from Panj-Korah on one side, and Buner on the other, it is, in some places, about twenty-five kuroh in breadth, that is to say, taking the breadth from the head of one of the longest lateral dara'hs, on one side, to the head of another lateral dara'h on the other. The main dara'h terminates on the north in the mountain tracts held by the Spín Káfirís (referred to at page 228).

"Lower and Upper Suwád, that is to say, that portion of the Dara'h of Suwád inhabited by the two clans or divisions of the Akozí sept of the Yúsufzí Afgháns, contain no less than twenty-five minor, but, nevertheless, considerable dara'hs, which open into it laterally on either side of the main river; and out of each of these a smaller river, of greater or lesser volume, issues, which has its own still lesser tributaries. These minor or cross dara'hs average about twelve kuroh in length, and, of these, seventeen lie on the south side of the main dara'h, and eight on the north. In the former the Bá'ízí Afgháns dwell, and the latter the Khwádozí Afgháns, who will be again mentioned farther on.

"The principal towns and villages belonging to the Afgháns are Tárnah, Allah-ḍanḍ, Bánḍa'h, and Damghár."†

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* 'Ináyat-Ullah Khán, hoping to gain strength thereby, submitted to the Sikhs, and went to Láhor to attend the darbár of Raṇ-jít Singh. He made a great mistake, however, and his people were so indignant that they deposed him in favour of his son, whose name is not given, but he was, apparently, an elder brother of Sher-dil Khán. He was soon ousted by Khair-Ullah Khán, his cousin, but his father's name has not transpired. 'Ináyat-Ullah again acquired authority, and transmitted the chieftainship to his son, Sher-dil Khán, the present chief. In my former paper on Suwát I mentioned, according to my authority, that Sher-díl was lineally descended from Khán Kajú, but this is not possible, save on the mother's side, because Khán Kajú was a Ṣadozí, 'Usmánzí, Mandar, and Sher-dil Khán is a Rárnízí, Akozí, Yúsufzí.

Sher-díl Khán, having been in possession in 1858, can scarcely be the person referred to by Colonel C. M. MacGregor ("Gazetteer," Vol. III., p. 43) in the following words:—"The headman of Swát Ránízai is one "Sherdil Khán, an adventurer, who, about two years ago, turned out the former Khán, Sádat Khán," as the person above referred to is, I believe, still in the land of the living.

† In the accounts of the various provinces and districts forming the Ṣuba'h of Kábul, contained in the Á'ín-i-Akbarí of Abú-l-Faẓl, Buner, Suwád, and Bájawr, are contained in what he calls the Sar-kár of Suwád, while Panj-Korah is not alluded to. The reason of this is that but a very small portion of the tract subsequently

The river intersects it throughout, not in a single channel throughout the whole of its course, as it is made to flow in our maps,* but in several, some of which separate again to unite in a single stream. It also makes occasional windings of greater or lesser extent.† The great mistake is, that, in these maps, the dara'h is made to run almost in a straight line from north-east to south-west; and from those maps one would imagine that a person standing, for example, at the highest part of it, could see straight down the valley from one end to the other. Such is far from being the case. The river receives a number of smaller streams from the lateral minor dara'hs on either hand. From Chúr-ṛa'í, above Pí'á in the Kohistán, to Ban-waṛí, the stream is about a hundred yards broad, very swift, and violent. From about five miles below Ban-waṛí it becomes somewhat broader, but it is just as rapid and violent as before, and continues to be so until it reaches opposite the Darwesh Khel villages, about three quarters of a mile lower down than which, where the dara'h also opens out considerably, it becomes much broader, and separates into several branches. It continues to flow in this manner in several channels until it reaches as far down as Allah-ḍanḍ, in Lower Suwát, when the branches again unite, and the river becomes narrower, and, of course, deeper, and more rapid. It continues to flow in one stream until, near the village of Khwadarzí, in the Utmán Khel territory, it unites with the rivers issuing from the Báshḳár, Dír, and Birawal Dara'hs, which three united streams are known as the Molízí River, and also River of Panj-Korah.

No gold is found in the river of Suwát or its smaller tributaries, unless it be at, or near, their sources; and, in the whole of the lower, or more southern, part of the valley constituting Lower Suwát, there are few or no trees in the vicinity of the river's banks, not a hundred altogether probably. Here and there, one or two may be seen in the fields near the river, under which the peasants rest themselves, and take their food, in the hottest part of the day. It is in the mountains, forming the boundaries of

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called by that name was then occupied by Afgháns. In every copy of the Á'ín-i-Akbarí there are ruled columns for particulars respecting the names of the maḥalls, towns, people, number of men available for militia purposes or capable of bearing arms, and the amount of assessment, but I have never yet met with a copy in which these columns were filled up: all are blank at this particular part. The late Mr. W. H. Blochmann was equally unsuccessful in finding a copy complete in this respect, for his printed text is so far imperfect. The fact is, however, that the Mughal rulers of India never obtained a permanent footing in these parts, notwithstanding the slaughter of the people and the devastation of their villages and lands by their troops, and were never in a position for obtaining the particulars for the said columns to be filled up, and no copy of the Á'ín-i-Akbarí will be found perfect in this respect.

What information Abú-l-Faẓl obtained is as follows:—

"In length it is forty kuroh, and from five to fifteen in breadth. It has Buner on the east, on the north "Kaṭor and Káshghar (invariably thus in the Á'ín, but meant for Ḳáshḳár, as in his other work, the Akbar "Náma'h), west Bájawṛ, and south Bagrám (the Pes'háwar province). It contains a number of dara'hs, and "near the dara'h of Damghár, which adjoins Káshghar, is the town of Manglawar, which is the [former?] seat of "government. There are two roads leading into it from Hindústán; one by the defile called the Malá-khanḍ "Faj or Pass, and the other the Sher-khána'h (Faj). Suwád is neither very hot nor very cold. Snow falls in "the *dasht* (the open parts of the valley), but it does not remain for more than three or four days: it continues "all the cold season in the hilly parts. The most rain falls in spring, but the valley feels slightly the rainy "season of Hindústán. The flowers and shrubs both of Hind and Túrán flourish, and the narcissus and violet "grow spontaneously, covering plain after plain. The fruits also are numerous, of various kinds, and of spon-"taneous growth; the peaches and pears are very good. Many fine species of the falcon tribe are also obtain-"able in Suwád, which also contains mines of iron."

Here he appears to have fallen into some confusion, for the only mines of iron we hear of are in Bájawṛ, but there *may* have been iron mines worked in Suwád in former times. For his short notice of Bájawṛ *see* page 118.

He says further, with respect to the "Sar-kár of Suwád," that "the whole of this Sar-kár, both mountain "tracts and plains, is the dwelling place of the Yúsufzís. In the time of the Mírzá, Ulúgh Beg, Kábulí, they "reached this territory from the Kábul province; and wrested it out of the hands of the Sulṭáns, who account "themselves as descended from a daughter of Sikandar-i-Ẓú-l-Ḳarnain (Alexander, the Macedonian). They "say that the Sulṭán (Sikandar) left a portion of his treasures with one of his connections in this country, "and that, up to this time, some of that race still dwell in the Kohistán (hence called Kohistánís. *See* "pages 151 and 162) *with the genealogical tree of their descent from Sikandar in their hands.*" *See* also page 117.

Khush-ḥál Khán, in his poem on Suwát, mentions its boundaries in the following words:—

"On the north it is bounded by the Bilauristán mountains;
To the east lies Kash-mír; to the west Kábul and Badakhshán,
Towards Hindústán it has black mountains, and frowning passes,
In the ascent of which, armies will get entangled, and confusion ensue."

* Major Wilson's is, however, an exception. "The Mullah," in his map, makes it run in a single channel, which is contrary to fact, but he may have *seen* but one.

† Respecting its river Khush-ḥál Khán says:—

"Its river flows in a direction from east to west:
As to its straightness or crookedness, say naught to the scribe."

the valley of Suwát, that trees are so numerous, and in the small side dara'hs or valleys running at right angles to the main valley.

The mountains on either side, as seen from the broadest part of the valley, are of different degrees of elevation. The first, or lower ranges, are of no great height, and of gentle ascent; the second are rather more abrupt, and on these there are, comparatively, few trees, but much grass; and the third, or higher ranges, rise up almost like a wall in appearance. The range to the north is densely covered with pine forests, which are seen overtopping all.

For the reasons above stated, firewood is scarce in Lower Suwát and the more open parts of the valley farther up, and the dry dung of animals is used instead, but there are woods and thickets in plenty in the smaller valleys at the sides of, and opening into, the main one. With these exceptions, there are no shrubs or wild-trees, such as we call *jangal* in India, in any part of Lower Suwát.

The pine is chiefly used for fuel, and pine-slip torches are generally used, as in some other parts of Afghánistán, in place of lamps or candles, but shopkeepers and students, who have to read at night, burn oil. The person whom I sent into Suwát in 1858 was rather surprised at seeing a primitive description of lantern in use there. He says "I "was surprised to see a description of lantern in Suwát, something on the plan of "English ones, although, of course, not copied from them. It consists of a wooden frame "covered with buffalo bladder, or the skin of the *parda'h* or membraneous covering of "the stomach of animals, stretched over this frame whilst damp, with a place for oil "in the centre. By the light of these, one can see to read tolerably well, and, during "my journey in Suwát, I had often to read books by the light of one of them."

The lower ranges of hills, on both sides of the valley, although destitute of trees, are covered with grass; and, "viewing them from the central parts," says the person just referred to, "one would fancy they were covered with velvet, they appear so "beautiful." The next or highest ranges on either side, are covered with forests, which may be seen from the lower parts of the valley, every here and there overtopping the lower hills.

These forests chiefly consist of the *jalghoza'h* or pine, and the *zaitún* or wild olive. The *chinár* or plane flourishes also, and in the low-lying parts of the valley as well as in the hills. The trees are generally of large growth, and bear marks of great antiquity. There are indeed planes on the banks of the river of Suwát and its tributaries, about the mosques, in the fields, and near the villages; in fact, in all directions, except in the lower or western parts of the valley, where they are few. The husbandman's home, from morning until night, when working in the fields, is the plane tree, under which, in the cool shade, he rests himself, and where his family bring him his food. The other trees noticed in Suwát are the willow, the *bakáyarn* (*melia sempervirens*), and the *palma christi*. Flowers are said to be few, but the Khaṭak chief and poet, Khush-ḥál Khán, who wrote some two centuries before, gives a different account. He says, in his poem on Suwát, "It is a garden of fruits, and a parterre of flowers."

Throughout the whole of the upper part of the valley, or Kohistán, from Sar-Bánḍa'h down to the boundary of Upper Suwát, there are immense numbers of trees, both along the river's banks, and in the mountains on either side to their very summits. Large pine trees only cost from threepence to two shillings each, and this is for felling. A trader of Pes'háwar, some years ago, attempted to open up a timber trade in this part. At considerable expenditure of time and money, he had caused about two thousand great pines to be felled in the hills, and they were thrown into the river in order to be floated down to Pes'háwar. When the trader and his people, with their rafts, entered the Afghán boundary in Upper Suwát, the Yúsufzís seized upon them, and would not allow the rafts to proceed. The trader, supposing the late Ákhúnd—the so-called leader of armies and maker of Bádsháhs—to possess much influence, went and complained to him. The Yúsufzís of Lower Suwát, through fear of their chiefs, with whom the Ákhúnd had expostulated about the conduct of their people, gave up all the trees they had not used themselves, and they were not a few, but the people of Upper Suwát, that is to say from Chhár-bágh to Chúr-ṛa'í, on both sides of the river, would not allow the timber to be removed; and the trees, in hundreds, were left to rot on the river's banks.

When the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs had completely subdued the Suwát valley, the celebrated Shaikh Malí, under the instructions of Malik Aḥmad, made a regular survey of it, and also of Buner. The whole of the Do-Ábah, 'Ash-Naghar, and the lands contained in them and in the Sama'h, were portioned out among the descendants of Yúsuf and Mandaṛ, according to the number of persons in each family, but leaving a portion for distribution among the three confederate tribes which accom-

panied them in their exodus from the province of Kábul, or followed them soon after, but who were not Khas'hís, nor were they Ghwarís.* The portion allotted to Khas'hís was termed *daftar*, and that assigned to Sayyids, Mullás, and the three confederate tribes, was called *tsíra'í*, by which terms these lands are still known ;† and in all cases of dispute the distribution made by Shaikh Malí was referred to, and continues to be referred to to this day. "*Daftar*" is a Persian word signifying, "a record," "register," "archives," here used as an adjective for "registered," "recorded ;" and "*tsíra'í*" is Pus'hto, signifying "divided," "separated," "parted," here meaning "apportioned," "assigned," "allotted."

Shaikh Malí first divided Suwát for convenience sake into two nominal parts, lying on either side of the river. To that portion lying between the right bank and the mountains bordering it on the north-west, and comprising the eight minor dara'hs already referred to, opening into it, he gave the name of *lánw-dah*, the plural form of the Pus'hto adjective *lánd*, signifying "moist," "damp," etc., from its enjoying a greater portion of moisture than the other, for, where the river separates into several branches‡ is part of this moist tract, hence its name. To the other portion of Suwát, lying between the left bank and the mountains on the south-east, and containing the other seventeen minor dara'hs, he gave the name of *wuchah*, signifying "dry," "arid," etc.§ The bounds of the *lánw-dah* half of the valley were fixed by the Shaikh from B'ṛangolaey, the boundary village of Lower Suwát, nearly facing Túṭakán, on the opposite bank of the river, as far up as Landaey, the lowest village to the north, just opposite Pí'á, a tract extending in length about sixty miles. The *wuchah* portion extended from the village of Túṭakán, in Lower Suwat, to Pí'á, the boundary village of Upper Suwát, a distance of sixty-three miles.

From Allah-ḍand to Chhár-Bágh on the *wuchah* side of the valley, and from Chak-Dara'h to Bándí on the *lánw-dah*, which places face each other, the villages are small and very close together, whilst, lower down the valley, towards the south-west, and higher up towards the north-east, the villages are larger, and at a greater distance apart, often two or three miles.

The climate of Lower Suwát, in winter, resembles that of the Sama'h and the plain of Pes'háwar, but is probably somewhat milder. The summer, which is a little later than in the plains below, is hot and oppressive; and in consequence of Lower Suwát being shut in by high mountain ranges, and the extensive cultivation of rice, humid and malarious exhalations are produced there, which are the cause of much fever. In the other extremity of the Dara'h of Suwát, in the Kohistán, on the contrary, the summer is very healthy, but the winter is rather severe, and much snow falls. Upper Suwát, on the other hand, possesses a somewhat better climate, a medium between that of the two extremities, and is neither very hot in summer, nor very cold in winter.‖ The person whom I despatched to explore the dara'h, previously referred to, says on this subject:—

"As regards temperature and excellence of climate, picturesque beauty, fruits, "and game, Upper Suwát, from Manglawar to Chúr-ṛa'í, which I myself saw, and "can testify to, is by far the best. The Kohistán beyond this is, however, much the "same. The whole of the upper portion of the Suwát valley is intersected at right "angles by the most picturesque little vales of about half a mile or less in extent, "the very residence in which would be sufficient to make a man happy. Each has "its own clear stream running through it towards the main river, the banks of each "of which, on either side, are shaded with fine trees, many of which bear the finest "fruits, and beneath which, every here and there, there are fragments of rock lying "about where one may sit down and rest himself, while the hills on either side are "clothed, up to their very summits, with forests of pine, the tops of which yield a "most fragrant smell. Dust is never seen."

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* Who they were has been already stated at page 125. *See* also page 220.

† From my former paper on "Suwát," this account of the distribution of lands, and the names by which the assignments are known, have been extracted and embodied by Colonel C. M. MacGregor in his "Gazetteer," Vol. III., p. 146, but wrongly attributed to Lumsden. *See* note ‖, page 194.

‡ *See* page 204, and note *.

§ We hear nothing of these well known terms from "the Mullah."

‖ Khush-ḥál Khán in his poem says:—

"Its climate, in summer, is far superior to that of Kábul:
The climate of Kábul is bleak, but Suwát is genial and mild.
Indeed, it resembles Kash-mír in air and in verdure,
But, alas! Kash-mír is extended, and Suwát is confined.
The valley, in length, is just thirty *kos* at the utmost;
Its breadth is about one or two, sometimes more or less."

With regard to its breadth, except in particular parts, the poet is not quite accurate.

The valley, not including the Kohistán north of Pí'á, which has been described at page 235, according to Shaikh Malí's arrangement just mentioned, was again divided into two other distinctive parts, known as *lar* and *bar*, lower and upper, which two divisions are thus defined. From Maní-hár or Mán-yár southwards, to the village of Tútakán, towards the mouth of the river, the territory is termed *Lar*, or Lower, Suwát, and from Mán-yár northwards, to Pí'á is *Bar*, or Upper, Suwát.

In the distribution of the conquered territories, the Dara'h of Suwát fell to the Yúsufzís, namely, the Akázís, Malízís, and the Ilyászís.

The Ákhúnd, Darwezah, whose grandfather left his native country of Nangrahár, or Nek-Anhár, and accompanied the Yúsufzís in their migration eastwards, as their Peshwá or spiritual guide, and received his share in the distribution made by Shaikh Malí, refers to the distribution in the following words :—

"The Malik, Shaikh Malí, made a census of the whole *ulús* of Yúsuf and Mandar, male and female, great and small, with the object of dividing Suwát and its lands equally among the Yúsufzís. The Akozí and 'Ísází divisions were found to contain just 6,000 persons, and the Malízí and Ilyászí proved to be much the same in point of numbers, a total of just 12,000. The Yúsufzís and Mandars were of about the same strength, namely, about 12,000 each. The Nangraháris, Lamghánís, and Kábulís, who had accompanied the Yúsufzís and Mandars from the west, were not included in the census, neither were the inhabitants of those parts whom the Afgháns found there. This distribution of lands made by the Malik, Shaikh Malí, is still in force, and has undergone no change. . . . . Shaikh Sa'ádí, son of Darghan, who dwelt at Pápín in Nangrahár, and left it to accompany the Yúsufzís, was accounted among the Mandízí section of the Daulatzí division of the Malízís in this distribution of lands, and he was assigned a share for 30 persons, the number of his family and dependents. Subsequently, the ruler of the country (Mírzá Kámrán probably, at the time he held the fief of Kábul and its dependencies, *see* page 226) had occasion to chastise the *ulús*, and despatched the Amír, Ḳodání, with a body of horse, to make a raid upon them. Some of these horsemen fell in with Shaikh Sa'ádí and his family, and, taking him for one of the Afghán *ulús*, put him to death, and carried away his son, Gadáe, captive. Soon after it was found out, through the Amír Ḳodání's inquiries about the Shaikh, that he had been unjustly put to death ; and the horsemen who had done the deed were severely punished for it, but there was no remedy for what was past. However, the Amír forthwith set Gadáe at liberty, and, for the late Shaikh's sake, liberated all the other captives in his hands. Subsequently, from some cause or other, Gadáe left the Mandízí Malízís, and joined the Ismá'ílzí Khel of Chagharzí Malízís ; and, by them, he was assigned a share of land for 10 persons. This Gadáe was my father, and that share of land we still enjoy."

Since the period in question vast changes have taken place. For a long time past the Dara'h of Suwát has become the almost exclusive portion of the Akozí Yúsufzís, which sub-tribe is again subdivided into several khels or sections, of whom the Khwádozís and Bá'ízís are the most numerous. The *wuchah* division is in the possession of the Rárnízís and Bá'ízís, and the *lánw-dah* is held by the Khwádozís. These two clans, the Khwádozís and Bá'ízís, are again subdivided into smaller sections. From Tútakán to Tárnah dwell the Rárnízís, who also hold a few villages under the low hills south of the mountain range of which the Malah-khand forms a portion, such as Tsaná-koṭ, or, as sometimes called, Sháh-koṭ, and Dargaey. The chief town of the Rárnízís is Allah-ḍand, which is the residence of the chief. From the town of Tárnah to the village of Maní-hár or Mán-yár, to the north, are the Tsolízís, who also hold the three large villages of Pala'í, Sher-khána'í, and Zor-manḍa'í, mentioned at the commencement of this account, to the south of the Mora'h mountains, at the entrance of the Mora'h Ghás'haey or Pass, together with the Báz-Dara'h valley, containing the villages of Báz-Dara'h-i-Bálá and Pá'ín, and the hamlet of Mora'h. Their chief town is Tárnah, the residence of their chief.

From Maní-hár or Mán-yár northwards as far as Chhár-Bágh, are the Bábúzis ; and from thence still farther northwards, are the Matúṛízís, who hold some lands among the hills, and a few small villages. From thence to Khonah the whole of the Khází Khel, a numerous clan, are located, and from Khonah as far north as Pí'á, the most northerly village of the Yúsufzí Afgháns in Upper Suwát, are the Jánakís, or Jának Khel.*

Crossing over into the *lánw-dah*, we find the different clans or sections of the Khwádozí, and two other divisions of the Akozí Yúsufzís, located as follows, from

* There are no such people known in these parts "*Zinkí* Khels," "*Hinkí* Khels," or "*Azí* Khels."

south to north :—From B'ṛangolaey to Rámoṛah are the S'hádakzí or K'hádakzí and Abází Ąkozís, who dwell together. From Rámoṛah to Úchh or Úchhúnah, or Úchhún, the two villages of Úchh, as far as Súe-galí are the Shamúzís. From Súe-galí to Ním-galí are the Nikbí Khel,* to which the late Ákhúnd of Suwát—who has lately been put into "the Gujar *caste*" by one writer, and turned into a "Syad" by others whose knowledge of these matters is somewhat hazy—belonged. From Ním-galí to Landaey the Ṣábit and Chúní (now known as Ṣabchúní) are located, who hold a few small villages, and the remainder, to the south, are the Shámízís.

The number of families or dwellings of the Akozí division of the Yúsufzí tribe, including those out of Suwát, without taking all the *faḳirs* into account, and some other non-Afgháns, of whom there are considerable numbers, were supplied to me as follows. My informant said the number of families was chiefly furnished by Mír 'Álam Khán, of Tárnah, the chief of the Tsolízis, to the Khán who accompanied my informant into Suwát. The latter says :—"The Khán Ṣáḥib asked the questions to "which the Mír replied. The chief said the Rárnízís were 6,000 matchlocks. I asked "what he meant thereby. He replied, the number of families who could each send "one adult male into the field. This, I think, is not much beyond the mark ('a "'standard-bearer of the Akhuns,'† notwithstanding), for it must be remembered that "the valley is more densely populated, in proportion to its size, than any other part I "have seen in India or the Panj-áb. Indeed, some of the districts to the north of "Pes'háwar are populated to an extent the English have little conception of."

*Rárnizí Akozí Division.*

| | Families. |
|---|---|
| Rárnízí‡ - - - - - - | 6,000 |

*Bá'ízí Akozí Division.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Bábúzí - - - - - | 7,000 |
| Khází Khel (some call them Ḥájí Khel) - - | 12,000 |
| Matúṛízí - - - - - | 4,000 |
| Tsolízí - - - - - | 10,000 |
| Jának Khel - - - - | 6,000 |

* The village of Chanḍa'h Khwaṛey, mentioned at page 232, is in their territory.

† A *ḳur'án-bearer* of the Ákhúnd's, much more probably. "A standard-bearer" of the old recluse, must have been a great curiosity, quite a *rara avis*.

‡ It is a very great error to suppose that the Rárnízí are a subdivision of the Bá'ízí, for they are quite distinct. In my former account of Suwát I put them down among the Bá'ízí, which was wrong, but the explanation given in the footnote was correct. I have therefore thought it right to mention it here, and show clearly who they are.

Ako, fifth son of Yúsuf, had two wives, according to the best Afghán authorities on the subject. Rární (Sanskrit राज्ञी), a Hindú name, the feminine of Ráná (another clear proof, say some of the "masters of the subject," that the Afgháns are a "purely Aryan race"), a not uncommon name given to Musalmán women on the borders of the Panj-áb, and probably, from the name, she was either very good looking, or a strong-minded woman, to be known as "the queen." The other wife was named Gauhara'h (but not *Gauha*. It is merely the feminine of *gauhar*, "a gem," "a jewel," etc.).

Rární bore to Ako two sons, Ḥalím and Utmán. They were, however, persons of little account. They made no figure in the world, and the name of the first indicates that he was very mild and tractable; and their descendants, in consequence, became known by their grandmother's name. This is a custom which has been prevalent from the first among the Afghán tribes, for the descendants to be known by the name of an elder ancestor when the immediate progenitor was of no account, as in the case of the Gagyánís, referred to at page 216. Ako's descendants are called by the general name of Akozí.

Gauhara'h bore four sons to Ako :—Khwájo, which has been altered to Khwádo, whence the Khwájozí or Khwádozí ; Bázíd, the shortened form of Báyazíd, whence the Bá'ízí ; Abá, whence the Abází ; and S'hadak or Khadak, whence the K'hadakzí or S'hadakzí, above mentioned. The Khwádozí contain seven subdivisions, five from as many sons, and two descended from two adopted sons. The four former are Allah-Dín, whence the Allah-dínzí, shortened into Adínzí ; Molaey, whence the Molízí of Panj-Korah ; Shamú, whence the Shamúzí ; Shámí, whence the Shámízí, sometimes called Shamízí ; and Nikbí, now Nikbí Khel. The adopted sons were Shaikh Ṣábit, and Chúnaey, whence come the Ṣábitzí and Chúní. They are descended from Dá'úd, son of Barech, and are, consequently, Barechís, some of that tribe having taken up their residence among the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs, including some of their holy men. The Chopánzí are Barechís ; and there is another section of them known as Mulhízí, but it must not be confounded with, or mistaken for, the great sub-tribe of Yúsufzí Malízí, which has been done by one or two recent writers. The Daulat Khel and Mullá Khel, Badalzí Barechís, also came among the Yúsufzís, but subsequently went into Hind, and settled therein.

The Bázídzí, shortened into Bá'ízí, contain five subdivisions, descended from as many sons, namely, Amá, whence the Amá Khel ; Khází, or Hájí (an error, I believe), whence the Khází Khel (also called Ḥájí Khel) ; Músá, whence the Músá Khel ; Bábú, whence the Bábúzí ; and Matúṛaey, whence the Matúṛízí.

Colonel C. M. MacGregor says in his "Gazetteer" (Vol. I., p. 142), that the "Báizai Swátís" have three villages in "Báizai" (he refers to the eastern part of the Lúndaey Khwaṛ valley), and that they "are the *remnants* of the *real* Yúsáfzáis" (*sic*). What has become of the other "real Yúsáfzais," and how they disappeared, we are not informed. I may observe that the Bá'ízís of "Báizai," so called, like their brethren located in Suwát, as well as other Akozís, Ilyászís, 'Ísázís, and Malízís, with all their numerous ramifications, are "real" Yúsufzís.

*Akozí Division.*

| | |
|---|---|
| S'hadakzí or K'hadakzí - - - - | Families 6,000 |
| Abází - - - - - | |

*Khwádozí Akozí Division.*

| | |
|---|---|
| Allah-dínzí, now Adínzí - - - | 8,000 |
| Shamúzí - - - - | 7,000 |
| Shámízí, also called Shamízí - - - | 6,000 |
| Nikbí Khel - - - - - | 12,000 |
| Ṣábit and Chúní, now shortened colloquially, and known as Ṣabchúní* - - - | 4,000 |
| Total - - | 88,000 |

The three first mentioned among the Bá'ízí are, it will be noticed, descendants of his three sons, Bábú, Kházaey (or Ḥájí ?) and Matúṛaey; the other two must be descendants of his sons, Amá and Músá, who, being of no great account, their names have been eclipsed. The two Akozí tribes are sometimes classed with the Bá'ízí, being few in number, but they are Akozí. The Ṣabchúní are no other than the descendants of the two adopted Barech sons of Khwádo.

Hindús, Paránchahs, original Suwátís, and some others, are not included in the above numbers. The word *faḳirs* here refers to trades-people, such as smiths, shoemakers, carpenters, barbers, washermen, dyers, and shopkeepers, whether Hindús or Musalmáns, goldsmiths, weavers, Gújars or graziers, servants or slaves employed in household duties, mullás, Sayyids, and a very few husbandmen, for the Afgháns, whether of Suwát or other parts of Afghánistán, like the Spartans of old, monopolize the two occupations of arms and agriculture.

Out of the bounds of Lower Suwát, and west of the river, are the Doshah Khel Molizís of Tálásh, and, on the east, the Utmán Khel Karlárnís; and to the north, beyond the bounds of Upper Suwát, are the Ákhúnd Khel, as the descendants of the Ákhúnd, Darwezah, are called, who are Tájzíks, not Afgháns. The Doshah Khel are located beyond, but adjoining, the Akozí K'hadakzís on the north. They formerly dwelt altogether in the hills, but have descended from time to time, and, by paying money to some, practising deception with others, and, according to Afghán custom, taking by force in other cases, succeeded in acquiring a few villages and some lands on the Suwát border. The lands thus acquired they have not built villages upon, but have set them apart for cultivation only. Three of their best villages are Ṭálá, Bágh, and Pingal.

All to the west of the villages of Túṭakán and Matakaní, also written Matakarní, is out of Suwát, and is included in, and called, the country of the Utmán Khel. The village of Ḥiṣár, likewise, is not considered in Suwát.

Beyond the bounds of the Bá'ízís of the Jának Khel, in Upper Suwát, to the east and south-east, lies Buner, which belongs to other branches of the Yúsufzís. On the opposite side of the river of Suwát, towards the west and beyond the mountains, lies the valley of the Ú-sherí River,† belonging to the Molízís of Panj-Korah. Beyond the mountains bounding the Kohistán, or upper portion of the Dara'h of Suwát, the Ḳáshḳár State lies, and also As-tur and Gilgiṭ.

It was a natural consequence attending the distribution of the lands of the conquered territory among the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs, and in Suwát more particularly, that some would have good land whilst others would have inferior; and the sagacious Shaikh Malí, foreseeing that disputes would arise in consequence, instituted the peculiar custom of an interchange of lands after a certain number of years, and to which the name *khàsarnaey* and *wesh* was given, from the mode of drawing lots among this simple race of people, by means of small straws of different lengths, and such like simple means.‡

* There is no "section" of the Akozí Yúsufzís called *Khwázozai*, this much at least is known of them; and there is no "subdivision of them called 'Sibújni' or 'Sibujnai,' but Ṣabchúní, as above. They are Barech, not Yúsufzí, but adopted.

† *See* page 230, and note †.

‡ These words will be found described in my Afghán Dictionary. Khush-ḥál Khán, himself an Afghán, who did not admire the Yúsufzís nor their ways, says on this subject :—

"Although the whole country is suitable for gardens,
The Yúsufzís have made it like unto a desert wild.
In every house of it there are cascades and fountains.
There are fine towns, fine dwellings, and fine bázárs too.
Such a country, with such a climate, and such streams,
It hath no homes, no gardens, nothing fragrant nor fresh.
*They gamble away the country yearly, drawing lots:*
*Without an invading army they ravage themselves.*"

To this custom the whole of the people agreed; and from that time, varying from ten to twenty, and even thirty years, the lands are re-distributed among the different Khels, or sections, or families, together with the dwellings thereupon, by drawing lots for the different portions. This custom is, with a few minor exceptions, in full force at the present time.

Some sixty or seventy years ago it was usual to draw lots for each *tapa'h*, district, or division, but, at present, this custom has been done away with, and the people of each *tapa'h* now draw lots among themselves in the following manner:—First, the people of each village draw lots for their lands and village, which, when determined, the people of each street or quarter of a village draw lots for their portion, and, lastly, the families of each street or division draw lots for their portions. For example: we will suppose the village of Tárnah—any name will suffice for the example—which A has been holding with his clan or section, falls to the share of B, who has been holding Allah-ḍand. On the re-distribution Tárnah falls to B, and A gets Allah-ḍand. They, A and B, then draw lots among their own clans for the minor shares, and it so happens that the house which A had previously occupied falls to the lot of B, and B's house to A. On becoming aware of this they examine the two houses, and, if they happen to be about the same size and value, they exchange on equal terms, but if one house be better than the other, one must pay something to the other for the difference in value. If this is not agreed to between A and B they remove their effects from each house, take away the doors, remove the grass thatch and rafters from the roof, and leave only the bare walls standing, otherwise a feud would ensue, for such is the excessive pride and obstinacy of the Afghán race.

When Khán Kachú or Kajú, Mandaṛ, became supreme chief of the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs, on the decease of the renowned Malik Aḥmad, he decreed that the chief of Suwát should not be required, on any occasion, on a re-distribution of the lands, to vacate the town or village in which he dwelt. At this time he himself dwelt, it is said, at Allah-ḍand,* and so that town was exempted accordingly, but, notwithstanding this rule, the lands were, and still are, included in the *wesh* or re-distribution as well as other lands. This regulation was again confirmed by Hamzah Khán when he succeeded to the chieftainship.

The houses of Suwát, generally, consist of four walls built of mud mortar mixed with sand. On the top of these a few rafters are laid, and dry grass spread over them, and over this a layer of plaster is laid of the same materials as the walls. The houses rarely last more than a few years, but this is of little consequence when they have to be vacated once about every three or four years. The mosques, and the houses of the Hindús dwelling in those parts, are built of stone in a substantial manner, but those of the Afgháns are all alike. The residence of Mír 'Álam Khán of Tárnah, and that of the chief of Allah-ḍand, were mean places built of mud bricks, without even whitewash to cover the walls.

Some peculiar customs are prevalent among the Afgháns in Suwát, which appear to be very ancient.

In all suits and disputes contrary to the *Shara'* or orthodox law of Muḥammad, which is observed by all tribes of Afgháns, as well as other Musalmáns, in Suwát, the plaintiff, instead of the defendant, is put on his oath, as in English courts of justice.

If a person has had anything stolen from him, he calls upon the person or persons whom he may suspect to give him a *sa'd*† (in 'Arabic signifying "felicity, pro-

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This was his opinion of the re-distribution of lands among them, and he was pretty right, I think.

The cascades, fountains, fine houses, and bázárs, must refer to the dwellings and buildings the Yúsufzís found there, for they erected nothing of that kind, indeed the poet says in another place:—

"Suwát is intended to give sovereigns gladness and joy,
But now, in the time of the Yúsufzís, 'tis a desolate hostel."

In another place he says:—

"Every place throughout Suwát is befitting a prince,
But without either chief or ruler, 'tis a mere bullock's pen.
Kings have, in it, found both pleasure and delight,
But the present people are not gifted with such like feelings."

When the poet composed these lines, the Yúsufzís had been in possession of Suwát about a century and a half. *See* page 234.

* Such is stated by my authority, but I doubt that Khán Kajú ever took up his residence at Allah-ḍand. His residence was in the Sama'h, chiefly, at least.

† Colonel C. M. MacGregor in the extracts from my former paper on Suwát, contained in the article on "Swát" in his "Gazetteer," has made, or some one for him, rather an amusing error with reference to this custom. He has, "if the suspected party can produce a *syad*," instead of *s'ad*, the word used by me. I need

pitiousness, etc."), that is to say, as they understand the word, to produce a respectable man who knows the suspected person, and who will undertake to swear that the suspected has not stolen the said property. If the suspected person can produce a *sa'd* who will swear to this effect he is considered innocent, but, if a *sa'd*, so produced, will not take the required oath, he is held guilty, and has to make good the stolen property.* These two customs have been handed down from the time of Shaikh Malí.

Another very curious custom is, and a very good one in such a primitive state of society, that when two Maliks or Kháns chance to fall out, or to have any dispute, the people expel both parties from the place. The two disputants are then termed *sharúní*, or "the driven out, or expelled," from the Pus'hto verb *sharal*, "to drive away," etc.; and, in this state, they are compelled to seek shelter in other villages, and are obliged to live on the charity of those who will take them in, for they lose all civil rights on such occasions, and have no claim to wife, or children, dwelling, cattle, or anything whatever. Some continue in this helpless state until they can come to an accommodation, or effect a reconciliation, which often does not take place for years. In Upper Suwát they are even more severe than this, for there they expel the families also, and confiscate the property of the disputants altogether. One would imagine that such stringent rules as these would tend to keep the peace, if anything would, yet these people seem, notwithstanding, to be always at feud.

Whenever two Maliks or head-men of a village quarrel, the strongest, or the victorious one, if they come to blows, drives the other out of the village. After some time the fugitive manages, by bribery and other means, to gain over to his side some of the friends and supporters of his successful rival, and all the discontented flock to him. After a time the fugitive manages to find his opportunity, when his own party is strong enough and his rival is weak, to enter the village and drive him out. This is enacted over and over again; now one is a fugitive, now another; and this it is that causes such contentions in these parts.

When fighting amongst each other, the Afgháns of this locality never molest or interfere with the women or children, or the guests or strangers within their gates, nor do they injure or interfere with the *fakirs* or helots of each other; and this might serve as an example to nations laying claim to a high state of civilization.

The Afgháns of Suwát are sometimes said to observe the same custom as practised by the Afrídí tribe of Afgháns, namely, that of selling, or rather bartering, their wives, sometimes for money, and sometimes for cattle or other property they may desire to possess or require. But, being aware of the complete system of petticoat government under which the Afgháns of Suwát are content to dwell, I cannot place much faith in their having the courage to do so. The women in this valley enjoy more liberty and rule the men to a far greater degree than is known among other Afgháns, who are so very particular in this respect. I will mention one instance as an example. The Kháns of Tárnah, who are the highest in rank and power in the valley, permit the females of their families, in parties of fifteen or twenty at a time, consisting of young girls, young married, middle-aged, and old women, to come down to Mardán in the Sama'h, some thirty or forty miles distant from home, on pleasure or visiting excursions, without a single male relative accompanying them. They stay at the house of the head-man of the place, and return home after the third or fourth day. Afgháns, as a rule, never allow their females to go out of their sight, and will not allow them to be absent for three or four days at a time without a single male relation to take care of them. It, therefore, appears almost impossible that men, who are so much subject to and so obedient to their wives, would venture to sell them, or even dare to make the attempt.

Like others of their countrymen, the Afgháns of Suwát are very hospitable. When strangers enter a village, and it happens to be the place of residence of a Khán or Chief, he entertains the whole party, but, if there should be no great man resident in

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scarcely mention that a Syad, as the word Sayyid, that is to say, a descendant of Muhammad's, is written in the work above referred to, is not meant here, but *sa'd*.

I once bought two 'Arab horses from a Commodore of the Indian Navy, an Irishman, and among the admonitions he gave me respecting the care of them, he said, quite innocently, "Be sure never to give them a "masál." Another person present, also an Irishman, and a good Oriental scholar, who knew what was intended, but did not wish to spoil a good joke, winked his eye at me, and I replied that I certainly would take great care not to administer *masáls* to them. In Bombay, in the vulgar tongue, a *masál* (a corruption of an 'Arabic word) is "a body servant," equivalent to "a bearer" in Bengal, but what the Commodore meant was a maṣálah, *a stomachic ball* made of spices, etc. No one laughed more heartily on finding out his mistake than the Commodore himself. This is something like mistaking "a *sa'd*" for "a *syad*."

* *See* the custom of compurgation among the Anglo-Saxons.

the village, and no *hujra'h* or guest-house set apart for the entertainment of strangers, but with which few villages are unprovided, each stranger of the party is taken by some villager to his house, and is entertained as his guest.

The following customs are observed as regards hospitality. Whenever a guest, that is to say, a traveller in general, or a stranger, reaches the *hujra'h*, it is necessary that one of the attendants who has charge of it should warn the person in the village whose turn it is to supply such guests as happen to arrive with victuals, for all have to do this in turn. It is the custom throughout Afghánistán to have a *hujra'h* or guest-house, and is not peculiar to "Yoosoofzaie," as some have assured us. Should the guests be numerous, and require more than this person has it in his power to supply, the person in the village whose next turn it is to supply guests is warned to aid in furnishing what is necessary. Should a great man arrive, such as a Khán or Chief, or a Sayyid, or the like, with some twenty or thirty persons in his train, the kettledrum at the *hujra'h* is beaten to give notice that plenty of meat and clarified butter is required for their use. On this, every person who has any meat gives due notice that he can supply some, and this is either taken to the *hujra'h*, to be cooked there, or the person who furnishes it cooks it, and sends it to the *hujra'h* for the use of the guests. They do not eat fresh meat—that is, very recently slaughtered meat—but leave it to hang for some time, and then cook it. Fresh meat, they say, is the food, not of men, but of ravenous beasts.*

With respect to the physical constitution of the Afgháns of Suwát, the men, for Afgháns, are weakly, thin, and apparently feeble, whilst the women, on the other hand, are strong, stout, and buxom. The Afgháns of this part are generally dark in complexion, short in stature, or, rather, of middle size, generally thin, and, if stout, they have usually large puffy stomachs, and buttocks like fat Hindús.

The Gújars (alluded to at page 215 and in other places) are to be found in the Pes'háwar valley, and other hill tracts of Afghánistán, as well as in Suwát. They speak Panjábí among themselves, and are the remains of one of the aboriginal Tájzík races of these parts.

The Afghán females of Suwát are not veiled. When they meet a man advancing along a road, they look down modestly, and pass on, but the younger women generally turn their backs, and come to a standstill until the man has passed by. They are, however, as a rule, very plain, but they still look like Afgháns. The men, however, bear little resemblance to that fine and handsome race, either in form or feature, for, as already noticed, they are dark in complexion and emaciated in appearance, and look, upon the whole, more like the Gújars of the Sama'h to the south. This may, doubtless, be chiefly owing to the climate, for, in summer, the valley, especially Lower Suwát, is not healthy, and obstinate fevers are prevalent.

In the morning they breakfast on a dish called *aogṛa'h* in Pus'hto, which is made by boiling rice to a dry state, and then mixing buttermilk with it until it assumes the consistence of porridge.† It is eaten with a spoon. In the middle of the day they make their dinner off unleavened bread, and greens sprinkled with a little salt, but use no clarified butter. In the evening they again take *aogṛa'h* for supper. Clarified or other butter along with flesh meat they do not eat, unless a guest or stranger should drop in, and then scarcely a mouthful, for "they only kill a fowl for "six persons." This daily fare of *aogṛa'h*, dry bread, and greens, without butter, all the year round, such as is found at the board of the humbler villagers, may account in a great measure for their weakly appearance.

With regard to the cultivation, in Lower Suwát rice is extensively cultivated, whilst in Upper Suwát wheat, barley, and *bájrá* are the chief grains. In the former, all the available land near the river is sown with rice, and that near the hills with *jo'ár* (*holcus sorgum*), cotton, tobacco, *másh* (*phaseolus max.*), *úṛd* (*phaseolus mungo*), and *pález*, consisting of melons and the like. Sugar-cane is also cultivated, besides some descriptions of pulse, including beans and peas. In the more elevated parts of the valley, where rice is not cultivated, the available land lying between the villages and the mountains is set apart for wheat and barley, and is dependent entirely upon rain for irrigation.

The patches of land about the lower ranges of hills, and spurs from the higher ranges, if fit, they also bring under cultivation; and, where they cannot bring bullocks

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* A person who, living in a hot climate, has been accustomed to see meat cooked soon after it has been slaughtered—within a couple of days, at the farthest—cannot fancy meat keeping good for a week or more in a cold climate, and being all the better for it. The Suwát Afgháns, however, appear to understand it.

† This dish is, however, not peculiar to the Suwát Afgháns.

to work the plough in such land, the work is done by hand. In the Kohistán, beyond the Afghán boundary, the plough is not used to turn up the ground with, but a kind of hoe or mattock, or, otherwise, holes are made in the ground, into which the seed is inserted. Wheat and barley are by no means plentiful, but *jo'ár* is.

The Afghán tribes, like all Muhammadans, have a great respect for the last resting places of their own dead at least, but the Suwátí Afgháns seem to feel little compunction or respect on this head. I have already mentioned that the land lying between the villages and the rise of the first range of hills is set apart for the cultivation of wheat and barley, and in that land likewise their burying-grounds are situated. After a few years they allow some of these fields to remain fallow for a time, and plough up all the burying-grounds, and, after that, begin to bury their dead in that fallow land. This may be consequent on the small extent of land available for purposes of agriculture, in comparison with the amount of population, but still this appears a very horrible custom.

"On such occasions as I have referred to," writes my informant, "they get as many ploughs together as the village contains, and preparatory to the commencement of operations, it is customary to cry out to the dead, 'Look to yourselves; tuck up your 'legs; the plough is coming;' after which they set to work and plough up the whole. They appear, however, to have some respect for the graves of persons who may have been held in any repute among them, and do not disturb their last resting places; neither do they disturb the graves of those who may have been slain whilst fighting against the Káfirís or infidels, because they are looked upon in the light of martyrs.

"There appears to me to be no particular reason why the graveyards should be disturbed in this unseemly manner, save on account of the paucity of land* for such a large population, and the avarice of the Suwátí Afgháns, for they have more grain than they can consume at home, since they export large quantities. Another reason may be their stupidity, and a third, that they are of so many different clans, and do not respect the dead of others as they would their own.† When the lands are re-distributed, and a clan removes to another village and other lands, the new comers do not consider the dead as theirs, and hence show no compunction in disturbing them. With my own eyes I saw ploughs which were just passing over a grave. I asked those who were guiding them, 'Why do you disturb the dead in this manner?' I received this reply, 'That they may go to Makkah the blessed.' What *can* be expected after this?"

I have already mentioned the names of nearly all the various descriptions of trees growing in the Suwát valley, but, in a country wherein the graveyards are not allowed to remain undisturbed, it is not likely that there would be much in the shape of thickets or brakes, weeds or brambles, left.

The principal fruits grown in Suwát are grapes, green, and not very sweet; figs, dark in colour and small in size; apples of large size, fine flavour, and good colour; the *tángú*, a fruit in shape like the apple, but in flavour like the pear; the *mamúsa'í*, a species of pear, a winter fruit; the *amlúk* (a species of *Diospyros*), also a winter fruit, but not produced in any quantity; the *ḍanbara'h*, another winter fruit; the *jalghoza'h* or *chalghoza'h*, or pine nut, in immense quantities; the *sanjit* or *makhrúrna'í* (a species of *Eleagnis*), growing generally near burying-grounds, along with the wild olive; peaches in great quantities; mulberries; and pomegranates. Fruit is more abundant in the Kohistán than in Afghán Suwát, but it is of much the same description.

The only wild animals said to be found in Lower Suwát are jackals and foxes, but they are not numerous. Wild animals are more numerous in the upper parts of the Suwát valley. They consist of bears, tigers (as has been asserted, but I should imagine that leopards must be meant), and monkeys, in great numbers, particularly the latter, wild boars, gazelles, a large species of deer, hares, foxes, wolves, and great numbers of jackals. The mountain sheep is also common, as well as the musk-deer, called *rámúsí* by the Afgháns and Kohistánís.

There are no camels to be found in Suwát, but there are horses, mules, asses, oxen, cows, and buffaloes. Oxen, mules, and asses are the beasts of burden. There are also dogs, cats, rats, and mice, as in most countries, and pigeons, and fowls, which latter are bred in great numbers. There are no sheep of the *dumbah* or fat-tail species, only the common description of that animal, but there are goats of a superior kind. The rivers also contain fish, which, however, do not appear to be used for food.

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* Paucity of land for growing wheat and barley, possibly, for I do not think they export these grains in any quantity, but they do some other descriptions.

† If not of their own families, they are the dead of their own clan at least. *See* note ‡, page 209.

The feathered game consists of water-fowl in abundance, partridges, both the grey and black species, *chikor*, and quail. There is no waste land to shelter game in Lower Suwát, but in Upper Suwát, and the Kohistán farther north, the case is different.

The chief reptiles and insects are snakes, scorpions, sand-flies, *broṛa'hs*, *mangurs* or bugs, mosquitos, and fleas in swarms. The *broṛa'h* is a species of wood-louse, something in the shape of a bug, but larger. They generally infest mosques and houses in which there are old mats lying about. After they have bitten a person, the place bitten becomes red and inflamed.*

The principal articles imported into Suwát are salt, which the Khaṭaks bring there for sale from the Salt Range, and a few articles of British manufacture, consisting of cotton goods generally, such as calicoes, twills, and muslins, together with a little coarse blue cotton cloth, the manufacture of Pes'háwar; copper and brass cooking utensils, but only in very small quantities, for the people are so constantly at feud with one another that they have often to abandon house and property at a moment's warning, and therefore, to prevent the loss of such expensive articles, they generally content themselves with earthern vessels.

The exports are considerable. They consist of rice, *roghan*, or clarified butter, and *úrd* (*phaseolus mungo*) in considerable quantities,† into all the districts round about; fruit, honey, wax, scarves woven from the fur or wool called *pashm*, varying in price from one to six rúpís each, the manufacture of Upper Suwát, often the work of Kash-míris who have settled permanently in the country. These articles, however, are not to be compared with those brought from Ḳáshḳár. The *shálaka'í* of Ḳáshḳár is that worn by the Hindús of Ḳandahár as their peculiar distinguishing mark, but, at Pes'háwar, Musalmáns and Hindús wear them without distinction. Bullock and buffalo hides are also exported, but chiefly to Bájawṛ, buffaloes being few in that territory, although numerous in Suwát, but they have not, or used not to have, sufficient to enable them to send any for sale to Pes'háwar. There is no trade in wool, for what is produced is required for home consumption.

Such was the Dara'h of Suwát a short time since, during the lifetime of the late Ákhúnd.

## V. *The Dara'h of Buner.*

"This dara'h extends from east to west about twenty-five kuroh in length, and is about the same in breadth from north to south.‡ The river of this dara'h which

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* Khush-ḥál Khán says, in his poem on Suwát:—

"If there be *panjars*, fleas, and mosquitoes in Suwát,
Who shall give an account of the *broṛa'hs* and bugs?
I got fever twice from the effects of these broṛa'hs:
I was covered with pimples from the rash caused by their bites.
In every house there are as many dogs as human beings,
And in their court-yards fowls in hundreds strut about.
Every place inside is blocked up with jars for grain:
In grossness of living Suwátís are worse than Hindús.
The Bá'ízís subsist in a manner worthy of them;
And the Khwádozís are chandlers and nought besides.
* * * * *
Although other game in Suwát is plentiful enough,
There is still more of *chikor* in every direction.
There are wild-fowl from one end of the river to the other,
And the rascals' matchlocks are always in uproar on them.
There are mountain goats, wild sheep, and tiny-footed deer,
But the matchlock men, alas! drive them all away."

Khush-ḥál Khán did not like the Yúsufzís because they were wanting in patriotism in not joining the confederate tribes against the Mughals, as mentioned in his "Ode to Spring," the translation of which spirited poem is contained in my "Selections from the Poetry of the Afgháns;" and in the poem on Suwát he says:—

"The Yúsufzís in numbers are beyond all compute,
But they are all asses and oxen nevertheless."

† Khush-ḥál Khan says:—

"They consume the grain produced, and they export it also.
It has no road through it, no other trade, no other profit.
In truth, 'tis a granary wholly detached from the world.
At times the cheapness there is so excessive, 'tis said,
That for two farthings twenty guests can be entertained!"

‡ Respecting this dara'h Abú-l-Faẓl says, "Buner is in length sixteen kuroh, and in breadth twelve (he "refers to the standard kuroh of Akbar Bádsháh's reign), but he cannot have included the whole, as now consti- "tuted, in his description. It has Pakla'i (more correctly Pakhal) on the east, and Kaṭor and Káshghar (Ḳáshḳár)

receives smaller streams rising in the mountains on the north and south, flows towards the east, in the direction of Shikolí,* and some distance below Kábul-Grám unites with the Abáe-Sín.

"The inhabitants of these two darah's—Suwád and Buner—are sometimes styled by the appellation of Buner-wáls and Suwátís, after the idiom of the Panj-ábís, in the same way that the people of Kábul are called Kábulís, and of Pes'háwar, Pes'háwarís, without reference to their race or tribe."

## The Mandaṛ Tribe of Afgháns.

"The Mandaṛs are a very large and powerful tribe of the Afghán nation, computed to number about one hundred thousand families in all. They are descended from the same common ancestor as the Yúsufzí tribe."†

Mandaṛ or Mandaṛn, also called Maṛno, son of 'Umar, had four sons, Munauwar, called Maṛno by the Afgháns; Khiẓr, called by them Khidr; Rajaṛ, also called Radzaṛ; and Mámú. These became the progenitors of as many tribes. The second and fourth contain no subdivisions, and are known as Khidarzí and Mámúzí. The subdivisions and sections of Rajaṛ or Radzaṛ are but few, while those of Maṛno or Munauwar are numerous.

"The Mandaṛs are not now subject to the authority of a single chief, as in former times, nor are they taxed by the Afghán sovereign, Tímúr Sháh. In time of war a few of the Muḥammadan 'Ulamá or clergy are despatched, by the Bádsháh's command, to rouse their patriotism, and by this means a small force can always be raised among them as a contingent to the Bádsháh's forces.

"The tract of country held by the Mandaṛs is known as the Sama'h, which word, in the Afghán language, signifies 'a plain,' 'an open, and more or less level, tract of country,'‡ as distinct from a mountain tract, which is styled 'Ghara'h.' The Sama'h comprises the whole territory lying between the district of 'Ash-Naghar and the Abáe-Sín, from west to east, and the mountains bounding Suwád and Buner and the river of Kábul, here called the Laṇḍaey Sín, from north to south. It is in consequence about fifty kuroh in length and nearly thirty in breadth.§

"It contains several dara'hs, and is in many places very rugged, with numerous ascents and descents. In ancient times it was peopled by a race known in these parts by the name of Gújars, who are now merely the servants and vassals of the Mandaṛs; and, in this whole tract of country previously held by them, there is not a single Gújar who owns a bíga'h of land."

Jalál-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, Akbar Bádsháh, caused several fortresses to be constructed in that part of the Sama'h nearest the Abáe-Sín, in order to overawe the Yúsufzí and Mandaṛ Afgháns, namely, Langar-Koṭ, Ghálaey or Ághalaey-Ḍer, Koṭ Kapúra'h or Gaṛhí Kapúra'h, Úhanḍh, and some others of minor importance, and stationed a large force in those strongholds. The four forts just mentioned are all

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"on the north, Aṭak Banáras on the south, and Suwád on the west. There are two roads into it from Hindústán, "the Sher-khánah defile and the Malaundarí Kotal. Although both are difficult to cross, the first is the most "so." *See* page 257 for an account of the disaster Akbar Bádsháh's forces sustained in the latter pass.

* *See* page 249. This is quite contrary to our maps.

† They are not "a great division of the Yúsafzai *clan*:" they form a distinct tribe.

‡ No one in the least degree acquainted with the Push'to or Afghán language would write this word "*Sámá*," which, certainly, is neither the Pus'hto for plain, nor anything else in the language. The word is ساما—Sama'h—*without any long vowel in it.* Although Sama'h means "plain," as well as "an open tract of "country," this tract is, by no means, "*a perfect flat*," as some would lead us to believe, and as actual survey has proved.

§ Because this tract of county is almost exclusively peopled by the Mandaṛs and some other non-Yúsufzí tribes, English writers style it "Yoosoofzai," Yúsafzai, and Yúsúfzai, but it might, more appropriately, have been styled "Mandaristan" to agree with such newly coined words as "Vaziristan," "Kakaristan," or even "Yághistán," as one would be equally as intelligible to the people as the others.

"Yághistán" appears to be a very extensive tract, according to Colonel C. M. MacGregor. It seems that any tract of county independent of the British Government is "*Yágistán, the country of the insubordinate, and "so* (*i. e.*, the name) *is peculiarly applicable to the tribes on our border, for all of them, from the Úshtaránas* "(Ushtaránís, possibly ?) *on the south to the Chagharzais* (Chagharzís ?) *on the north.*"

"Country of the insubordinate" is scarcely a happy term, to say the least of it, to apply to all parts not subject to British rule, and whose people, never having been British subjects, have never been in the position to rebel. If all independent people, and such as love their independence quite as dearly as Englishmen love theirs, are "*yághí*," there are a vast number of insubordinate rebels in Asia and other parts of the world. The mere fact of a people "*never having obeyed any one*" does not constitute them rebels.

I may also mention that when natives of these parts refer to a tract of country, or a race or tribe of people, as *bághí*—an 'Arabic word which Hindústánís have *corrupted* into *yághí*—they mean that it is not under the sway of any sovereign prince, but independent, not that the people are insubordinate or rebellious.

within short distances of each other (*see* pages 247 and 256); and, at the present time,* Ághalaey-Ḍer or Ghálaey-Ḍer is in ruins and desolate, but the other three are in the possession of the Mandaṛs.

The three principal darah's of this tract are Langar-Koṭ, Chamla'h, and Manera'í.

### I. *The Dara'h of Langar-Koṭ.*

"This dara'h extends from Torú to Mír Sháhí, a distance of about thirty kuroh from west to east, and is about eight kuroh in breadth. The chief place and seat of authority is Langar-Koṭ, which is a strong fortification; and within it is a lofty *manár*, or tower, which can be seen from a great distance, and two old pieces of cannon of large size.†

"East of the fort is a small river of never failing water, which issues from the mountain range to the north, from the minor Dara'hs of Mír-Sháhí and the Sher Dara'h, flows through the small Darah of Súdam or Sudam, and, having flowed south of the fort for a distance of about three kuroh, enters—or rather helps to form—the *kol-áb*, or lake, known as the Jo-eyṛ‡ of Langar-Koṭ, a well known collection of water, some six or seven kuroh in circumference. The Rajaṛ or Radzaṛ clan of the Mandaṛs cultivate rice and sugar-cane round its shores."§

### II. *The Dara'h of Chamla'h.*

"This dara'h is about seventeen kuroh in length, from south-west to north-east, and from three to four kuroh in breadth. Its chief place is Koga'h. The stream rising in the hills at its south-east extremity, and its minor tributaries, flow to the north-east, into the tracts occupied by some of the 'Ísazí Yúsufzí tribe (of Buner), unite with the Daulatzí river and its tributaries, and the united streams, under the name of Baranḍú, fall into the Abáe-Sín.

### III. *The Dara'h of Manera'í.*

"Manera'í is also a dara'h of considerable size, extending for over twenty kuroh in length from south-west to north-east, and from three to five kuroh in breadth. The streams draining into it flow towards the south, and reach the Abáe-Sín below Úhanḍh. Najíb Khán, mentioned farther on,‖ and other Mandaṛs, who became famous in Hindústán, were natives of this dara'h. The largest village in it is also called Manera'í."¶

### The Gagyání Tribe of Afgháns.

The Gagyání tribe** is descended from Muk, the third son of Khas'haey, and, as the immediate descendants of his two sons, Hotak and Dzírak, were not numerous, nor their direct progenitors at all famous, they were called Mukah Khel, after their grandfather. Muk had a daughter, however, named Gága'í or Gaga'í, whom he gave in marriage to a trusty servitor, his shepherd some say, Dzírak by name (but here one of his master's sons has evidently been mistaken for him), and by him she became the mother of three sons, but some say two. As the father was of inferior degree, her descendants are known, after their mother, by the name of Gagyání. In consequence of this inferior position of their father and progenitor, the other Khas'hís looked down upon them somewhat, but, as to their descent from Khas'hí, there is no more doubt than of the descent of Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs, or any other tribe.

According to another tradition, Mukaey, son of Khas'haey,†† sallied out with his brothers to plunder a caravan which had halted for the night near their place of dwelling, but, fearing an attack, the caravan had decamped, leaving behind, in the

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* That is, when the author wrote.

† *See* pages 247 and 248.

‡ This word is also written Júhaṛ. *See* pages 120 and 175.

§ *See* pages 247, 249, and 257.

‖ *See* note §, page 254.

¶ Now known as Manera'í-i-Pá'ín, or Lower Manera'í. It contains over 2,000 inhabitants.

** But not "Gagiáni."

†† Khas'haey or Khak'haey, the name of the progenitor, also signifies, in Pus'hto, a male of the sept. A female would be styled a Khas'ha'í or Khak'ha'í, while two or more persons would be styled collectively, Khas'hí or Khak'hí, as well as the whole race. The same rule applies to the names of all Afghán tribes terminating in ئ—aey—in the singular, and also with regard to "zaey," as before mentioned.

hurry, a male infant. This the brothers found; and, as Múkaey's wife, up to this time, had borne him no children, he adopted the boy. After this his wife bore him two sons, whose descendants are known as the Mukah Khel. When his adopted son grew up, he married Gága'í or Gaga'í, daughter of Túr, the Tarín, and by her had two sons, Hotak and Dzírak, whose descendants were called after the mother's name, the father's descent being uncertain. The first-named son had five, sons and the latter two, and from them the different clans or sections of the Gagyánís are descended.*

"At the time these surveys were made, the Gagyání tribe amounted to about eight thousand families, and they had to furnish a contingent to the Dúrrání army. Their territory is the Do-Ábah of Shab Ḳadr, which, although small in extent, is exceedingly fruitful, and yields a large revenue. They have cut canals both from the river of Kábul and the Jinda'h river, and brought the waters to their lands."

## The Muḥammadzí Tribe of Afgháns.

"This is a large Afghán tribe said to number about twenty thousand families. They are descended from Muḥammad, son of Zamand, son of Kharshabún, son of Sarabarn. Kand, brother of Zamand, was the father of Khas'haey and Ghwaraey, the progenitors of the Khas'hís and their rival sept, the Ghwarís or Ghwaríah Khel. The Muḥammadzís quarrelled with their brethren, and joined the Khas'hís while they were dwelling within the boundaries of the province of Kábul. Their subsequent movements will be mentioned presently in the account of the Khalíls and Dá'údzís.

The Chiefs or Sardárs of this tribe, surrounded with much state and dignity, were leaders of the troops, and favourites of Aḥmad Sháh, Durrání. They used to enjoy the revenue of their own districts in fief, and likewise used to receive large salaries from the Bádsháh. At this present time (when the author wrote), Ghulám Maḥay-ud-Dín Khán, son of Faiz-Ṭalab Khán, son of Ṣamad Khán, in the same manner in which his father and grandfather did before him, exercises authority over his own district, and is one of the great nobles of the Court of Tímúr Sháh, Sadozí, Durrání. The Muḥammadzí tribe dwell in villages, on the east bank of the Jinda'h river. They have to furnish a contingent of troops to the Bádsháh's army. It is said that the original name of the district in which they dwell was 'Ash-Naghar, but that, subsequently, through containing the eight towns of Noh-S'hahra'h, Utmánzí, Chhár-Ṣada'h, Ḥiṣár, Pṛáng, 'Umarzí,† Sher-pá or Sher-páo, and Tangaey, and from constant use, the name became changed to Hasht-Nagar—the Eight Towns‡—and by this name it is now generally known.

"It is a fruitful and productive district, and from Noh-S'hahra'h to Tangaey is more than thirty kuroh in length, and from the banks of the Jinda'h river, from west to east, about six or seven kuroh in breadth. The Muḥammadzís have cut canals from the river, and conveyed its waters into their lands for irrigation purposes. On *lalmí* lands a tenth is assessed, and on *rúdí* as much as one third, the highest assessment yet noticed in these parts; and the district, altogether, yields three *lakhs* of rúpís. The chief towns are Pṛáng and Ḥiṣár."§

## The Jzadún Tribe of Afgháns.

The descent of the Jzadún Afgháns, called Gadúns by the tribes about Pes'háwar, who change the original letter *jz* into *g*, is well known to those acquainted with the genealogy of the Pus'htánah or Afghán nation, and who do not seek to produce them out of Hindús. They are not "Yúsafzáes like those around them," truly, and certainly they are not "a branch of the Kákar tribe."

They are descended from Jzadún, son of Parnaey, and brother of Kákaṛ, the two latter being sons of Dánaey, son of Ghúrghusht, son of Ḳais-i-'Abd-ur-Rashíd, entitled

* I notice in some of the statistics of the Do-Ábah district, furnished in the "Settlement Returns," that, in classing the tribes inhabiting it, there are "Pathans," "Moghals," "Dalazaks," "Mohmands," "Gagianis," etc. This is a strange inconsistency, for it would lead the unwary to imagine that what are here termed "Mohmands," "Gagianis," and "Dalazaks," are not "Pathans," while others assure us that they are, and, moreover, that they are not Afgháns. Perhaps they are "Aparytæ" or "Sattagydæ," according to the newest theory; what they may be six months hence who shall say? "Saggids," perhaps.

† Utmánzí, Chhár-Ṣada'h, Pṛáng, and 'Umarzí, are the names of as many subdivisions of the Muḥammadzí tribe.

‡ One word Tájzík and the other Sanskrit.

§ Chhár-Ṣada'h, at the present time, is, next to Pṛáng, the most populous, the former containing over 6,500, and the latter nearly 8,250 inhabitants. The name of Ḥiṣár appears now to be almost unknown. Pṛáng and Chhár-Ṣada'h lie close together, and might be accounted one town.

"the Paṭán." As has been already stated (at page 9) the descendants of Parnaey, who were very numerous, are said to have been ousted from their lands about Sánga'h Mandáhí, in Síwístán, became dispersed, and moved northwards at a comparatively early date. It is also clear that they became greatly scattered, and that but few continued to dwell in their early seats, a vast number having migrated into India, where many are still to be found, even in the southern parts of the peninsula. But we need not go quite so far south to find a number of them. Besides the Jzadún Parnís west of the Indus, there are no less than six or seven thousand Parní families at this present time still located in what we call the "Hazárah District," peopling some eighteen or twenty villages. Their chief town was Najíb-Ullah Garh, but great changes have taken place in these parts, now included in the Hazárah District, since the annexation of the Panj-áb, in 1849. The Sáfí Afgháns are descended from another of Parnaey's sons, who bore the former name, and Sáfaey was therefore a brother of the progenitors of the Jzadúns.

The latter appear to have been located near the southern slopes of the Spín Ghar range, west of Irí-áb, about the time the Khas'hís, after having been obliged to vacate their old seats through the hostility of the Ghwarís, moved northwards towards Kábul; and, while the Khas'hís were dwelling within the limits of the Kábul province, on the northern side of the range of Spín Ghar, the Muḥammadzís joined the Yúsufzí and Mandaṛ tribes of that sept, and continued with them as an associated and allied tribe during their subsequent vicissitudes.

When Malik Aḥmad and other chiefs of the Khas'hí tribes made a distribution of the conquered territories, after the defeat of the Dilazáks near Káṭlang (*see* page 224), and they had been driven out of the Sama'h, as will be presently mentioned, they assigned to the Jzadúns their present lands, in the eastern part of the Sama'h, near the Abáe-Sín, and there they still dwell. During the course of some four centuries since the period in question, considerable changes have taken place in these parts, but not so many as might have been expected with reference to the Afghán tribes of this locality, but the Jzadúns have, since that period, pushed across the Abáe-Sín, and hold lands on the east, in the Kohistán of Dharam-ṭaur, and are said to number near upon ten thousand families. They will be subsequently referred to in the account of that district or territory.

The Jzadúns are divided into three sub-tribes, which again contain minor sections which need not be enumerated here.*

## The Utmán Khel Tribe of Afgháns.

"The Utmán Khel Afgháns, who are said to number from seventeen to eighteen thousand families, are Karlárnís,† that is to say, they are descended from Karlárnaey, "son of Honaey, son of Sharkabún, son of Saṛabarn. Some consider Honaey to be of "Sayyid descent, and son of the famous Muḥammadan saint, the Sayyid, Muḥammad "-i-Gesú-Daráz, or 'of the long locks,' whose tomb and shrine is at Gulbargah in the "Dakhan, and that the mother of Honaey was Karlárnaey's sister."‡ Be this as it may, the descendants of Karlárnaey are acknowledged to be Afgháns by all who pretend to know ought respecting the genealogy of the nation, and by the Afgháns themselves, who are acquainted with the subject. Several Sayyids took up their abode among the Afgháns in early times, became their spiritual guides, and were adopted by Afghán men of note among their people. They took Afghán wives,§ and their descendants are likewise accounted Afgháns.

"Karlárnaey was adopted by his maternal uncle, who was childless, 'Amr-Dín, *alias* Aor-maṛ or Wur-maṛ, as he is also called, son of Sharkabún, son of Saṛabarn.

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* Colonel C. M. MacGregor, C.S.I., in his "Gazetteer," Vol. I., page 603, says that "the Jadúns, who "occupy the Orash plain" (a part of the present Hazárah district he refers to) "*are not Afgháns*," but in this I must beg to differ entirely from him. In another place, at page 16 of Vol. II., he says, "They are Patháns, "but are not Yúsafzais, like those around them" (in which I quite agree). "By some they are supposed to "be a branch of the Kákar tribe. . . . . They are settled along the banks of the Dorh, in the Hazára "district as far as the Urash (*sic*) plain."

† The origin of the Utmán Khel tribe is very well known to those acquainted with Afghán genealogies, whether they dwell in Aṛhang Baṛhang or in the district of the Lúndaey Khwaṛ; and they also know that they are neither a branch of the Afrídís, nor a branch of the Khaṭaks. *See* next page.

‡ Muḥammad-i-Gesú-Daráz married two other Afghán wives, one a Kákaṛ, from whom sprang the Mashwárnís; the other a Shírání, from whom the Úshtaránís are descended. The Sayyid was a native of Úsh, near Baghdád.

§ I shall give an account of them in my history.

Karlárnaey married Aor-mar's daughter, and had two sons, Kodaey and Kakaey. The former had seven sons, Dilazák and Utmán (originally 'Usmán) by one mother, and Wurak, Mánaey, Lukmán, *alias* Khatak, Mangalaey, and Khogaey. All these seven sons were the progenitors of as many tribes, namely, Dilazák, Utmán-Khel, Wurakzí, Khatak, Mangalí, from whom are descended the sub-tribes of Mughbal,* Jzandrán or Jzadrárn,† and Bahádurzí (mentioned previously at page 83), Khogíání, and Afrídí, from Farid, son of Mánaey, whose son's name has eclipsed his father's.‡

When the Khas'hís, in their wanderings, were on their way towards the province of Kábul, and near its boundaries, they were joined by the Utmán-Khel, who were also on the move northwards from the banks of the Gúmal river. They attached themselves to the Yúsufzí and Mandar tribes, and continued with them ever after to this day.

After the overthrow of the Dilazáks, at which time they lost all their possessions north of the river of Kábul or Landaey Sín, the conquered territories were distributed among their people, and the allied tribes, by the Chief of the Mandars and Yúsufzís, the celebrated Malik Ahmad,§ himself of the Mandar tribe, and other Chiefs, under the superintendence of Shaikh Malí, who was the Khán Mullá, or Chief Priest of the Khas'hí sept, and minister, so to say, of Malik Ahmad; and the tracts previously acquired were also re-distributed. At this time, the whole territory extending from Náwa'h-ga'í to the Abáe-Sín, and great part of Suwád on the north, to the banks of the river of Kábul on the south, was in their possession. In this re-distribution, the Utmán-Khel, a tribe which had been previously located in the Lúndaey Khwar valley, and where a few still remain even to this day, obtained the lands about Tútí and Arhang Barhang, and the difficult mountain tracts lying on either side of the river of Suwád below its junction with the river of Panj-Korah and its tributaries, and before it leaves the hills and enters the Do-Ábah.‖ There they still dwell, but since that period they have acquired additional territory farther west, about the Dara'h of Mihr,¶ which, on this re-distribution, was assigned to the Gagyánís, in addition to the Do-Ábah and 'Anbar, or Anbhár as it is also called, with the dependent villages. Prang-gar, at the foot of the hills, about five kuroh to the north-east of the village of Abází, is their chief village. They consist of five sub-tribes, which are again divided into several clans or sections.

The section of the tribe which remained in the upper part of the Lúndaey Khwar** Dára'h or valley, is divided into three clans, which are again subdivided into smaller sections or khels. Their villages are Kúha'í, Ghází Bálá, Sangáwo, Barmawul, and others. The Utmán Khel tribe is wholly independent, and pays allegiance to no one.

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* These are the "Mongols" of the newspapers and telegrams, and the "Makbals" and "Mangals" of some recent writers. *See* page 78.

† It is perfectly well known what language they speak. Being Afgháns they speak Pus'hto, or at least they did when I last conversed with some of them.

‡ Khush-hál Khán says that the Dilazáks and Wurakzís are descended from two sons of Kodaey, and that the others are descended from Kakaey, the other son of Karlárnaey. It is, however, distinctly said by others that Dilazák and Utmán were *the sons of one mother*. He also styles the Utmán Khel, Karlárnís, and, being a Karlárnaey himself, was not ignorant on the point.

§ He was the brother's son of Malik Sulimán Sháh, who was a lineal descendant of Radzar, son of Mandar, and not nephew of "*one Sultan Shah*." The descendants of Malik Ahmad are known as the Malik-zís.

‖ Afzal Khán, Khatak, says, "It is stated that, in Pír-i-Ros'hán's day, the Utmán Khel tribe was in Tí-"ráh, and that, on enmity arising between them and the Afrídís, they left Tí-ráh and went and took up their "quarters in Arhang Barhang of Bájawr." This may refer to a small portion of them, but the bulk of the tribe was, without doubt, along with the Yúsufzís and Mandars, as previously shown; and they greatly distinguished themselves in the battle between the Khas'hís and the Dilazáks, near the Guzar Rúd, mentioned at page 224.

¶ *See* page 124.

** This district is properly called the Lúnd Khwar or Lúndaey Khwar. *See* note †, page 244, para. 11.

In Colonel C. M. MacGregor's "Gazetteer," Vol. II., page 285, I notice that the writers he quotes apply, apparently, the names of "Lún-khor" to the water-course, but the valley itself and its chief village, which derive their name from the water-course, he calls "Lunkhor," while at page 305 of Vol. III., he says it is called "Lúnkwar." Khwar has a meaning in Pus'hto, but neither "*khor*" nor "*kwar*."

The Lúnd Khwar district is now included in our territory; hence that portion of the tribe has become subject to the British Government. Sangáwo was the first village attacked by Colonel J. Bradshaw's force in December, 1849. The composition of this force is not quite correctly given by Colonel MacGregor. It was composed of one troop, not two, of Bengal Horse Artillery, Quin's regiment of Bengal Irregular Cavalry, 200 of Her Majesty's 60th Rifles, 300 of Her Majesty's 61st Foot, the 3rd Regiment Bombay Native Infantry (my old corps), some Bombay Sappers, and Coke's regiment of Panj-áb Irregulars, newly raised. Some of the Guide Corps, about 200, were also present.

## The Dilazák Tribe of Afgháns.

The Dilazáks,* as to whose descent there is no more doubt than respecting any other Afghán tribe, are Karlárnís, the progenitor of their tribe being one of the sons of Karlárnaey, the names of whom I have just previously mentioned. They are divided into two great divisions. descended from Dilazák's two sons, Ya'kúb and Loraey. The descendants of the former are again subdivided into eight clans or sections, and the latter into four, and these again contain smaller subdivisions, which need not be enumerated here.

There are but a few hundreds now in the Pes'háwar district, dwelling among the Dá'údzís, and these are often erroneously supposed to form a portion of that tribe,† and there are a number of dwellings inhabited by them in the village of Khar-kaey, a little to the west of Dar-gaey, on the road into Suwát by the Mala'h-khand Ghás'haey or Pass. I have already referred to their having taken up their residence in the two Hazára'hs east of the Abáe-Sín or Indus, and subsequent dispersion, at page 39.

The affairs of the Dilazáks, and the other tribes at present inhabiting the Pes'háwar district, are so intermixed with those of the Khas'hís that it is difficult to separate them. Therefore, to make the matter clearer, I will first give a brief account of the three Ghwaríah Khel tribes, namely, the Khalíls, Mahmands, and Dá'údzís, and then a short summary of the principal events in the history of the whole of them.

## The Khalíl Tribe.

This tribe, with the Mahmand, Dá'údzí, Chamkaní, and Zerání tribes, forms the Ghwarí sept, or Ghwaríah Khel,‡, not Gharí, as some persons imagine, and are located between the city of Pes'háwar and the Khaibar defile. They have the Dá'údzís on the north, and a portion of the Mahmand tribe on the south.

"The Khalíls number just ten thousand families, and are divided into two divisions, the descendants of Khalíl's two sons, Bárá, or Báro as he is sometimes called, and Shaikh 'Umr, each of which divisions contain three clans or subdivisions which are again subdivided into smaller ramifications."

## The Pes'háwar Section of the Mahmand§ Tribe.

"Although a section only of the tribe, they are numerous, and number about eleven thousand families, and are divided into several smaller sections. Their lands lie south of the Khalíls, and extend as far west as the Bára'h river, and south as far as the lands of the Basí Khel section of Aká Khel clan of the Afrídí Afgháns.

"It is not clearly known when they separated from the others, and no one pretends to know, but it was long subsequent to the period, the events of which I am about to relate."¶

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* The name of this tribe is written and pronounced by themselves and other Afgháns "Dilazák," not "Dalazák." There are no tribes in Afghánistán called "Karání." This word is merely that which a person who could not pronounce a Pus'hto word properly would pronounce Karlární.

† In a Report on the Statistics of "Dáudzái" by Captain Hastings, Settlement Officer, under the head of "Sections" of the Dá'údzí tribe, are three Dilazák villages, named respectively Dilazák, Sáhibí, and Garí Múmin, not Mohmin. That they should be accounted "Dáudzáis" is not surprising when we find in the same "Report," inhabitants returned as "Patháns" as though Dá'udzís were not Patáns or Afgháns.

Jahán-gír Bádsháh—who calls the Dilazáks, Afgháns, like his great-grandfather, Bábar Bádsháh, and his father's minister, Abú-l-Fazl, before him, as well as other undoubted authorities—caused the Dilazáks to be removed from the two Hazárahs, together with the Kahtars, a non-Afghán tribe. He set out for the Panj-áb in 1015 H., and in the first month of the following year, Muharram, 1016 H., (1607–8, A.D.), when about to proceed to Kábul, he made Zafar Khán, son of the late Zain Khán, the Kokal-Tásh, governor of Atak and its district, and gave him directions to have the Dilazáks and Kahtars, on account of their depredations, removed near to Láhor, and to have their removal effected before his return from Kábul. This command was carried out; and some 100,000 families are said to have been removed on this occasion.

Mr. J. Dowson, the editor of Elliot's "Historians of India," assures us, in a note to page 312 of Vol. VI., "that there are now no Dilazáks here. There are some Hazára, who call themselves Turks." He will find however, there are many, and that they hold no less than twenty-one *mauza'* in this part alone, and that their chief place, Sálih Saráe, is a considerable town, and he will also find that they do not "call themselves Turks." The Turks also hold the same number of villages with the lands dependent on them.

‡ *See* pages 23, 25, and 225.

§ There is no ع in the word: consequently, "Mohmand" is not correct, but there is a س in the word, and therefore "Momand" is not correct either.

¶ I think I can throw some light on this. The mother of three of the nine progenitors of the nine divisions of the Mahmand tribe, the sons of Mahmand, son of Ibrahim, *alias* Ghwaraey, is said to have been the daughter of the celebrated Shaikh, Mulhí Katál, of the Sarwární tribe of Afgháns, few of which dwell in Afghánistán, great numbers of the tribe having migrated to Hindústán in former times. These three sons were named

"A blood feud was the probable cause; and it is in consequence of such a feud that enmity exists between the Bái-'zí and Tragzí sections previously mentioned in the general notice of the tribe at page 121."

## The Dá'údzí Tribe.

"This tribe is not very numerous, consisting of about nine thousand families. The Dá'údzís are subdivided into four sub-tribes descended from as many sons of Dá'úd, namely, Mámú, Yúsuf, Amnaey, and Mandakaey. These again are subdivided into smaller sections, but the descendants of Yúsuf, not being very numerous or powerful, are not styled by a separate name, and are merely known as Dá'údzís; indeed some persons, not aware of the circumstances, consider the tribe to consist of three sub-tribes only.

"They dwell chiefly in the tract lying between the two branches of the river of Kábul. On that river emerging from the mountains of Khaibar, and entering the plain of Bagrám or Pes'háwar, it bends a little to the northward, and separates into two branches. The northern branch, which contains the smallest volume of water, bends for a short distance in a northerly direction, and then flows west for some miles, and, subsequently, tends more towards the south, in the direction of Práng, and joins the Jinda'h, as the united rivers of Báshkár, Panj-Korah, Bájawr, and Suwád are called on entering the Do-Ábah. The southern or main branch of the river of Kábul, which contains the greatest volume of water, flows, without making so great a bend, in the direction of east, inclining south; and north of the village of Shaikh Ismá'íl, at the Do-bandey ferry opposite Nasata'h, unites with the Jinda'h, and the two receive the name of Landaey Sín—Little or Lesser Sind—which name it retains until it unites with the Abáe-Sín above Atak.

"The level tract lying between these two branches of the river of Kábul extends in length from east to west for a distance of about twelve kuroh, with a breadth of between four and five. This is very fruitful and productive, and is the dwelling place of the Dá'údzís, along with whom a few Dilazáks still dwell."

When the Dá'údzís first emerged from the western mountains, before the arrival in those parts of the Khalíls, they dwelt in the Sama'h, on lands assigned them by Khán Kájú, to whom they applied, as will be presently related.

It has been already stated at page 125 that the enmity of the Ghwaríah Khel caused the Khas'hís to abandon their old seats about Ghára'h and Nushkí,* but, subsequently, in consequence of the inroads of the Úzbaks, and the breaking up of the Tímúríah dynasty of Khurásán, the Ghwaríah Khel had to move likewise from around Mukur and Karáh-Bágh, and proceed northwards in search of "scenes and pastures new."

To clearly understand their subsequent movements it must be mentioned that, at the time the Yúsufzís and Mandars were expelled from the province of Kábul, after the massacre of their Chief and notables, the Dilazák Afgháns were exceedingly numerous and powerful. They were the first Afghán tribe that entered the district of Bagrám, or the Pes'háwar valley. The Ákhúnd, Darwezah, states distinctly that they first came into Nangrahár, or Nek-Anhár, from the west or south-west, and subsequently passed on to the eastward. This was previous to the time of Amír Tímúr, the Gurgán. Having entered the Pes'háwar valley, they entered into alliance with the Shalmánís, who had also been obliged to leave their former seats in Karmán and Shalúzán at some previous period,† and who were then subjects of the Sultán of Suwád, after which they reduced some of the tribes inhabiting it under subjection, treated them well, and made them their allies; others they reduced to vassalage; some they drove

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Mihyár, Músá, and Kúkú; and two sections of the Mahmands of the plain, the Mihyárzís and Músázís, are, evidently, the descendants of the two first, and the rest of these Mahmands of the sons or grandsons of Kúkú. *See* page 121.

At the period when Khán Kajú overthrew the Ghwaríah Khel, some of the Pes'háwar Mahmands, if not all, were of the Adozí section of the tribe.

* The Ákhúnd, Darwezah, gives a somewhat different account, and says that a feud arose between the Khas'hís and the Tarín tribe, and that the Khas'hís, in consequence, left their old seats near the Tarins on the Arghasán river, and applied to the Gharís or Ghwaríah Khel for lands. They assigned them some waste lands which they did not cultivate themselves, but subsequently deprived the Khas'hís of them by force of arms, and ejected them from thence. The Khas'hí historian's account is as above, and, in the Ákhúnd's "Tazkirát-ul-Abrár," there is not a word about such a place as "Kárún Tangí" or "Karonaiki," nor is there in the "Táríkh-i-Murassa'" of Muhammad Afzal Khán, both of which are mere misreadings of Ghára'h and Nushkí. In my proposed "History of the Afgháns" I shall be able to enter into greater detail on these matters.

† The Shalmánís have a few small villages in the hills around the Koh-i-Tahtarah, and their occupation chiefly is to navigate rafts between Jalál-ábád and the Pes'háwar valley. *See* note §, page 176.

out; and some they exterminated. Some of the tribes immediately east of the Indus, inhabiting the upper and mountainous parts of the Sind-Ságar Do-Ábah, are undoubtedly referred to here; and there was really no other direction in which they could then fly and be safe from molestation. Moreover, the state of that Do-Ábah was favourable to their taking refuge therein, as well as its natural strength. The constant raids made upon the frontiers of the Dihlí kingdom, which, previous to the irruption of the Mughals under the Chingiz Khán, and the defeat of the gallant Sulṭán, Jalál-ud-Dín, Khwárazm Sháh, had extended as far west as the Jihlam in that direction, while the Khwárazmí Sulṭán's territory extended to its east bank, had produced their natural results. The Sind-Ságar Do-Ábah, especially its upper parts, had been the scene of constant warfare, as well as the Do-Ábahs between it and Láhor, and ruin, depopulation, and desolation were the upshot. At last, the frontier of the Dihlí kingdom, towards the close of the reign of Náṣir-ud-Dín, Maḥmúd Sháh, namely, in the year 657 H. (1259 A.D.), extended no farther west than the Bíáh when it flowed into its old bed, and before the "Lost River of the Indian Desert"* deserted its ancient channel. The upper part of the Sind-Ságar Do-Ábah continued for a considerable period in the possession of the Mughals of the family of the Chingiz Khán, and subsequently came under the sway of the Mughal Princes of the house of Tímúr. It was partially brought under the sway of the rulers of Hindústán in the time of the Afghán Sulṭáns of the tribe of Lúdí, and their successors of the clan of Súr; but it was not until Akbar Bádsháh had filled the throne of Hindústán for some years that the Sind-Ságar Do-Ábah was completely restored to his empire.

The state of this part was, therefore, favourable for those tribes settling therein, for, as I have said before, they could not go anywhere else, unless they bent their steps north, for tribe after tribe of the Afgháns were pressing forward, from the west and south-west, towards the Indus.

But there is another proof—were any wanting—that the Dilazáks came into Pes'háwar from the westward, and that they possessed territory much farther west than the Khaibar and Nek-Anhár, for in Bábar's "Tuzúk" it is mentioned that the Dilazáks were possessed of Wálá-Sá'ú, or Álah-Sá'í;† and in the assessment recorded in Akbar's reign, they still held territory in that Dara'h, which is now in the possession of the Sáfí Afgháns, paid 6,00,000 *dáms* in cash into the treasury of Kábul, and were rated as having to furnish 50 cavalry and 5,000 foot soldiers for militia purposes.

When the fugitive Khas'hís appealed to the Dilazáks for aid, they also held the eastern parts of Bájawṛ, as I have already related at page 123; and their territory extended from the Jinda'h river to the Kálá-Parní and the mountains of Suwát. With the exception of the 'Ash-Naghar district, which belonged to their allies, the Shalmánís, it included all the tract of country from Bájawṛ to the Indus, north of the river of Kábul, and all south of it as far as the hills now held by the Afrídí tribe, from Ḍhákah to Aṭak.

The Do-Ábah was assigned to the fugitives, but a portion of their tribes and allies had remained behind when they first obtained it. They soon began to follow the others on becoming aware that they had got a place to dwell in. Not finding the Do-Ábah sufficient for all, the Khas'hís began to appropriate part of Bájawṛ, with the consent of the majority of the Dilazák chiefs, as previously related.‡ Soon after, they possessed themselves of the greater part of it, as far west as Náwa'h-ga'í and Hindú-Ráj, and began to cast longing eyes upon 'Ash-Naghar. They soon expelled the Shalmánís from thence, and shortly after began to make inroads into Suwát.

The Muḥammadzí tribe, which had joined the Yúsufzís, but were neither Khas'hís nor Gharís, were like other tribes at that time, without a settled country. While the Khas'hís dwelt in the Kábul territory they dwelt on the same lands as the Gagyánís.

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* *See* my translation of the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 815. An account of the "Lost River" I hope shortly to see in print.

† *See* page 104.

‡ The Ákhúnd, Darwezah, in his history, says that "the fugitive Yúsufzís and Mandars invited the Dilazák "chiefs to meet them at Safed Sang (a place east of Tahtarah, and within the borders of the Pas'háur "district), and hold a conference. When they came, the former solicited lands from the Dilazáks out of their "territory, but, in the meantime, on very slight provocation, a fight ensued between them, and a number of "Yúsufzís and Mandars fell. On this, they turned back again, and took up their quarters in the hills about "Tahtara'h and Shalmán (*i. e.*, the small tract of table land between Tahtarah and Ḍhákah), but, subsequently, "they made up matters with the Dilazáks, and gained a footing within the Pas'háur boundary; and the "Dilazáks treated them with great generosity and consideration. Some of the greybeards of the Yúsufzís, "however, state, that the fugitives came into the Pas'háur district by the Khaibar route, and were desirous of "obtaining possession of the lands dependent on the Bar-bar Jú-e or rivulet, but this the Shalmánís, who were "on terms of friendship and alliance with the Dilazáks, who *were the first of all the Afghán tribes* that arrived "in those parts (that is to say, east of the Khaibar defile) resisted."

After the expulsion from Kábul, previous to which a battle had been fought between the Gagyánís, who brought the Mughals along with them upon the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs, and the Gagyánís and their allies had been overthrown at the Ghwaṛa'h Margha'h,* the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs moved towards Nek-Anhár, or Nangrahár. After a time a quarrel arose between the Mahmands,† who were located near, and these two tribes, and a great battle took place between them at Ḥisárak (*see* page 96), in which the Khas'hís were victorious, but they, nevertheless, thought fit to leave that part. They left their portion of Nek-Anhár, therefore, in the parts nearest the present Jalál-ábád, to the Muḥammadzís, while the Gagyánís, with the exception of that portion of them which had caused all the mischief at Kábul, and were afraid to come, took up their quarters about Báṣaul. The Tarkalárnís had previously taken up their quarters in Lamghán.

The Gagyánís, finding they could not get on where they were, after an ineffectual attempt to gain a footing in Bájawṛ, and the Tarkalárnís, who had their eyes upon it for themselves, having turned them back, besought Malik Aḥmad, and other chiefs and notables of the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs, as their Khas'hí kinsmen, to help them in their own prosperity and that of their tribes, and assign them lands in which to dwell. Thinking to strengthen the other Khas'hís thereby, Malik Aḥmad, with the consent of the tribes, assigned the Do-Ábah to the Gagyánís; and they very soon, family by family, came by the Kaṛappa'h‡ route, and installed themselves in the Do-Ábah district.

The Gagyánís had not been long there before they began to act in accordance with their usual contumacious ways towards the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs, as well as towards the Dilazáks, with whom they soon picked a quarrel.

In the first month of 925 H (January, 1519 A.D.), when Bábar Bádsháh moved against Bájawṛ (*see* page 128), and overthrew the Gibarí Sulṭán, the Gagyánís were then settled in the Do-Ábah,§ but the Tarkalárnís were still dwelling in Lamghán, the Afrídís had only recently settled on the Báṛa'h river, and the Muḥammadzís, and part of the Utmán Khel tribe, were still dwelling in Nek-Anhár or Nangrahár. The Gagyánís, at this time, brought the Bádsháh into the 'Ash-Naghar district, ostensibly to make a raid on the Dilazáks, but it was suspected against the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs. They had lately, however, agreed to give him the daughter of the Malik, Sháh Manṣúr, the cousin of Malik Aḥmed, in marriage, and had propitiated him.‖

The raid on the Dilazáks of the Sama'h was of little effect, and soon came to an abrupt end, for one of the greatest of the Gagyání chiefs having been killed in a brawl between two divisions of the Gagyání tribe, while encamped with them, Bábar, suspecting treachery, hastily broke up his camp, and left them to help themselves. The conduct of the Gagyánís was altogether so bad, that the other Khas'hís were rather inclined to side with the Dilazáks against them, and Malik Aḥmad and other chiefs forbade their people to interfere between the Dilazáks and them. Some did interfere, how-

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I mention these two traditions here merely to show that the statements of the Ākhúnd are substantially correct, although he has made some confusion in the order of events. The first account is a somewhat distorted one of the affairs which happened in Bájawṛ with the 'Umr Khel Dilazáks, narrated at page 123.

Captain F. C. Plowden, in a note to his translation of a small portion of the "Táríkh-i-Muraṣṣa'," which is contained in my "Gulshan-i-Roh," says: "Bellew, in his work on Yúsufzai (*sic*), apparently reads this as "a misprint in the original manuscript for Bar-Bára, or Upper Bára. It was possibly a water-cut on the "upper course of the river Bára, which rises in the Afrídi country, and flows south of the Khaibar Pass "into the river of Kábal (Kábul ?). It enters British territory at Shekhan."

All this is erroneous. In the first place, there is no misprint, for both in the manuscripts of the "Táríkh-i-Muraṣṣa'" and in the "Taẓkirát-ul-Abrár" of the Ākhúnd, Darwezah, the word is بربر Bar-bar; and in the second place, the Bar-bar Jú-e or rivulet is described, in the Yúsufzí History I have been quoting, as running on the opposite side of the Mícharna'í gorge, that is, opposite that place. The vast changes in the channels of the river of Kábul, even within the last eighty or ninety years, as shown in the routes given in the text above, do not appear to have been taken into consideration.

There is also a Bar-bar gorge, and above it, at a place where the Zíárat, or Shrine of 'Alí, was situated in those days, and, in all probability, still there, a skirmish took place between the Khas'hís and the Dilazáks, who crossed over the river of Kábul and drove off the patrol of the Yúsufzís sent to guard the Mícharna'í ferry leading to the Bar-bar gorge. It was near the entrance to this very gorge, which appears to have been known at that period as "Da Gibrío Ghás'haey," the Gibarís' Pass, that Lieutenant A. Bulnois, R. E., was murdered by the Mahmands in Jauuary, 1852.

* *See* note *, page 66, Section Second.

† Not the Muḥammadzís, or Maḥmandzís, as they are also called. The similarity of the names has caused a mistake in the "Táríkh-i-Muraṣṣa'." A part of the Mahmands only are referred to, for the whole tribe were not dwelling in the Kábul territory at this time: the remainder still occupied their old seats in the Ḳandahár territory.

‡ The most correct and oldest mode of writing this name is Khaṛappa'h, but the Afgháns, as before remarked, drop all aspirates. The same name occurs in Buner. *See* page 249.

§ Bábar Bádsháh, when on his way towards Hindústán, as early as 912 H. (1506-7 A.D.), says, "at this "period the Gagyání Afgháns were in the Pas'háur district," that is, in the Do-Ábah.

‖ Bábar Bádsháh's own "Tuzúk" confirms this. *See* also Leyden's and Erskine's Translation.

ever, and their excuse was, that they could not see their own kinsmen assailed without helping them.* The upshot was that the Dilazáks gave the Gagyánís a complete overthrow.†

After this affair, the Dilazáks became exceedingly arrogant, or at least Malik Aḥmad and other chiefs, who now wanted more of their territory, professed to think so; and they determined to go to war with them, under the pretence of undue severity towards the Gagyánís, and their inroads into their own lands adjoining the Dilazáks in the Sama'h, and harrying their cattle.

To carry out his plans successfully, Malik Aḥmad and his advisers determined to bring the whole of the Khas'hí tribes together, and to bring their allied tribes into the field also. All the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs of Suwád, Bájawṛ, 'Ash Naghar, and the Sama'h, assembled, together with their allies, the Utmán Khel, Jzadún, and Muḥammadzí tribes, the last named being promised the district of 'Ash-Naghar for their help, together with portions of Afghán and other tribes, such as K's'hárs, Rahwárnís,‡ Kásís, Rárnís, Shalmánís, Suwádís, and others, the vassals and servants of the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs.

A great battle took place between the confederates and the Dilazáks, on the banks of the Guẓar Rúd, between the Bagyára'í§ and Kátlang, where the former were posted, and Sháh-báz Gahṛa'h, from which place the latter advanced to attack them. The Dilazáks were overthrown with great loss, and the remainder fled towards the Abáe-Sín or Indus, being unable to cross the river of Kábul. By this defeat, they lost all their territory north of that river, but they still possessed the territory to the south of it, on the Pes'háwar side; nevertheless, the power of the Dilazáks was irretrievably broken, and soon after began altogether to pass away.

This victory on the part of the confederates, on the other hand, placed the Khas'hís (with the exception of the Tarkalárnís) and their allies in possession of all the country extending from Náwa'h-ga'í, on the west, to the Abáe-Sín, on the east, and as far south as the left or northern bank of the river of Kábul. North, their territory extended into Suwád, in which they had already made some conquests.

The celebrated Khán Kachú or Kajú, who subsequently became supreme chief after Malik Aḥmad's death, and whose father was chief of the Mandaṛs, at the time of this battle was in his early manhood, was also present with his tribe, and with a body of them pursued the retreating Dilazáks as far as the Abáe-Sín. He had sought in marriage the daughter of the chief of the Dilazáks, but the latter declined to accede to the alliance. The chief and his family were on the river's bank, endeavouring to get across, when the Mandaṛs came upon them. Seeing Khán Kajú, he implored him to keep back his men, that the females might be sent across, otherwise they would all throw themselves into it and perish rather than be made captives. His

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* We are informed, on the authority of "a gentleman of Afghán descent," that the Gagyánís are "not "allowed by other Patháns to be of the genuine race." Had he been of the "genuine race," he would probably have known better.

† The Dilazák Afgháns advanced from Pes'háwar to Gul Bela'h in the Do-Ábah to attack the Gagyánís for bringing Bábar Bádsháh against the 'Umr Khels, crossed the Pes'háwar river (*sic* in MS.), and moved to Níma'h Wuṛey, where a battle took place, and the Gagyánís were overthrown. Since this period, considerable changes have taken place in the course of the river of Kábul in this direction, and the Ná-gumán and other channels have been formed.

The statement that the Gagyánís "ousted the Dalazáks from the lands they now occupy" is quite erroneous, as shown in these extracts. The Dilazáks were forced to leave the Pes'háwar territory by the Ghwarís. The Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs assigned their present lands to the Gagyánís years before that event. The Dilazáks were not ousted from the Pes'háwar territory until after Bábar's time, and he says the Gagyánís were settled in the Do-Ábah as early as 910 H. *See* note §, page 223, and page 226.

Bábar says, in his "Tuzúk," that, in 925 H. (1519 A.D.), while in the part in question, the Dilazák Maliks represented to him that there were several clans in the 'Ash-Naghar territory who possessed great quantities of grain. After consulting on the matter, it was arranged that the Afgháns of that part and neighbourhood should be plundered, and the forts at 'Ash-Naghar and Pes'háwar should be put in repair and the grain stored there, and that the Mír, Sháh Ḥusain, with a body of troops, should be left behind for their defence. The expedition was not undertaken after all.

‡ The "origin" of the Rahwárnís is by no means "obscure," although that of the "Rahwánzís" may be. They "claim to be" Afgháns or Paṭáns because they are so. They are descended from Rahwárnaey, one of the thirteen sons of Mianah, son of Sharkabún, son of Saṛaban, son of Paṭán. The Kásís or Kánsís are descended from Kásaey or Kánsaey, a son of Kharshabún, son of Saṛaban. *See* MacGregor, Part I., Vol I., page 143.

§ The Guẓar Rúd, which is now rather the dry bed of a river or mountain torrent than a river, comes from the north, and flows east of Torú. Its bed contains several springs, but, like most of these torrent-beds, it is otherwise nearly dry in the summer months, except after falls of rain in the mountains to the north. The Bagyára'í here referred to runs about five kuroh to the westward of Kátlang, which is situated on either bank of the Lúnd or Lúndaey Khwaṛ. *See* note †, page 244.

These affairs between the Dilazáks and Khas'hís are probably what some persons imagine to be the "numerous conflicts between the descendants of Mandan (as they write Mandaṛ and Mandarn) and the *real* Yúsáfzáis." I wonder what a *real* Yúsáfzái is? The "numerous conflicts" between Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs are as unknown to Afghán as to other historians.

appeal to the youth was not without effect; and, taking pity on the Dilazák chief, he cried out to his clansmen: "Give over, kinsmen! Let them alone! Do not harm "them, for, after all, *they are Afgháns like ourselves.*" * The chief was thus enabled to get across safely with his family. I need scarcely add, that, not long after, the Dilazák damsel became the bride of Khán Kajú.

After this success Malik Aḥmad and other chiefs took counsel together, for the purpose of making a re-distribution of the territory then held by the Khas'hís, and to include the Sama'h just acquired, and, at Kátlang, this was done by Shaikh Malí. 'Ash-Naghar was assigned to the Muḥammadzís, who returned into Nek-Anhár in order to bring back their families and belongings. The Gagyánís requested that more territory might be allotted to them, since the Musází division of their tribe had been forgiven by the Yúsufzís, and had now joined them; so, in addition to the Do-Ábah, half of Bájawṛ, from Dánish-Kol to Láshoṛa'h, 'Anbar, Náwa'h-ga'í, and Chhár-Mang,† out of which the Khalíls had been previously driven,‡ was added to their portion. The Utmán Khel, Jzadúns, and others, had also to be provided for, and so they were, as already narrated in the account of the two tribes referred to.§ The Tarkalárnís did not furnish any contingent on this occasion, and, consequently, received no share in this distribution. They were still in Lamghán; and a considerable time subsequent, when Khán Kajú overthew the Ghwaríah Khel in the famous battle at Shaikh Tapúr,‖ in which a Tarkalární contingent was present, they came and settled in Bájawṛ.

It was during the chieftainship of Khán Kajú that the Dá'údzís, having, from some cause or other, separated from the rest of the Ghwarís, came into the territory of the Khas'hís, and solicited from him an assignment of lands for their support. The *jirga'h*, or council of the tribes, listened to their request, and assigned them several villages with their lands about the Kálah-Pární¶ and Bagyáṛa'í. There they continued to dwell until the Khalíls and Mahmands, then very powerful,** especially the former, who had taken possession of the lands in Nek-Anhár or Nek-Nihár, vacated by the Muḥammadzís, with the aid of Mírzá Kámrán, the rebellious brother of Humáyún Bádsháh, and chief cause of all that monarch's troubles, expelled the Dilazáks from Pes'háwar, and the whole of their possessions west of the Abáe-Sín.

The Khalíls first applied to the latter for lands, but they, having paid so dearly for having provided their landless fellow-countrymen with lands, refused to accede to their request. At this period Mírzá Kámrán held the fief of Kábul and its dependencies. On the death of his father, Bábar Bádsháh, in 937 H (1531 A.D.), Humáyún, his eldest son and successor, confirmed his brother, Mírzá Kámrán, in his fief, but he was never "king of Cabul," as some have presumed to style him; he was only the feudatory, and Humáyún was the sovereign. Kámrán's ambition was boundless, and his unfaithfulness to his brother proverbial, and the object of his life was to work him ill, and supplant him.

The Dilazáks, whom Bábar Bádsháh in his "Tuzúk" always styles "Dilazák Afgháns," had always been good and faithful subjects,†† as the work above mentioned

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* *See* note *, page 35, Section Second. We may safely conclude that, if the Dilazáks had been either "Budhists," "Scythians," "Rájputs," or "Sikhs," Khán Kajú would not have styled them Afgháns. As a proof of the hazy and uncertain ideas entertained respecting the Dilazáks and "Patháns" generally, we have merely to turn to a Settlement Report on the Agroṛ district of Hazárah in the Panj-áb, by Captain Wace, who gives the following list of "Pathán" tribes or clans in it.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| "*Pathans*— | "Akazai. | "Utmánzai. | "Lodí. |
| | Hasanzai. | Gormazai. | Kamálzai. |
| | Chagharzai. | Yusufzai. | Toghai. |
| | Mada Khél. | Mamúkhél (*sic*). | Khatak. |
| | Búnerwál. | Akhúnd Khél (*sic*). | Azíz Khél. |
| | Bángakh (*sic*). | Khodo Khél. | Dúráni. |
| | *Shalmání.* | *Dilazák.* | Miscellaneous, etc. etc." |

Here it will be noticed that he puts now the Shalmánís as Afgháns or Paṭáns, which they are not, but he is correct with respect to the Dilazáks.

† *See* page 124.

‡ *See* page 127.

§ *See* pages 218 and 219.

‖ This word is very often written Patúr. The Ákhúnd, Darwezah, writes it Pathúr.

¶ *See* page 244.

** Bábar Bádsháh says, in his "Tuzúk," that "the most powerful of the Hazárahs are the Mas'údís, and the most powerful among the Afgháns, the Mahmands and Khalíls."

†† In a "Report on the Yusufzais," dated as far back as 1864, by Assistant Surgeon (now Surgeon-Major) H. W. Bellew, it is stated, under the head of "History," that *Babur* (Bábar Bádsháh?) entered the "Bajawar" territory, and "*drove the Dilazaks to their capital, a stone fortress on the hills,*" and that, "*after a short "conflict, the Dilazaks, being terrified at the effects of the till then unknown musketry used by Babur's troops,*" the fortress was taken. "Babur" is afterwards said to have "*then marched up the Babakara glen*" (a large glen: the Bábá-Ḳará Dara'h is fifteen kuroh long and four or five kuroh wide), "*where the Dilazaks had collected*

fully bears out, and they were also good subjects of his son and successor. This fact was sufficient to awaken Mírzá Kámrán's hostility towards them. To him then the Khalíls and Mahmands appealed, and he agreed to aid them with his forces. This event, it is evident, must have taken place soon after Humáyún's accession, and at a time when he was too much occupied in other far more momentous matters in Hindústán to be able to aid the Dilazáks by restraining Kámrán. Had it not been for Kámrán's support, it is very probable that the Dilazáks would have successfully resisted the encroachments of the Ghwaríah Khel; as it was, it was only after much severe fighting that the Dilazáks were finally overcome.

Unfortunately, Afghán, like other Oriental writers, often leave out dates altogether, but I am able to fix the approximate date of this event with some degree af certainty. Soon after his accession, Humáyún, who, almost up to the last, was unconvinced of Kámrán's faithlessness, was induced to add the Panj-Áb to his brother's fief. As representative of the suzerain, the Dilazáks, as well as the Ghwaríah Khel, must have been, as tributaries, more or less under his sway. The time chosen seems to have been when Humáyún had enough to do to hold his own, and when the whole empire, even including Kámrán's fief, was disordered, and the bonds of authority utterly relaxed.

It was at such a time as this that the Khalíls plotted with Kámrán to despoil the Dilazáks of their lands; and he naturally desired, in order to carry out his schemes, that Bagrám and its fortress, the present Pes'háwar, should be held by his adherents, and not by loyal subjects of Humáyún. It seems strange, however, that the Dilazáks did not appeal to the Yúsufzís and Mandars for help, for they had received aid from the 'Umr Khel Dilazáks, when they, in former years, expelled the Khalíls from Bájawṛ,* and the Khas'hís were sufficiently hostile to the Ghwarís. The probability is that this onslaught on the Dilazáks was sudden, or that the Ghwarís, combined with Kámrán and his Mughals, were too powerful for the Khas'hís at that time. In after years, as I shall presently narrate, the Khas'hís chose a more propitious time for attacking them, and paying off old scores. Under these considerations, I think, the period of the Dilazák expulsion must have been 940 or 941 H. (1533 or 1534 A.D.). In 949 H., Humáyún had to leave his kingdom, and seek aid from the Ṣafawí ruler of Í-rán, and, in the ninth month of 652 H., recovered possession of Kábul from Kámrán; and it was many years before this that the Dilazáks lost their possessions west of the Abáe-Sín. From this time Kámrán had enough to do to take care of himself, and had to fly to his Ghwaríah Khel friends for shelter on more than one occasion. In 957 H. (1550 A.D.), he was completely overthrown in the action near Shutar-Grám,† and fled to them for shelter; and in 958 H., with their aid, he made a night attack upon Humáyún's camp, in which his brother, Mírzá Hindál was killed.‡ In the following year Kámrán was blinded.

The Khalíls and Dá'údzís, and some of the Mahmands, for the majority of the tribe remained behind in the eastern parts of Nek-Anhár, subsequently passed the river of Kábul, and took up their quarters in the parts they at present occupy, on its northern and southern banks. The Khalíls were the most powerful at this period, and very rich. They held all the tract of country from Dháka'h to Aṭak, together with the Khaibar and Kaṛappa'h Passes. The Pes'háwar district was very fruitful, and as the royal road lay through it, and all the caravans of traders between India and Kábul stayed for some time at the city of Bagrám, in going to and fro, they levied taxes on them, which produced a considerable revenue, and as they could also guarantee their safety through those passes, which were held by themselves, furnished them with escorts, and made

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"*in force*," and that, "*after the battle*," in which, according to Mr. Bellew, "*the Dilazaks were overthrown*" by "Babur," he "*erected a pillar of their skulls.*"

The writer has fallen into great error here. He appears to have obtained his information from the extract from Afẓal Khán's "Táríkh-i-Muraṣṣa'" contained in my volume of Afghán Selections—"The Gulshan-i-Roh"—and not from "Akhûn Darwaiza," because there is no mention of the capture of the fortress of Bájawṛ by Bábar Bádsháh in the Ákhúnd Darwezah's book. Afẓal Khán quotes the Ṭabaḳát-i-Akbarí, which he renders literally from Persian into Push'to; and the Ṭabaḳát-i-Akbarí quotes, and gives a faithful transcript from, Bábar Bádsháh's Tuzúk.—*See* also the Translation by Leyden and Erskine.

Mr. Bellew appears to have quite misunderstood the passage in the Táríkh-i-Muraṣṣa', for there it is plainly stated that the Dilazák Sardárs were in Bábar's camp, and that the Bádsháh *despatched them* to the Sardár of the Bájawawṛís, the Gibarí Sulṭán, to endeavour to induce him and his people to submit, but without avail. The account I have given at page 128 contains a brief statement of the facts. Consequently, "Babur" never entered into hostilities with the Dilazáks in Bájawṛ; Bájawṛ was never their capital, and never taken from them, but from the Gibarís; neither did "Babur" erect a pillar of the skulls of his faithful and trusted subjects, the Dilazáks, but he did of the heads of some contumacious Gibarís.

* *See* page 125.

† *See* page 59.

‡ Narrated at page 55 of Section Second, which see.

them pay well for them. Their arrogance was excessive, as well as their hostility towards the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs. They plundered a Yúsufzí caravaṇ on its way by the Kaṛappa'h route, and slew two youths, the sons of the Malik of the Abází clan, and carried their raids, across the river of Kábul, into the Sama'h, as far as the skirts of the hills. Notwithstanding all this provocation, the Ghwaríah Khel was so powerful, that Khán Kajú was at first prevented from attacking them as he wished to do, because he was not certain whether the Gagyánís and Muḥammadzís would join him in so doing, and knew that a partial success over them was useless, therefore he had to bide his time until they should come into contact with these two tribes. He had not long to wait. A Malik of the Gagyánís, who was looked upon as a saint almost by his tribe, and greatly venerated by others, when on his way to Pes'háwar from the Do-Ábah, went into a Khalíl *masjid* by the way, and was brutally murdered by them while in the act of saying his prayers. This was enough.

Khán Kajú mustered a large army composed of the whole of the Khas'hís and their allies. The Tarkalárnís even furnished a quota of two hundred cavalry, notwithstanding that they were still dwelling in Lamghán. In the great battle which ensued, on the south bank of the southern branch of the river of Kábul near Shaikh Tapúr,* which is said to be the name of the shrine of some holy man, near the Ḍab or Marsh (*see* page 177), the details of which are far too numerous to be narrated here, the Ghwaríah Khel were completely overthrown, with great slaughter—the brunt of the battle having been borne by the Khalíls—and the latter were pursued, and their lands and villages were plundered, as far as Jamrúd and Shekhán on the Bára'h river; and a tent was pitched for Khán Kajú on a mound in the Gor Kaṭley, or Kaṭrey,† as it is also written, in the city of Pes'háwar. This defeat was so crushing, that they never recovered it, and the power of the Ghwaríah Khel departed from that date, and soon became insignificant. The same night Khán Kajú returned to his camp at the edge of the Ḍab, and subsequently crossed the Landaey river, and returned home.

The year in which this important battle was fought is not given by the Afghán chronicler, who was living at the time, and who had his information from persons present in the fight. All that is said is that it took place on the 13th of the sixth month, Jamádí-uṣ-Sání, but he afterwards mentions an important event which enables me to fix the time, within a few months at least, from contemporary writers. "When "Humáyún Bádsháh reached Bagrám or Pes'háwar, after Kámrán had been deprived "of his sight, in 959 H. (1552 A.D.),‡ the fortress was found in a dismantled state. He

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* The Khas'hís were encamped on the opposite side (the north bank of the Landaey Sín, or river of Kábul facing the *mouza'* of Shaikh Tapúr, or Patúr, which lay adjoining the Ḍab or marshy ground near the village of Ḍab Bunyádí. The Ghwaríah Khel were encamped on the Khazam, on the farther side (from the Khas'hís, namely the south side) of the Ḍab. At that time the Ḍab and Shaikh Tapúr lay on the south side of the river, but now the Ḍab lies about a mile on the north side of the Ná-gumán branch of that river, which then did not exist, nor did it ninety years ago: it has been caused through subsequent changes, *See* note ¶, page 242.

Khán Kajú gave the Ghwaríah Khel the option of crossing over the river to him, to enable them to do which he offered to retire his army some distance, or that they should retire a short distance from the river and enable him to pass over his army to meet them. They chose the latter alternative.

There is a mound of some elevation near to the village of Ḍab, and that is said to be the site of Shaikh Tapúr, evidently so called after the grave and shrine of some holy man among the Musalmáns. It is considered by residents in that neighbourhood that Khazam was probably the name of a stream or water course, which subsequently became, or was swallowed up by, the Ná-gumán branch of the river of Kábul, and its former name was lost. Khán Kajú returned to the same point after the battle was over, and his tent was still pitched on the same mound as before.

Captain T. C. Plowden, in the book I have before referred to, says that "Bellew says that 'Shekh-patúr is "'the ruined old fort that overlooks the village of old Naoshera. The scene of the battle was in 1864 occupied "'by the Dák Bungalow hard by the Grand Trunk Road.'"

In this I beg to differ from him. There are no details whatever given in the Táríkh-i-Murassa' respecting the battle, nor in any other work that I am acquainted with, except the rare Yúsufzí history I have been quoting, which I do not think Mr. Bellew can have seen, and, as Noh-s'hahra'h-i-Khálisa'h was a well known and important place when its author wrote it, had the scene of the battle been near it, he would certainly have mentioned it. The Ḍab, however, is not near "old Naosherá," and the historian says distinctly that the two armies took up positions on the edge of the Ḍab. *See* page 177, and note ¶, page 242.

Moorcroft, who was at Pes'háwar some fifty years ago, says, in his "Travels," (Vol. II., page 338), that "within five *kos* of the city there is a place called *Sahiba Patar*, where Afgháns going on a pilgrimage to "Mecca usually embark." This may possibly refer to the site in question, for the reason why the Afgháns usually embarked there was, evidently, because it was a place, or near a place, of pilgrimage and sanctity, the tomb of some holy man, which the name, Shaikh Patúr, plainly refers to. There is a place given in our maps as *Sahibi*, seven miles E.N.E. of the city, one mile west of which there is a tomb. It is on the Búdní stream, which did not exist when these surveys were made, and immediately north of it is marshy ground, giving name to a village, styled Nawa'h Jaba'h, or New Marsh. Gul Bela'h is four miles north-west of this "Sahibi," and its position is certainly within a couple of miles or so of the scene of the battle. *See* note *, page 243.

† Kaṭra'h or Kaṭla'h, *r* and *l* being interchangeable, signifies in Hindí, a market, the market belonging to or within a fort.

‡ The Budá'úní says it happened in 960 H., and that the date is contained in the word ناشتر—*nash'tar*, a lancet, but those present at the time, and among them Báyazíd, the Byát, say it was in 959 H. Some writers say it

" directed that it should be put into thorough repair, and his troops aided in the work. " Sikandar, the Kazák, some say Úzbak,* was left there as governor of the place with a " strong garrison. Humáyún reached Kábul from thence in the eighth month (August, " 1552) of that year. Subsequent to that, Sikandar was invested therein by the " Afgháns, but they retired without being able to effect anything." The Afghán chronologist states that, " three or four years after the victory at Shaikh Tapúr," Khán Kajú marched a force to Bagrám and invested Sikandar, the Kazák, therein, but, being wholly unprovided with artillery or other firearms, he had to break up the investment and retire. This happened " soon after," and the investment evidently took place in the cold season at the end of that year (which ended on the 16th of December, 1552, A.D.) and the beginning of the next, 960 H., consequently, the battle of Shaikh Tapúr took place in the sixth month of 956 or 957 H. (1549 or 1550, A.D.), a period when Humáyún and Kámrán were engaged in hostilities beyond the Hindú Koh range, and too much occupied to be able to attend to anything else; and in the summer of the last mentioned year Kámrán was overthrown at Shutar-Grám, as before related. That Humáyún should have found the fortress of Bagrám in ruins in 959 H. is therefore accounted for: it was after the overthrow of the Ghwaríah Khel that it went to decay.†

If there was ever one, who, from the extent of his territory, the number of his troops, and extent of his power, without taking his talents into account, was entitled to be styled a king up to this period, it was Khán Kajú " of the hundred thousand spearmen." On one occasion 150,000 men assembled under his banner, consisting of men of most of the Afghán tribes now inhabiting eastern Afghánistán, besides other tribes of the parts which owned his sway. It was recognized from Nek-Anhár to the Már-Gala'h Pass, and from the Láhorí Kotal and Upper Suwát to Gahep; and Adam, the chief of the Gakhars, acknowledged his sway in one direction, while the Káfiríś‡ acknowledged it in the other, and from Pakhla'í and Dharam-ṭaur§ to Kálá-Bágh. The times were favourable to him, for it was not until many years after his accession to the chieftainship that Akbar Bádsháh was able to pay attention to the state of affairs in this quarter,‖ and by that time Khán Kajú had disappeared from the scene, and the confederated tribes and territories, which his talent had welded into one, again fell under the independent rule of their respective chiefs, or under the sovereignty of Akbar Bádsháh.

### *Forty-sixth Route. From Chugyá-ṭan to Mastúch.*

" By this route, after leaving Chugyá-ṭan, you cross the wooden bridge over the river of Báshkár, east of that place, and passing the village of Bey-Namází,¶ on the right hand, you go on for a distance of five kuroh in the direction of north-east to Siráṭaey. You then proceed three kuroh farther in the same direction and reach Sádrín; and continuing onwards from thence for six kuroh in the direction of north, inclining north-east, you arrive at Natthúr (in one copy Shahúr, or Tathúr, but both are doubtful), and at this point the Afghán territories end. On the way to this place you have a lofty mountain range near by on either side, and the river of Báshkár runs close by on the left hand. The air is exceedingly sharp and cold.

" Setting out from Natthúr (or Shahúr, or Tathúr), you proceed for six kuroh in the direction of north to Báshkár, which they also call Pátrák, a large village, giving name to the dara'h, belonging to the race of people known as Kohistánís, which race, before their conversion to Islám, used to be styled Spín Káfiríś or White-clad

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happened in 961 H., but this is quite out of the question, for it is very evident that Humáyún reached Kábul in the eighth month of the year 959 H., and that in the following winter he set out for Kandahár, and was in those parts in the beginning of, and for several months in, that year. The following winter, the end of 960 H., and beginning of 961 H., which commenced on the 6th December, 1553, he passed in Kábul.

* Kazák, however, is not the name of any tribe or race: it is a by-name.

† Even after their overthrow at Shaikh Tapúr, if the date I have given is correct, as I believe it to be, the Ghwaríś appear to have still had power for mischief, for I find that " in the year 962 H., a body of 400 horse " of the Afghán tribes of Khalíl and Mahmand made a raid into the Panj-Áb, and plundered the Mazagán and " Farmulís of Láhor, at the very time that Humáyún Bádsháh was advancing towards Sirhind to encounter " the Afghán usurper of his kingdom."

‡ The Káfiríś here referred to are those mentioned at pages 161, 171, 190, 194, 234, and in some other places.

§ This word is written by Panjábís Dham-thaur, Dam-thaur, and as above. Afgháns reject the 'h,' and call it Dam-taur and Dram-taur.

‖ Not until the latter part of the year 993 H., about the end of 1585 A.D., in which year Akbar Bádsháh's brother, Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím, who held the fief of Kábul and its dependencies, including the Pes'háwar district, and whose officials administered its affairs, died at Kábul. *See* page 257.

¶ *See* page 179.

Unbelievers. The river of Báshḳár lies on the east side of the village, and over it is a wooden bridge.

"From Báshḳár or Pátrák you proceed for a distance of five kuroh in the direction of north-east to Bahár, and from thence three kuroh farther, but in the direction of north, to Kal-Koṭ. After going on for another three kuroh in the same direction you arrive at Tal; and here the Báshḳár territory terminates.* On the way thither you pass by numerous villages both on the right hand and on the left. From the clefts or glens among the mountains on either side, numerous small streams issue, which, subsequently uniting lower down, enter the main river, which flows towards Chugyá-ṭan.

"Leaving Tal, you have to proceed for a distance of thirty kuroh, the first half of the distance in the direction of north, and the latter half inclining more to the north-east, and ascending upwards towards the crest of the great mountain range, to reach Sar-i-Lás-Púr, the name of a *Kotal* or Pass always covered with snow.† Having reached the crest of the range, you go on for another ten kuroh north to Lás-Púr, which is a small village contained within the territory of Ḳáshḳár.

"Two kuroh north from the village of Lás-Púr is Bílam, also written Bilam; and ten kuroh farther on, in the direction of north-west, is Har-chain-Púro, which they also call Har-chain. Proceeding another two kuroh farther on, you come to Buruk, and after wending your way for another four, still keeping north-west, you reach Raman. From thence you go on five kuroh more, in the same direction as before, to Gushat, sometimes pronounced Gusht, and continuing your route for another four kuroh in the direction of west, you at last reach Mastúch.

"This is a large town, and the place of residence of Sháh Khair-Ullah, Bádsháh. From the mountains at Sar-i-Lás-Púr a small river issues, which runs towards the north-west, and west of the town of Mastúch unites with the river of Ḳáshḳár or Chitrál. In going to Mastúch from thence you follow the course of the stream, and mountains towering to the heavens rise close by on either hand. The long narrow cleft or dara'h is likewise known as Lás-Púr—the Lás-púr Dara'h,‡ and its inhabitants are the people previously referred to as Kohistánís, all of whom are of the Shía'b sect of Muḥammadans."

*Forty-seventh Route. From Chugyá-ṭan to Gupuz, which is one of the great villages of the territory of Ḍángrak.*

"The road from Chugyá-ṭan to Tal, on the way to Mastúch, has been described in the previous route.

"From Tal you proceed forty kuroh north-east to Barisat, which is a small village inhabited by the Kohistání people. On the way thither you pass through an exceedingly mountainous tract, for the most part covered with perpetual snow, and very thinly inhabited.

"Having descended from thence for a distance of eight kuroh in the direction of north-east you reach Tero,§ and go on for five kuroh to the north from thence to Ghizir. Continuing onwards for another six kuroh you reach Chashí,‖ and then, by proceeding twelve kuroh more in the direction of north, arrive at Dahí-Mal. From thence the route leads on for seven kuroh north, inclining north-east, to Khalṭey; and after going five kuroh still farther north you reach the point where the Khalṭey river unites with the river of Warshigum. Continuing onwards for another two kuroh in the direction of north-west you reach Gupuz,¶ which is a large village situated on the river of Warshigum.

"From the mountain tract of Barisat or Barsat, a small river comes down, which, at the place before named, unites with the river of Warshigum. You wend your way along by this same river, and the dara'h through which you pass, and the river flows, is known as the Khalṭey Dara'h. Its inhabitants are Kohistánís, and they pay allegiance to the Bádsháhs of Ḳáshḳár."**

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* At Tal the route leading to Gupuz branches off. It was in this part that the Táríkí stronghold of Ganshál, mentioned at page 170, was situated. *See* note ††, page 237, paras. 15, 16, and 17.

† Possibly meant that snow is at all times to be found in it, but the meaning of the original is as above.

‡ *See* my "Account of Ḳáshḳár and Panj-korah," previously referred to, page 12.

§ This is Hayward's Teraey.

‖ Not Chastí. There is another route to this place from the upper part of the Kohistán of Suwát.

¶ These places are what Hayward wrote, "Daimul," "Khultí," and "Gupis," and the Mulla, "Dahimal," "Khalta," and "Gupis."

** According to our maps generally, in entering the parts through which this particular route lies, you would have to cross a great mountain chain, with some of its peaks 19,450 feet high, which appears to bound

*Forty-eighth Route. From Chugyá-ṭan to Bánḍa'h in Suwád, or Suwát, by way of Jabar.*

"From Chugyá-ṭan to Kunḍí-Gál or Gár the road has been already described (page 178). From the latter place two roads diverge, the left-hand one of which is as follows:—

"East of Kunḍí-Gál there is a small mountain (range) which is difficult to cross. Having crossed it, you proceed from thence one kuroh to the north-east, inclining east, and reach Kúz (Lower) Ká ṭan, which lies on the left hand. You follow the course of the river of Jabar. From Kúz Ká-ṭan, distant half a kuroh in the same direction, is Bar (Upper) Ká-ṭan, also lying on the left-hand side of the road; and, after proceeding another kuroh east, you reach Jabar,* which is a large village, with the river called after it, flowing near by on the right hand.

"From this place two roads branch off. By the left-hand one you proceed six kuroh in the direction of east, inclining south-east from Jabar, to Ú-sherí,† the name by which several villages are known, and the small dara'h in which they are situated, after the name of a clan of the Yúsufzí Afgháns. The road thither is on the ascent. From thence you proceed, much in the same direction as before, for a distance of fourteen kuroh, to Fázil Bánḍa'h, one of the large villages of Suwád; and on the way thither you have to cross a lofty defile known as the Yár-ḳand Ghás'haey, or Pass, and its crest marks the boundary between Suwád and Panj-Korah.

"Leaving Fázil Bánḍa'h, and proceeding for a distance of fourteen kuroh farther in the direction of south-east, you reach Bámá-Khela'h,‡ which is a village of large size, situated in the highest or northernmost part of Upper Suwád. From thence setting out, and proceeding three kuroh in the direction of south-west, you reach Shakar Dara'h, another considerable village, called after the dara'h in which it lies. A river flows from the direction of Fázil Bánḍa'h, which, near the village of Shakar Dara'h, unites with the river of Suwád, and in coming to the latter place you follow the course of that river.

"From Shakar Dara'h you proceed two kuroh south and reach Ním-Galí, with the river of Suwád flowing near by on the left hand, through or over what is called the Ním-Galí Pass, which is a spur from the mountains on the right hand, jutting out towards the river, which it closely approaches. Proceeding another two kuroh south from the village of Ním-Galí§ you come to Bar Bánḍa'h, or Upper Bánḍa'h, which is a village of considerable size on the banks of the river of Suwád; and, continuing onwards for another kuroh in the direction of south-west, arrive at Kúz Bánḍa'h, or Lower Bánḍa'h, which is also a village of some size.‖ After going two kuroh more, in the same direction, you reach Damghár.¶ This also is a large village, close to which, on the left hand, is one branch of the river of Suwád.

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the Dara'h of Suwát on the north, and to run in nearly a straight line from the Indus to Chitrál. From what is mentioned in this route, which runs in the direction of north-east towards the river of Warshigum, not "Woorshigoom," it would seem that, in this direction at least, you ascended by degrees, and reached a vast elevated tract of mountainous country, rather than to a great chain of mountains which you would have to ascend on one side and descend on the other, according to all our present maps with the exception of Hayward's.

* *See* my "Káshḳár and Panj-Korah" paper, page 18.

† Not "Úchrí," for which Colonel MacGregor quotes me as one of his authorities. I write the name as the people spell it, Ú-sherí. *See* my notice of Panj-Korah, in the paper above referred to.

According to the map accompanying "the Mullah's" explorations, there is no room for this well known dara'h, for he brings "the Panjkora" river within nineteen miles of the river of Suwát, with a great range of mountains between, leaving no space for another large valley with a river running through it.

‡ This is also written Banbá and Banba'h Khela'h. *See* my "Account of Suwát," pages 30 and 31.

§ There is a pass as well as a village named Ním-Galí. In my "Account of Upper and Lower Suwát," which was printed in the "Bengal Asiatic Journal" while I was in England, through a printer's error, the name has been printed with "*ú*" and "*n*"—"*ún*," instead of with "*í*" and "*m*"—"*ím*," as in the copy. It is, however, correct in the map. What I said respecting it was:—"Passing this place (Banbá Khela'h) we "came to Banbá Khel-i-Pá'ín, or the Lower; and from thence went on to Ṣaubat and Khareṛa'í, the people of "which were at feud, and were fighting amongst each other. On reaching Shakar Dara'h in the evening, we "were told that they had, that day, lost some twenty in killed and wounded on both sides. After staying for "the night at Shakar Dara'h, on the morning of the 31st of August we set out from thence, and, proceeding "through the pass of Ním-galí, over the spur (consisting of earth mixed with rocks and stones, and containing "something of a yellow colour) which juts out abruptly from the mountains on our right hand, for about three "quarters of a mile, towards one of the branches of the river, we again descended to the village of Ním-galí, "which lies under the southern side of this spur, near the river, and just opposite to Chhár-Bágh on the other "side, which can be distinctly seen." Page 31. *See* also page 233 of this Section of Notes.

‖ Bar Bánḍa'h, or Bánḍa'h-i-Bálá, after Tárnah and Manglawar, is the largest place in Suwád at the present day.

¶ The Ákhúnd, Darwezah, says, that when the officers of Akbar Bádsháh were engaged in building a fort at Damghár, at which period his troops were plundering and devastating Suwát in all directions, he accompanied

"The right-hand route from Jabar is as follows. Leaving that place, and proceeding twelve kuroh to the south-east, inclining south, you reach the large village of Kúbán, belonging to the Yúsufzí Afgháns. On the way thither you have to cross the mountains by a lofty defile known as the Karbádí Ghás'haey. From Kúbán you proceed seven kuroh south, inclining south-east, to Nihák,* which is the name of a large village and dara'h, and on the way there is the lofty defile above mentioned. The water of the Nihák Dara'h runs to the westward and unites with the river of Panj-Korah. On the east it has a lofty mountain range, which can be crossed, and (Upper) Suwád reached."

*Forty-ninth Route. From Chugyá-ṭan to Damghár of Suwád.*

"The details of the road from Chugyá-ṭan to Toṛ-mang have been given already (page 178.)†

"From the last-named place you proceed one kuroh and a half in the direction of south-east to Riẓá-Grám, a very small village, situated on the right-hand side of the road, on a spur of the mountains. You then go on for another kuroh east and reach Uchtaey or Úchataey, a large village on the left-hand side, perched on an elevation of the mountains, as its name, in Pus'hto, indicates. A stream containing about enough water to turn a water-mill comes from the direction of this village and unites with the river of the Gáwṛín Dara'h.

"From Úchataey you proceed another kuroh east, inclining south-east, to Shikolí,‡ another large village, on an elevation of the mountains, on the left-hand side of the road. A river also comes from that direction, and unites with the river of the Gáwṛín Dara'h. After proceeding onwards from Shikolí one kuroh east, inclining north-east, you reach Gáwṛín,§ another village of considerable size at the foot of the mountains. From the east and south of it a river issues, which, having passed to the south of Toṛ-mang, unites with the river of Panj-Korah. The dara'h through which it flows, for such it is, is called the Gáwṛín Dara'h; and in proceeding on your way you follow the course of that river, and every footstep you take is on the ascent.

"Leaving Gáwṛín, you proceed up the mountain range for a distance of three kuroh in the direction of east, and, having reached the crest, descend for a distance of three kuroh and a half, in the same direction as before, and reach Ḳalá'-ga'í—signifying 'the Fortlets'—which is the name of a small village, on a spur of the mountains. The pass above referred to leading over this range is known as the Gáwṛín Ghás'haey, and its crest marks the boundary between the Panj-Korah territory and Suwád.¶ On the

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a number of Molízí Yúsufzís who retired into one of the dara'hs on the extreme frontier of Suwád. This, probably, was the first movement of the Molízís towards what has since become known as Panj-Korah, which now they almost exclusively hold.

In his "exploration" of the dara'h in which the Nikbí Khel Khwádozís are located, "the Mullah" must actually have passed this place. He turned off to the east, and crossed the river near, but in exploring a valley one might naturally expect to hear of the chief places in it. The Súe-galí Pass, too, lay to his left in going from Chhár-Bágh to Kharera'í (his Kararai.) Damghár is one of the most noted places in the valley, but not a word do we hear about it.

* Nihák, Níá ka'h, or Ní-ák, as it is variously written, is the name of a Dara'h about nine miles in length, at the present time also known as Láhor, and the village and small fort at its entrance is called Láhor, and Malik Láhor likewise. In about the middle of the valley is a small town or large village called Ḍanbra'h, and higher up, towards its head, is Shíga'í. The last Sulṭán of Suwát, Sulṭán Awes, son of Sulṭán Pahkal, having been overthrown by the Khas'hí Afgháns in several engagements, abandoned his capital and the Dara'h of Suwát, and took up his residence in the Nihák Darah, at that time styled Nihák or Ní-ák of the Káfiristán. There he built a strong fortress among the hills, and there he continued to dwell till his death. He had married, among other wives, a sister of Malik Aḥmad, the chief of the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs, but she was dead long previous to this. He left two sons, Fírúz Sháh and Ḳazán Sháh, but not by her. The latter was killed by the Yúsufzís, and his head brought to Khán Kajú, at the very time he was about to attack the Ghwaríah Khel at Shaikh Tapúr. The other son of Sulṭán Awes, Fírúz Sháh, ruled over the parts to the north for many years. He was succeeded by his son, Sulṭán Máh, and he, by his son, Sulṭán Zain 'Alí; and in the same manner, for many generations, the descendants of Sulṭán Awes continued to rule over those parts. I think it will be found that the Bádsháhs of Ḳáshḳár, referred to in these surveys, are, in some way, descended from this same family. *See* pages 162 and 178, and note ‡ following page.

† Or rather from Toṛ-mang to Chugyá-ṭan.

‡ It is quite different from Shikolí between Suwát and the Abáe-Sín, a little to the north-east of Gházi Khání in Buner, mentioned at pages 215 and 249.

§ *See* also page 178. This name, as before stated, is written Gáḍrín in two copies, which is, in all probability, an error for Gáwṛín, as the two words in MS. are liable to be mistaken.

¶ The names of this and other passes in this direction do not appear in our most recent maps, neither do we here find any mention of such passes as "Laram," Butarat," or "Jabai," etc. This is the "Munjai Ghaki" of the "Map of the Countries between Kashmir and Panjkorah," contained in the "Geographical Magazine,"

left-hand side, from a cleft in the mountains, a stream issues forth, which runs away to the eastward.

"From Ḳalá'-ga'í you descend to the side of the river just mentioned, and, having proceeded for a distance of one kuroh and a half in the direction of east, inclining south-east, reach Manjha'h, a small village situated between two small rivers, that is to say, one river flows from the direction of Ḳalá'-ga'í, and the other comes from the left hand, from a glen in the mountains. Towards the south they unite, and the united streams then contain a sufficient volume of water to turn about ten or twelve water-mills.

"Leaving Manjha'h and proceeding one kuroh to the east, you reach Túțán Bánḍa'h, lying distant on the right-hand side, on a spur from the mountains. You then go on for another kuroh and a half in the direction of east, along the before-mentioned river, and arrive at the little village of Kálá, which lies on the left hand, near by the road. Proceeding from thence for a short distance farther towards the south, you reach the Dara'h of the Nikbí Khel, so called after that clan of the Khwádozí section of the sub-tribe of Akozí Yúsufzís, which lies on your left hand.* It is about six kuroh in length, and out of it a stream issues, which unites with the stream the course of which has been followed. From the point in question, where the two rivers unite, you proceed for a distance of two kuroh, still keeping south, and reach 'Alí-Grám, a small village close by the way, on the right-hand side.† Here the valley of Suwád, which you are now in, begins to open out, and there is a wide area of plain, and the road becomes more level. The before-mentioned river flows away to your right hand, and near the village of Chanḍo-Khwaṛá (more correctly Chanḍa'h Khwaṛey),‡ unites with the river of Suwád.

"From 'Alí-Grám to Chanḍo (Chanḍa'h) Khwaṛey is a distance of one kuroh in the direction of west, and from the latter place to the village of Hazárah, on the other side of the river of Suwád, is one kuroh south. Leaving the village of 'Alí-Grám, you proceed one kuroh to the east and reach the *mázár*—tomb and shrine—of the

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Vol. II., for 1875, page 232. The village of Manjha'h, mentioned a few lines under, is there turned into "Munjai," and the Ghás'haey or Pass appears to have been named after it, but the discrepancy may have arisen from an imperfectly understood conversation, in which "the Ghás'haey or Pass leading from Manjha'h "over the mountains to the north towards Dír" has been mistaken for Manjhey (the word inflected in the Afghán language would become Manjhey) Ghás'haey. In these parts, as well as in other parts of Afghánistán —I may say throughout all the parts peopled by the Afgháns—places have special local names as well as their specific ones, hence discrepancies arise. I have known villages called by four or five different names, each of which, when explained, appeared applicable, and there was some difficulty in fixing the name of the place satisfactorily in consequence. Some places have Pus'hto names as well as their original ones.

* The details of this route prove that "the Mullah" is out considerably in his calculations with regard to the "Panjkora" river, as he calls it, immediately west of the Dara'h of the Nikbí Khel Khwádozís, as indicated by his map.

† "The Mullah's" map shows his route into this dara'h, and in his narrative he says he halted a day, at a place called "Tighak." He must, consequently, have been within a short distance of Kálá and 'Alí-Grám, but not a word do we hear respecting them, or this route.

‡ This village is mentioned in the Yúsufzí history, in which the details of the conquest of Suwát are also contained. It is also satisfactory to find the account of the route confirmed by a writer who wrote some three centuries and a half since.

After Sulțán Awes had been obliged to abandon his capital and his territory, as already mentioned, his youngest son, Ḳazán Sháh by name, took up his residence in the mountains bounding Suwát north-west of Manglawar, while the Ilyászí Yúsufzís occupied the country close to the Suwád river as far as Darwesh Khel, Báz Khel, Chanḍa'h or Chanḍá Khwaṛey, and Súe-galí. Ḳazán Sháh made constant raids upon them; and, when Khán Kajú took the field against the Ghwaríah Khel, the Ilyászís were unable to send their contingent to his army on account of Ḳazán Sháh. On hearing of Khán Kajú's movements, Ḳazán Sháh went off to Ká-hghar (Ḳáshḳár?), which territory lay very near Suwád. The ruling race were all Musalmáns of the Sunní faith, and spoke Turkí, but the bulk of the ruler's subjects were Káfirís or Infidels. From thence Ḳazán Sháh brought a considerable force against the Yúsufzís, plundered Díwla'í, Chanḍa'h Khwaṛey, and other places, as far down as the last-named village, killing and making captive the people, and taking possession of their cattle and other property.

Succours soon turned out, however, from the other Yúsufzí villages, attacked Ḳazán Sháh and his forces, and defeated him. He retired towards the mountains again, and the Afgháns followed in pursuit, until they drove him beyond the Kaṛ Ghás'haey or Pass, beyond which was Ḳazán Sháh's boundary. This Ghás'haey is in Bar or Upper Suwád, west of Díwla'í, in the direction of Darwesh Khel (that is, more towards the north), in the mountains forming the northern boundary of the Suwát Dara'h. The Kaṛ Ghás'haey is not laid down in our maps.

About a month after these events, the festival of *Basandor* or *Basant*, or Spring, came round, which it was usual among the Suwátís to celebrate. Knowing that such was the custom, the Afgháns sent spies to ascertain when and where the *Basant* would be held, and organized an expedition with the object of attacking Ḳazán Sháh unawares. Having obtained the information, the Yúsufzís made a forced march during the night preceding the festival day, and concealed themselves before the day broke among the ravines and other convenient places near, fell upon Ḳazán Sháh during the celebration of the festival, slaughtered his followers and himself, cut off his head, and retired. His head, as elsewhere mentioned, was brought to Khán Kajú when encamped opposite Shaikh Ṭapúr when just about to cross the river to attack the Ghwaríah Khel.

Shahíd Bábá, as the Ákhúnd, Karím-Dád, son of the Ákhúnd, Darwezah (referred to at pages 236 and 243), is styled by his votaries. The village which has sprung up round his tomb is now known as Kánjúán, which lies on the left hand, near the road. You proceed from this place a short distance, about one kuroh, to the south-west, and reach Damghár."

Khush-hál Khán, the Khatak chief, refers to this place in his spirited poem, the "Ode to Spring," given in my "Translations from the Poetry of the Afgháns," page 150. He had gone into Suwát to endeavour to rouse the patriotism of the Yúsufzís to join the confederacy against the Mughals, but without effect. He says :—

"Since I arrived in this part, I have become a nonentity—
Either I am despicable, or this people are infamous grown.
I cry out unto them, 'Troops,' 'troops,' until I am weary;
But, deaf to all, they neither say 'Die!' nor 'Thy sacrifice!'
When the state of the Yúsufzís became known unto me,
Lowághar was then my better place, not Damghár," etc.

*Fiftieth Route. From Damghár to Dawárika'h, which lies in the extreme northern part of the territory of Suwád.*

"The route between Damghár and Bar Bánda'h, or Upper Bánda'h, has been already described (page 230), and opposite the last-named village, on the right hand, on the other side of the river of Suwád, is Chhár-Bágh, situated at the foot of the mountains.

"Setting out from Bar Bánda'h, you proceed half a kuroh to the north-east to Ním-Galí, a small village near the banks of the Suwád river. From thence you go on in the same direction for about one kuroh and a half by the Ním-Galí Pass, which juts out towards a branch of the river, as previously mentioned, to Shakar Dara'h, which is also situated near the river. After proceeding two kuroh farther, in much the same direction as before, you reach Bámá or Banba'h Khela'h, which lies on the left-hand side of the road. This is also the name of a dara'h, so called after one of the khels or sections of the Akozí Yúsufzís,* and from its farther (northern) part a stream issues, in volume sufficient to turn six or seven water-mills, which flows towards the south, and unites with the main river.

"On the right hand, on the other side of the river, is Galí (or Galaey) Bágh, which is a large village situated at the foot of the mountains.

"From Bámá or Banba'h Khela'h you go on for a distance of two kuroh and a half to the north (north-east) to Kúz (Lower) Darush Khel,† another village of considerable size on the banks of the river of Suwád; and, continuing onwards in the same direction for four kuroh more, you reach Bar (Upper) Darush Khel, on the banks of the same river. On the opposite side, at the foot of the mountains, is the large village of Khwájú Khel.‡

"Setting out from Bar Darush Khel, you proceed five kuroh in the same direction as before to Kálá-Kot,§ another large village on the river of Suwád, and at this place the extreme point of Suwád in this direction is reached.

"On the opposite side of the river is the large village of Khúna'h, also called Khúna'h Khela'h, at the foot of the mountains facing Darush or Darwesh Khel.

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* A small section or khel of the Shámízís.

† Now known as Kúz Darwesh Khel, or Darwesh Khel-i-Pá'ín, and the other as Bar Darwesh Khel, or Darwesh Khel-i-Bálá. It was at this latter place, on his way down the valley, that the person I despatched into Suwát in 1858 had a narrow escape from the Suwátís. He says, "We left Landaey and proceeded to the "village of Darwesh Khel-i-Bálá, or the Higher, about eight miles distant, passing several small bánda'hs or "hamlets of four or five houses by the way. The ground all along our route, which lay at the skirt of the "mountains, was very irregular and hilly, and the cultivation was very scanty. A rivulet runs through this "village, which is shaded by a number of fine trees, under whose shade there are mosques, and *hujra'hs* (cells or "closets they may be termed) for *tálibs* or students, of whom many come here to study; and, altogether, it is "a very picturesque and pleasant spot. At this place we were very much distressed and annoyed by the Malik "or head-man, and a Mullá or priest, both Suwátís. The Malik wished to take away my clothes and papers, "and the Mullá ordered me to show my papers to him. There is no doubt that, in case I had shown him "my papers, and he had seen what was contained in them respecting Suwát, we should all three have been "lost. By great good luck, however, some guests happened to arrive just at this time, and occupied the whole "of our persecutors' attention. This we took advantage of to make ourselves scarce with all speed, and reached "Darwesh Khel-i-Pá'ín, or the Lower, some distance from the other village. Here we halted for some time to "rest ourselves, and I made inquiries about books and old coins, but without success. I found that the "*Shálaka'í* or woollen scarfs I before alluded to, both white, black, and flowered, are manufactured at these "two villages just mentioned."

‡ To style this place, called after its inhabitants, "Khwazozai," would be a very great error.

§ Unknown to "the Mullah," apparently.

"From Kálá-Koṭ you proceed another eight kuroh north, inclining north-east as before, to Dawárika'h,* which is inhabited by Kohistánís; and from this place upwards the race of people called Spín Káfirís, or White-clad Unbelievers, dwell.† The mountains in that part (around the Kohistán, as the upper part of the Suwád valley is called above the Afghán boundary to the source of the river) are clothed in perpetual snow, and out of them the river of Suwád issues.

"From Damghár to Kálá-Koṭ there are numerous populous villages, and much cultivation; and from the clefts, glens, or lateral dara'hs, on either side of the two ranges bounding the dara'h of Suwád, several streams of greater or lesser volume rise, and, flowing down, unite with the main river. Facing the two Bánḍa'hs, Upper and Lower, on the eastern side of the river of Suwád, there is the large Dara'h of Manglawar, in which is the town of that name. You cross the river by means of a raft to proceed thither, and through the dara'h is the route into Buner, which is described farther on."

Manglawar, now a village, is situated at the entrance of a small dara'h or valley, running to the north-east. Between it and Míngowara'h, farther down the river, a spur from the mountains bounding Suwád to the east approaches close to the river, or rather the river to it. In the summer months, when the river is at its height, there is no other road between these two places, and into the central parts of the Suwád valley, except by the Shamelí Pass, leading over this spur. In the winter months there is a practicable road along the river's bank below the spur.

Subsequent to the forcing of the Mala'h-khand Pass, described at page 240, the Afgháns encountered the Sulṭán of Suwád in battle near Tárnah. He was defeated with great loss, including most of his kinsmen and Chiefs left dead on the field, and fled across the river to Tirhang, while the victors returned towards Tárnah,

The Sulṭán made for Damghár by way of the Súe-galí Pass, and lost his way among the mountains. He succeeded in finding it again, crossed the river, and reached his capital, which was the city of Manglawar.

Subsequent to the capture of the stronghold of the Gibarí Sulṭán of Bájawr, Bábar Bádsháh, who wanted to get Malik Aḥmad into his power, crossed the river of Paṇj-Korah and encamped at Dayarún, and entered Suwát by Tálásh. Dayarún is situated about two kuroh from the T'ra'í Ghás'haey or Pass. The defile by which Bábar entered Suwád was called Da Bábar Ghás'hí from that day. It lies farther north than the Káṭ-gala'h Ghás'haey, and is distant about three kuroh north-west of the Úchhún, as the two villages of Úchh are styled. He made a dash from thence on Manglawar, crossing the river of Suwád at the Ḥasan Dera'í ferry. What his real object was does not appear. His ostensible object was to get Malik Aḥmad to come to him; and he seems to have been favourably inclined towards the Suwátí Sulṭán, and hostile towards the Yúsufzí and Mandar Afgháns.

Manglawar was, however, too strong a place to be assailed except by a large force, and a regular investment. Bábar, finding his efforts would be useless, retired, and rejoined the force left to guard his camp at Dayarún by the Káṭ-gala'h Pass. The city and citadel of Manglawar was the capital of the Jahángíríán Sulṭáns. The fortress was situated on the skirt of a hill, and was very strong. It contained numerous fine buildings, consisting of masjíds, palaces, squares, bázárs, and other public edifices, and streams of water ran through the city. Subsequently, when the Sulṭán had to abandon it, and retire into the mountain fastnesses to the north, and the Yúsufzís and Mandars obtained possession of it, they destroyed and laid waste the city, but the fortress and buildings within it were of too solid a construction to be demolished easily, and they were left to the ravages of time. Their remains may still be seen. The city was situated in what is called Upper Suwát, and the ruins lie near the skirt of the mountains to the east, and near it are two small streams, which, after flowing for about two kuroh, fall into the main river. The Dara'h of Manglawar is described at page 253.

When Malik Sháh Manṣur's daughter, Bíbí Mubáraka'h, whose hand Bábar Bádsháh had demanded in marriage—he having seen her and fallen in love with her when he had, on a previous occasion, entered Suwád in the disguise of a Ḳalandar—

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* This name, known to the author of these surveys ninety years ago, like that of the Báshḳár Dara'h—I do not refer to the Kohistán of Suwád—has not hitherto been made known to Europeans, and escaped the notice of the person whom I sent into Suwát, and whose account of the Kohistán is mentioned farther on. "The Mullah" also did not discover it.

† *See* pages 161, 190, and 228.

was escorted from her father's house to Bábar's camp near Dayarún, the escort came from the Sama'h into Suwát by the Mhora'h, or, as the Afgháns style it, the Mora'h Pass (inflected, it becomes Morey), and then proceeded by way of Chak-Dara'h, Úchh, the Kát-gala'h Pass, into Tálásh, and from thence towards Dayarún by the T'ra'í Pass, a kuroh distant from which, near Dayarún, Bábar's camp was pitched. At the foot of the T'ra'í Pass the lady was received by a Mughal escort, sent to receive her, and the Afgháns turned back again on their way homewards.

The T'ra'í Ghás'haey or Pass is the spot where Zain Khán was stopped by the Yúsufzís and Mandars, when he was on his way into Suwád from the side of Bájawr, described at page 169, and when, by a stratagem, he succeeded in entering their territory by another route, the Kát-gala'h Pass apparently.

The usual road from Suwád and parts adjacent to Kábul was, and still is, by the T'ra'í Ghás'haey. The Yúsufzís and Mandars, on their way between Kábul and their territory, used it, in order to avoid passing through the country between Pes'háwar and Jalál-ábád, held by the Khalíls and other Ghwaríah Khel tribes. The road led by Tárna'h, Chak-Dara'h, and the T'ra'í Ghás'haey, through Bájawr to Náwa'h-ga'í, and then through Kúnar and Kámán.

The author of these surveys does not appear to have entered the upper part of the Suwád valley, which is much to be regretted, and merely refers to it *en passant*. I will therefore give an extract from the narrative of an intelligent man of Turkish descent, but a native of Western Afghánistán, a Persian and Pus'hto scholar, who had passed many years in my service and knew what information I required, whom I despatched into Suwát or Suwád as far back as 1858, as already mentioned.

He went up the valley by the east bank and returned by the opposite side. Leaving Manglawar, and proceeding by way of Chhár-Bágh, before referred to, and Kábul-Grám, he reached Khúzah Khel. His narrative is as follows:—

"We again set out up the valley, and passing Bar Shern, or Upper Shern, and Kúz Shern, or Lower Shern, and Khonah, we reached Petaey and Ban-waṛí. At Petaey we found it so excessively cold (it was the end of August) that one could not drink water with any degree of comfort. I ventured to enter the river for a few paces, but soon had to come out, and was glad to stand in the sun, on the rocks, to get some warmth into my feet again. The people were then sitting in the sun for warmth, and all slept in their dwellings at night, it being too cold to sleep outside. I saw snow on the mountains about ten or twelve miles off.

"At this village I also met, for the first time, some of the people of the mountain tracts north of Suwát, together with some of the Gilgit people, who had come here to purchase salt. They were all clothed in thick woollen garments, woven wholly from *pashm*, coats, trowsers (drawers), caps and all, and wore sandals on their feet, the two great toes being left bare. They twist strips of cow or goat leather about the feet and legs as far as the knee. The women dress similarly to the men, with the exception of the covering for the legs. These people were in appearance something like the people of Badakhshán, and although, to look at, they were not very powerfully built, they carry loads equal to that of an ox of Pes'háwar and the Panj-áb. I could not understand a word of their language, except that they called salt *lún*, which is, Sanskrit, *lon*. The salt is brought here by the Khaṭaks from their own country for sale, and the people of the Kohistán to the north, near which Petaey is situated, come down as far as this place to purchase it. . . . The villages in this part of Suwát are much smaller and more scattered than in the central parts of the valley; and the people of each village are generally at feud with each other, and, consequently, little or no intercourse takes place between them.

"In the vicinity of this village the peculiar mineral substance like gravel, called *charáta'í*, mentioned elsewhere, is found in great quantities. Here, too, the valley is not more than half a mile in width, the banks of the river are very high, the fields are few, and the extent of cultivation insignificant.

"There are more mills in this part of the valley than in any other part of Suwát. Much honey is produced here likewise. The people of Suwát take great care of their bees, and make hives for them after the following fashion. They place a large earthen pot in a *ták* or niche, made in the side wall of the house, with the bottom of the pot turned outwards and the mouth inwards, the mouth being just level with the interior wall. They then plaster all around with mud mortar, so that the pot may not move about or fall out of the niche. The mouth is then closed with mud mortar, while the bees enter by a hole made for them in the bottom of the pot or hive which is turned outside. When the hive is well stored with honey, the mouth of the pot is reopened from the interior of the house, and a piece of burning cow-dung, which

smokes, is applied thereto. On this the bees get out, and then the hand is inserted, and the honey removed, but some of the comb is left for the bees. The mouth of the pot is then closed up again.

"This part of the Suwát Dara'h is also famous for its fruits, every description of which comes into season earlier in this vicinity than in any other part of the valley. There are no Hindús in these villages hereabouts: the Paránchahs* are the only traders and shopkeepers to be found so far upwards.

"The complexion of the people of Upper Suwát is quite different from that of the people lower down the valley, and the men are generally fair and good looking. The females of the Kohistán of Suwát, about to be described, are very handsome, as are likewise those of Káshkár, who are sometimes seen in this part.

"I should mention here that, from Tárnah to Chhár-Bágh, the ground rises gradually, and thence to Khúzah Khel still more so, and that, at every hundred paces almost, the difference can be distinguished.

"From Petaey we proceeded onwards about three miles to Pí-á, the ground rising considerably and abruptly until we came to the village. It is the last held by the Yúsufzí Afgháns in the northern extremity of the Suwát valley,† which here terminates (politically, at least). Beyond, the country is called the Kohistán, which is, however, the Persian word for highlands, and generally used throughout most parts of Central Asia to designate all mountain tracts. Between this place (Pí-á) and Petaey also, the river boils and foams along with great impetuosity, and in point of volume it is more considerable than the Arghand Áb, near Kandahár, even when its volume is greatest.

"About four or five miles farther up the valley, beyond the Yúsufzí boundary, there are a few hamlets, the two principal of which are called Chúr-ra'í, on the east bank, and Tírátaey, on the opposite side. These villages are inhabited by the descendants of the Ákhúnd, Darwezah. The whole of Suwát was conquered, as far north as Pí-á, in the time of Malik Ahmad and Shaikh Malí, it is said, but these few villages here referred to were acquired from the Spín Káfirís (all people are termed Káfirí by the Afgháns who are not of the same faith as themselves, hence the term is rather ambiguous) about a century and a half after, in the time of the Ákhúnd, Karím-Dád, son of the Ákhúnd, Darwezah. At the capture of Tírátaey Karím-Dád lost his life. I was informed by the people here, that, some years since, a number of dead bodies were discovered buried in a mound at the side of a hill near Tírátaey. The bodies were quite perfect, as if but recently dead, and had been buried with their arms, consisting of bows and arrows, axes, and swords. . . . .

"Having now reached the boundary of the Afghán portion of Upper Suwát, beyond which I could not then penetrate, we prepared to cross the river and return home by the opposite (western) bank, but, before giving an account of our homeward journey, I will here give you the information I gained respecting the country beyond, up to the source of the Suwát river, which I obtained from an intelligent Afghán who passed several years there.

"After leaving Pí-á, the boundary of Upper Suwát, the first village is Chúr-ra'í,‡ beyond which the Afghán language ceases to be spoken, and the Kohistání language is used. The first village beyond that again is Birán-yál, inhabited by the Torú Ál, or Torw Ál, which is situated on the western bank of the Kohistán river, as the river of Suwát is here also termed. The distance between Birán-yál and the village of Chúr-ra'í is about eight miles, from the first of which places the Kohistán may be said to commence.§ From Birán-yál to the extremity of the valley, at the mountain known as

* Paránchah is not the name of a tribe: in Pus'hto it signifies a mercer, draper, or cloth merchant in general, but they are Musalmáns, and carry on an extensive trade, chiefly in cloth, piece goods, and the like, also tea, and a few other articles, with great part of Central Asia. They are doubtless the remains of one of the tribes displaced by the Afgháns, or by others who preceded the Afgháns, but who have, with many other tribes, been overlooked in the rage for making all things chime with Herodotus and Hindús.

† There is no mention of these places in "the Mullah's explorations." There is no place called "Payatey."

‡ Colonel C. M. MacGregor, C.B., in his "Gazetteer of Central Asia," Part I, vol. 1, page 339, has the following :—"CHARÁ, a village in the upper part of the Swát valley, Yaghistán, and the first met with after "leaving the boundary of the (*sic*) Upper Swát. From this point the valley is inhabited by Kohistánis, who "do not understand much Pashtú. They are called here Torwáls.—(*Raverty*)."

I must protest against such erroneous statements as the above. I never wrote anything of this kind, and must deprecate such errors being laid to my charge. What I did write will be found in my "Account of "Upper and Lower Suwát," and in the text above.

There is some difference between "Chúr-ra'í" and "Chará," as much indeed as between "Pus'hto" and "Pashtú."

The people do not consist of Torú Ál, or Torw Ál only, but Gárwís also, and Gújars, as mentioned a few lines farther on. It is very probable that the termination ál, in Birán-yál—Birány Ál—means tribe, as in Torú Ál, &c.

§ *See* "the Mullah's" narrative, para. 19.

Sar Dzá'e, is a distance of seventy-five miles,* but it is so narrow in some places that a stone thrown from one side reaches the other; in short, it is about a bow-shot across. The whole of this space is occupied by two tribes, first the Torú Ál, or Torw Ál,† sometimes called Rúd-báris, and above them again is the Gárwí tribe.‡ The former amount to about nine thousand adult males, and the latter to about three thousand, hence it will be noticed that this tract is pretty well populated. The villages belonging to the Torú Ál, from south to north, are:—Birán-yál, west of the river, eight miles above Chúr-ṛa'í; Cham, also on the west side; Gornaey, on the east; Chawat-Grám, on the west; Rámeṭ, on the east side; Chúkíl, on the east; Ajrú Kalaey (the Pus'hto word for village), on the west bank; and Mán-kiál, on the east.§ All these belong to the Torú Ál. Pash-mál, on the west side; Har-yání, on the east; Iláhí-Koṭ, on the west; Úshú, on the east; Kálám, on the west;‖ and Utṛor, also on the west bank, belong to the Gárwí tribe. After these, still farther north-west, are three villages belonging to the people known as Gújars,¶ and called the Bánḍa'hs or 'Hamlets' of the Gújarán, one of which is called Sar-Bánḍa'h, inhabited by about fifty families. It is close under the mountain of Sar-Dzá'e, the mountain barrier closing the extremity of the valley to the north. These villages contain, altogether, about six hundred dwellings.

"A short distance to the south of Sar-Bánḍa'h there is a marshy meadow-like plain of some extent, probably about fifteen jaríbs** of land. This is called the Jal-gah, a term derived from Sanskrit '*jal*,' 'water,' and Persian '*gah*,' 'place'—the place of water or streams—but not the proper name of any place.†† The springs or rivulets issuing from this marshy meadow, having collected together, flow downwards towards the south, and form the Suwád river, or, correctly speaking, the river of Suwát, or river of the Suwát valley.

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* My informant says, in the original, fifty *kos*, which I calculated at three miles to two *kos*. This is too much, however, because the *kos* in this part, called the *kachchá kos* by Hindí speaking people, is just about a mile, and no more, and therefore the distances between places from this point are less in the same proportion.

† These tribes are evidently portions of one of the three Tájzík tribes, namely, the Gibarí, Mutráwí, or Mumiálí, the greater part of which people abandoned their native country, and took possession of Pakhal or Pakhala'í when the Khas'hí Afgháns conquered Suwát.

‡ Here a good road diverges, which leads to the Abáe-Sín or Indus, and to Gilgiṭ and Yasin. There are indeed several routes, both on the east and west sides of the valley, leading into the tracts bounding it on either hand. Afgháns from Suwát have often joined in the wars carried on by the Musalmáns of Yasin, Gilgiṭ, and Ḳáshḳár, against the Sikhs and Dograhs of Kash-mír, and have followed the routes referred to.

Out of the places here named, "the Mullah" mentions "Baráníal," "Churrai," "Cham," "Kálám," "Mánkiál," "Ushu," and "Utrot." He turns Utṛor into Utrot, unable, apparently, to catch the local pronunciation.

§ The most correct way of writing this is Torú Ál, or Torw Ál, not Torwál. The Ál is the same as is described in the following note ††, para. 14. I believe I was the first to notice these tribes some twenty years ago, but, although the "Torwáls" have been recently noticed by Major Biddulph, neither the other name by which they are known, nor the Gárwís appear to have been yet discovered by others.

‖ From which point the dara'h inclines more to the north-west instead of north, as shown in my sketch map. A road leads from it to Gupuz, on the Warshigum river, and into Ḳáshḳár.

¶ *See* page 215.

** A *jarib* is sixty yards by sixty.

†† But which constantly appears in our maps as such, even in "Afghan Turkistan," so called by Europeans, or rather by English writers.

Here again I am mis-quoted. Colonel MacGregor has, Vol. II., Part I., p. 28:—"JALGÁH, a marshy plain in "Yághistan, from which the Swát river takes its rise, whence, in the first part of its course, this river is called "the river of Jalgáh.—(*Raverty*)."

What I wrote in my "Account of Upper and Lower Suwát," page 27, is precisely as in the text above.

The most disappointing, and, I may say, inexplicable part of "the Mullah's" journey is his "explorations" in the Kohistán of Suwád. I should have thought that one of the chief points to discover and determine, if not *the primary object* of his journey, was the source of the river of the Suwát valley, but we are left in much the same position as before.

First he says, in para. 22 of his "Narrative," "Six miles above Churrai, near Náwe Baráníal (Chur-ṛa'í and "Nawey or New Birány-ál, probably) the Swát river divides into two streams of about equal dimensions (*sic*), "one from the Kalám direction, which I followed, and the other from the Darál valley," but which of the two is to be considered the "Swát river" he does not inform us.

"The Mullah's" Darál valley is the Chá-yal Dara'h of my sketch map. The person who described the Kohistán of Suwát to my explorer, being more intent on the valley through which the river of Suwát flowed, did not take the lesser dara'hs on either side into as much account as he might have done; and it was more particularly in reference to the river of Suwát that my man instituted his inquiries.

In the following paragraph "the Mullah" says:—"I arrived at Utrot *viâ* Kálám. Kálám is situated "between two rivers, one flowing from Utrot (an error for Utṛor), and the other from Ushu (Úshú). . . . "In nearing Utrot I crossed, by a third wooden bridge, a very large stream called the Gabriál, which is *the* "*main source* of the Swát river."

Here, then, he gives us some indication of which branch he considers to be the "Swát river," which is correct, and agrees with the information embodied in my account, published about twenty years ago, and in the rough sketch accompanying it, only, at Kálám, the dara'h should have been represented in that sketch as bending to the north-west, instead of north; for the stream issuing from the Úshú Dara'h comes from the north, instead of the north-east, as I have noticed in the text above. The person who described it to my man was

" On first issuing forth, and for some distance, it is called 'the water of the Jal-gah,' and afterwards enters the boundary of the Gárwí tribe, and from thence flows on, in a south-easterly direction, to Utror. From that point, under the name of 'river of Utror,' it flows down opposite to the entrance to the Dara'h of Úshú, lying in a north-easterly direction, out of which a stream issues, and unites with the Utror river near the village of Káľám, situated on the west side of the stream. Still lower down, it receives the

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an uninstructed person, who knew nothing of surveying or the use of instruments; and, as before-mentioned, the river of Suwát being the chief subject on which inquiry was made, both he and my man considered the side dara'hs quite a subordinate matter, although they are all as correctly indicated as we could expect, perhaps, under the circumstances, and without actual survey. "The Mullah's" account, as far as it goes, confirms the man's statements.

In paragraph 25 "the Mullah" says "the Gabriál"—which he just before mentioned as "the main source of the Swát river"—"flows from a glacier situated *about* three miles distant from the road," but he neither visited what he calls the Gabriál village, nor did he trace up to its "main source, the Swát river," which, he says, was but "*about* three miles distant from the road." Although detained at Utrot (Utror) "for two days on account of heavy snow," he was able to go on to "Lámuti," but, apparently, unable to trace the "Swát river" to its glacier, which might have been considered the *sine quâ non* of his explorations.

On his way to this "Lámuti," likewise, he reached a "*zeárat*" and "*masjid*," but, strange to say, he gives it no name, although he visited it again on his return from "Lámuti." On this occasion, also, he went up the stream issuing from the Úshú Dara'h, instead of attempting, at least, to trace "the main source of the Swát river."

According to my sketch map, the distance from Kálám to the *jal-gáh* or *jal-gah* under the great mountain of Sar-Dzá'e, where the river rises, is much the same as in "the Mullah's" map—about ten or eleven miles; and, had he gone towards the "main source," he would have found another *jaba'h* there, for it is very probable that the water in the marshy meadow-like plain I have described comes from a glacier in the mountain range near or at Sar-Dzá'e. In the month of July the *jal-gáh* would, probably, have been in the same state as "the Mullah's" *jabba*, which is the source of the river of the Úshú Dara'h, "the water being only visible in pools here and there, the *jabba* being almost frozen over." In August, however, this *jaba'h* would have been similar in appearance to the *jal-gáh*, the source of the river of Suwát.

"The Mullah," or his translator for him, has mistaken the correct meaning of *jaba'h*, not "jabba," which is a word used in the Pus'hto or Afghán language, signifying "a marshy tract where water accumulates," "a bog," and the like, which, in the cold season, would be frozen over, but which is not a lake. *See* note ‡, page 243.

As "the Mullah" was turning his back to the Dara'h of Suwát and passing this "*jabba*," the sun was setting, and with it set our hopes, for the present at least, and possibly for an indefinite time, of settling or setting at rest, from actual observation and survey, the doubtful point respecting the source of the river of Suwát.

It will be noticed that "the Mullah" has a "Gabriál," both in the Kohistán of Suwát and in the upper part of what he calls "the Kándiah valley." This would appear strange if not explained. He has not done it, and I will. He should have written, "village of the Gárwí Ál," not "village of Gabriál." Both parts referred to are inhabited by Gárwí Ál or Gárwí tribe, mentioned in my former account of Suwát, and on the preceding page 237. They *may be* of the race referred to at pages 161, 171, and 228 as Spín Káfirís, but, in all probability, they are Tájzík Gibarís, from the termination *ál*. This Ál occurs in a number of names current in these parts, such as Birány Ál, Mánkí Ál, Gay Ál, Darí Ál, etc., as well as in Pal Ál, Dúd Ál, Hindau Ál (*vul.*, "Hindwál"), and the like.

A knowledge of the past history, the language, and ethnology of a country or tract to be surveyed, would be of great advantage to a surveyor, as well as to an explorer.

There is another matter I must mention in the interest of geographical science, and that is, that it is necessary to receive "the Mullah's" explorations with some caution; and it is clear that a great deal must be taken on trust, for the following reasons. On a former occasion he is said to have "*surveyed* the whole route from Sar Lás-pur to the Tal Pass, and down the Panjkora river;" and in his map accompanying the account of his "explorations" and "surveys," the Tal Pass is in lat. 35° 30′ N., and long. 72° 20′ E., while in his "Swát" map, just issued, the Tal Pass is in lat. 35° 48½′ (a difference of 18½ geographical miles), and long. 72° 15½′ (a difference of 4½ miles). In the *former map* his "Lámutí" is 2 miles south of the Tal Pass; in his last map it is 24 miles. "Dír" was *then* 31 miles from the Tal Pass, *now* it is 44. In the *former* map, from "Seo" to "Lámutí" is 60 miles, in the *last* map it is but 54; from "Tal" to "Chitrar" *was* then 36 miles, *now* it is but 19; from the "Lahori Pass" to "Tal" *was* 25½ miles, *now* it is 37; from "Lámutí" to "Chitral" *was* 27 miles, *now* it is 38. In this manner, between his two journeys, the tract of country lying between the Indus and the river of Chitrál or Káshkár, not greater in extent than two degrees of longitude and one of latitude, has shrunk, in some instances, as much as 23 or 24 miles. It can scarcely be considered, therefore, that his present work "fits in very nicely" with his former explorations, and both must be received with some degree of caution. When I come to the route leading from the Dara'h of Suwát into Buner, and across the Indus into the Hazárah, I shall have to notice some other discrepancies.

When "the Mullah" is right in his statements, however, it is hard that he should be condemned. With regard to his use of the term "Kohistán of Swát," in the 33rd paragraph of his narrative, I notice that Lieutenant-Colonel H. C. B. Tanner, R.E., in his foot-notes thereto, says, "The Mullah has oddly omitted to give the name of this tract, which comprises one, if not more, of his Kohistáns, and which is called "Bashkár."

In this instance, however, "the Mullah" is perfectly right, and had he called the Kohistán of Suwát by the name of Báshkár he would have made a great mistake. There are several Kohistáns besides "the Mullah's" "one, if not more." The word is merely the Í-rání term for a mountainous tract, but it is somewhat loosely applied. Other dara'hs intervene between the Kohistán of Suwát and the Báshkár Dara'h. The latter I have already described, at page 194; and it terminates on the north and east at the Tal Ghás'haey or Pass. The river running through it is also called the river of Báshkár. *See* also page 229.

As to the "peculiar and difficult dialect of the *so-called* Dard group of languages," referred to in the same foot-notes, and said to be spoken by the so-called Bashkárís, all I can say is, that *jor* is pure Pus'hto, and *khairiyat*—not "khairat," which signifies "alms," "charity," etc.,—pure 'Arabic, but commonly used. As the lower part of the Dara'h of Báshkár is peopled by Yúsufzí Afgháns, and the upper part by Kohistánís—not Suwát Kohistánís—the use of such words are accounted for without going to the so-called "Dardistán" for them.

stream flowing out of the Dara'h of Chá-yal, which lies in a south-westerly direction, near the village of Shá-Grám on the western bank. East of the Utror river, and about half a mile lower down, is the village of Chúr-ṛa'í, where the name of the river again changes, and it is then known as 'the Sind, or river of the Kohistán.' On reaching the villages of Pí-á and Tírátaey, it receives the name of 'river of Suwát,' having, during its course, received, little by little, the waters of several rivulets from the other small dara'hs on either side.

"At the extreme head of the valley, near the mountain of Sar-Dzá'e, there is a pass leading into Káshkár; another road on the eastern side leads to Gilgit, through the Dara'h of Úshú; and a third leads into Panj-Korah, through the Chá-yal Dara'h.

"Throughout the whole of this upper portion of the valley, from Sar-Bánda'h down to the boundary of the Afghán portion of Upper Suwát, there are an immense number of trees along the river's banks, and the mountains are wooded to their summits. . . . .

"As there was no raft at Pí-á by which we could get across the river—such a thing as a boat is not known—we had to retrace our steps down the east bank of the river to Ban-waṛí, where we found one, and crossed over to the village of Landaey,* which is about two hundred paces from the west bank, the breadth of the river at this ferry being about one hundred yards. The banks are very steep here, and the river is very deep. I observed that, where the stream was deep, the banks were steep and scarped, but, where the water was shallow and spread out more, there the banks were like the sea-shore, more sloping and gravelly. Having now reached the opposite bank, we began our journey homewards."

*Fifty-first Route. From Kábul to Damghár of Suwád, by way of 'Ash-Naghar, a distance of one hundred and forty kuroh east, inclining north-east.*

"The road from Kábul to Práng has been previously described (at page 175). From thence you proceed one kuroh to the north-west, inclining north, to Chhár-Sada'h, a large village near the banks of the Jinda'h river, and then another kuroh and a half north-east to Radzar, also a considerable village, near the banks of the same river, which is distant about half a kuroh on the left-hand side. Going on for another kuroh and a half, still keeping in the same direction, you reach the large village of Utmánzí, and another kuroh, inclining more to the west, brings you to Trangzí. You then go one kuroh, much in the same direction as before, to 'Umarzí, another kuroh in the same direction, to Sher-páo, also written Sher-pá,† and two kuroh more to Tangaey, which is a town of some size. All these large villages, or rather towns, belong to the Muhammadzí Afgháns, who have been located here ever since the district was assigned them by the Yúsufzís and Mandars after their conquest of these parts from the Dilazáks,‡ and are now known as Hasht-Nagar, the first word being Tájzík and the other Sanskrit, and signifying 'eight towns,' but, as previously mentioned, the ancient name of the district was 'Ash-Naghar.§

"Shab-Kadr lies about seven kuroh south-west from Tangaey. From the last-mentioned place two roads branch off, the left-hand one of which leads into Panj-Korah and Dír, and on into Káshkár, described at page 177, while the right hand route goes into Suwád. Setting out from Tangaey, and proceeding ten kuroh north-east, inclining east, you reach Sháh-Kot, also written Sá-Kot and Tsaná-Kot, a small village‖ belonging to the Mandar Afgháns, and in it is a spring of water, which issues from the hills. On the way to it you have to cross a considerable tract of desert; and lofty mountain ranges show themselves at a considerable distance on either hand.

"Leaving Sháh-Kot you proceed four kuroh to the north by Dargaey, and Kharkaey, the last half of the way inclining more to the westward, and reach the foot of the Malá-khand Ghás'haey or Pass, and cross it. Though, comparatively, a small defile, it is a difficult one to cross. The river of Suwád, from its summit, lies some distance away on the left hand.¶ From the foot of the Ghás'haey you proceed one kuroh north,

* Not mentioned by "the Mullah," and not contained in his map.

† This name, in the Tájzík dialect, signifies the Lion's Paw. Pír-i-Ros'hán, *alias* Pír-i-Tárík, is said to have died here. *See* note ¶, page 247.

‡ *See* page 225.

§ A brief description of these places will be found in my paper on the "City and Province of Pes'háwar," contained in Vol. 10 of the "Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society," for 1850.

‖ This place has nothing to do with the Sháh-Kot Pass referred to under.

¶ The north.

inclining north-west, to Jalo-Grám, a large village belonging to the Yúsufzís. On the right of it is a small dara'h in the mountains, three or four kuroh in length, inhabited by some of the Rárnízí section of the Akozí division of the before-mentioned Afghán tribe. A stream flows out of it, which, running northwards, unites with the river of Suwát."

The Mala'h-khand or Malá-khand (the name is written both ways, and each correct) Pass is much less difficult to cross than the Mora'h Pass. From the Suwát or north side, the road, at the commencement of the ascent, and for nearly half way up, is good and tolerably broad, admitting of five or six laden mules, or three or four horsemen proceeding abreast. About half way up is a spring and pool of cool and pure water, around which spikenards flourish luxuriantly. At times, a few Gújars take up their quarters here. The mountains round, and in the vicinity of this pass, are more densely wooded than near the Mora'h Ghás'haey. The trees are pines, wild olive, and other forest trees.

On reaching the crest of the pass, you find an open space of level ground, sufficient for half a regiment to encamp comfortably, and for a whole corps at a push. This is the place, mentioned at page 260, whither Zain Khán, the General of Akbar Bádsháh, came from Chak-Dara'h, to facilitate the passage of the reinforcements under Abú-l-Fath and Bír-Bar, at which time there was a small fort here.

After crossing this level space on the way southward towards Pes'háwar, the mountains converge towards the road on either side, and at one point, for a short distance, rocks narrow the path considerably. The route down the southern face, indeed, is the narrowest and most difficult, admitting only of two horsemen or a couple of mules passing along abreast, or a single loaded camel. There is no water procurable except from two wells between the foot of the pass and the village of Dargaey. The road is also commanded every here and there from the hills around, but these heights could probably be crowned without much difficulty.

Near one of these wells, or rather a small tank, there is another road, apparently very ancient, leading over the Mala'h-khand range into Suwát, the whole of which, to within a short distance of the summit, is built up with slabs of stone, cemented with lime. It has many turnings and zig-zags, and appears to have been scientifically designed. Although it is the shortest way with all its turnings, nevertheless, the Afgháns prefer the other road previously described.

When the Yúsufzís and Mandars compelled Mír Hindá to evacuate 'Ash-Naghar, and, subsequently, the Sama'h altogether, he and his people, Shalmánís and Dihgáns, retired by the Mora'h Pass into Suwát, to Tárnah, which was the home and appanage of Mír Hindá, but a strong force was left to defend the fortifications in the Mora'h Pass. The Mala'h-khand or Malá-khand Pass was also occupied, for Sultán Awes, ruler of Suwát, although he had contracted marriage with Malik Ahmad's sister, who was now dead, feared an invasion from the grasping and conquering Khas'hís. He was not kept long in suspense. The Yúsufzís and Mandars, soon after the Dilazáks allowed them to settle in the Do-Ábah, being in a poverty-striken condition, used to carry salt and mats into Suwát for sale. They thereby acquired a knowledge of the country, and set their eyes upon it, determining, if possible, to obtain a footing therein as soon as they should be strong enough to attempt it. It was with a view of getting a footing in Suwát that Malik Ahmad gave his sister in marriage to the Sultán. Some, indeed, say, that numbers of the Yúsufzís and Mandars took service with the Sultán. The Afgháns, as soon as opportunity offered, assembled their forces, and endeavoured to get into Suwát by the Mora'h Pass, and several times attempted to force it without success. After spending nearly two months in this attempt, the Afghán chiefs sent spies to examine the Mala'h-khand Pass, farther to the west. The report they received was, that the garrison, which was commanded by Sháh Awes, or Wes, as it is also written, and Farrukh-zád, two of the greatest of Sultán Awes's Dihgán nobles, was negligent, and might be easily surprised.

It was determined, therefore, that, after the evening meal, the chief portion of the force should set out towards the Mala'h-khand Pass, while the remainder should stay behind in the old camp, and kindle watch-fires, so that the Suwátís should imagine that the whole of the Afgháns were in camp as usual. The main force marched all night, and, at dawn the next morning, reached the position occupied by the Suwátís in the Mala'h-khand Pass, and found the garrison asleep. The Yúsufzís and Mandars, and their confederates, fell upon them and began to slaughter them. Sháh Wes and Farrukh-zád, with the remnant, fled towards Tárnah; and Mír Hindá, who had held the Mora'h Pass so well, on hearing that the other had been forced, retired from it with his forces, and also made towards Tárna'h to secure that then important town.

The Ákhúnd, Darwezah, says it was the Sháh-Koṭ pass which the Afgháns were encamped before, but the Yúsufzí historian, who was living about the time, states plainly that it was the Mora'h Ghás'haey. Perhaps they were threatening both, for, although the Sháh-Koṭ Pass is situated about midway between the Mora'h and Mala'h-khand Passes, the routes leading to the Mora'h and Sháh-Koṭ Passes both branch off from Pala'í and Zormanda'í, the one to the right, the other to the left. The Ákhúnd also says that, after the fires were lighted, the Afghán women began to sing songs, in which they boasted of the prowess of their tribes, and the want of manhood of their opponents, and that they would be brought to battle next day. The Suwátís, noticing this, directed all their watchfulness to this point, and neglected to guard the Mala'h-khand Pass as carefully as before.

Having thus gained possession of the pass, the Afgháns descended on the other side, pushed on for a distance of two kuroh, and encamped in the open country, which contained a number of villages, and was called the S'hahr or K'hahr (this seems to refer to the chief place giving name to the tract around. At the present time, there is a village so called, standing probably on the site of a larger place), and through which tract the river of Suwát flowed. At the foot of the pass, on the northern side, the invaders first reached a strong castle, called Malakút, which they found abandoned. It contained a vast quantity of stores and other property. By this success, one third of the whole of Suwát, the most western portion, fell into the possession of the Afgháns; and, in the course of another twelve years, they conquered the whole of the valley.

To return to the account of the route.

"Leaving Jalo-Grám, you proceed three kuroh east, inclining north-east, to Allah-Ḍand,* another large village of the Rárnízís; and here is the tomb and shrine of that holy man, the Mían Allah-Dád, a Darwesh held in great sanctity by the Afgháns of these parts. To the right of this place, likewise, there is a dara'h of considerable size, out of which, from its southern or upper part, in the mountains, a river flows, which unites with the main river near Allah-Ḍand, which is situated near its banks. From the last-named place you go on to Tárnah, which is a town of some size, the largest in Suwát,† and distant two kuroh farther east, inclining north-east. On the right hand (as you proceed) there is another dara'h of considerable size, peopled by the Tsolízí clan of the Bá'ízí Akozí Yúsufzís. A stream likewise rises in the upper part of that dara'h, which flows towards the north and unites with the main river.

"The next stage from Tárnah is Máni-har,‡ another considerable village, lying near the banks of the river of Suwád, distant six kuroh in the direction of north-east, inclining north. Leaving Tárnah, you skirt a high mountain on your right hand, and pass three or four villages. About a kuroh and a half from Tárnah, this mountain reaches close to the river of Suwád, and you have to go along the road at the foot of it, with one of the two branches of the river flowing close by on your left hand. This road is only available during the cold season, when the river is low. In the summer, when it rises considerably, you have to follow the road up the mountain, which for some distance, overhangs the river. It is steep and difficult in some places, and only practicable for men on foot. It is called the Landakaey *Kotal*.§ Another road lies farther east, which leads over the mountain, and by this animals can be taken. As travellers generally choose the cold season for their journeys, the latter route is seldom used.

"Having passed round the foot of the mountain, the road turns more towards the south to the small village of Koṭa'h, and then runs north-east as before. Near this village are numerous ruins, and by the way are some remains of buildings, the work

* Allah-Ḍand is a small town of Lower Suwát, and is chiefly remarkable as being the residence of the chief of the Rárnízí division of the Yúsufzí tribe. When I wrote my account of Suwát, the chief was Sher-dil Khán, son of 'Ináyat-Ullah Khán. He was then a young man about twenty years old, and said to be lineally descended from the famous Khán Kachú or Kajú, the chief of the hundred thousand spearmen, who is often mentioned in these pages, but he is a Yúsufzí and Khán Kajú was a Mandar. It is said that the latter was buried here, but this is a mistake. His tomb is near Ṣawába'í, on the Badraey stream, a short distance south of Manera'í, and facing the hill known as the Taraka'í of Khán Kachú or Kajú. The tomb of the renowned Malik Aḥmad, his predecessor in the chieftainship, is near Allah-Ḍand, at 'Umr-ḍer, in the direction of the river, hence the mistake, probably, and that of Shaikh Malí is at Ghúr Bánda'í in Suwát.

† This is the "Mullah's" "large village" of "Thána."

‡ *See* page 252. It is now generally called Mán-yár. That portion of the Suwát valley down the river, from this place as far as Túṭakán, is called Lower Suwát, and all above, as far as Pí'á, Upper Suwát. *See* the account of the Dara'h of Suwát, pages 199 and 200.

§ But not "Landeh Kai," as Colonel C. M. MacGregor makes me spell it according to his "Gazetteer." Major-General J. T. Walker has the place marked somewhat erroneously in the Indian Atlas map under the name of "Lionduki." *See* page 261.

of idol-worshippers. To the right of Máni-har is another dara'h of considerable size, inhabited by the Rárnízí clan of the Akozís,* out of which a stream flows from south to north, and unites with the main river. From Máni-har you proceed to Hazára'h, distant four kuroh to the north-east. This village likewise is of considerable size, and to the east of it is another dara'h, out of which a stream flows which unites with the main river. From Hazára'h you proceed two kuroh farther to the north-east, to Mingowara'h, also written Míngowara'h.† It lies on the right hand, some little way off the road; and south of the village a large dara'h‡ runs away towards the south-east, which is also held by the Rárnízí clan. A river rises at the head of it, and runs towards the north-west to join the Suwád river."

"At Míngowara'h you cross the river of Suwád by means of a raft; and at the distance of a quarter kuroh north from the river's bank is the village of Damghár. North of it is the tomb and shrine of the venerated Ákhúnd, Karím-Dád, previously referred to, who was killed at Dawárika'h in Upper Suwád, fighting with the Spín Káfirís, and hence he is known as the Shahíd or Martyred Bábá.§ North-west of the Ákhúnd's tomb is another considerable dara'h running towards the north-west, and a river rising in its upper part runs into the river of Suwád. Its inhabitants are of the Tsolízí Bá'ízís.

"The tract of country extending from Práng to Sháh-Kot is contained within the 'Ash-Naghar district, and the Suwád territory commences from the crest of the Malákhand, or Mala'h-khand Pass. The river of Suwád flows near by, as you proceed, on your left hand, and on the right rises a lofty mountain range, bounding Suwád on the south and east."

*Fifty-second Route. From Pes'háwar to Garhí Kapúra'h, by way of Noh-s'hahra'h of the Muhammadzís.*

"From Pes'háwar to Noh-s'hahra'h-i-Khálisa'h,‖ or Noh-s'hahra'h of the Tájzíks, there are three routes. The first, or Sháh-Ráh, or Royal Road, which has been already given (at page 34, Section Second), leads across the river of Kábul, which you cross at the Noh-s'hahra'h above referred to, and enter Noh-s'hahra'h of the Muhammadzís, or of the Afgháns, as it is also called, which is one of the large villages of 'Ash-Naghar, or Hasht-Nagar, and the distance between them will be about half a kuroh. The remainder of the road from thence to Garhí Kapúrah has been described at page 244.

"By the second road, you set out from Pes'háwar, and proceed one kuroh in the direction of north-east to Kanbhú, and from thence in the direction of north is the Nahr-i-Sháhí, or Sháh's Canal, previously described, which having crossed by means of a wooden bridge, you continue to proceed for another kuroh, and reach the village of Daurá-púr. Leaving it, you proceed for a distance of a kuroh and a half in the direction of east, inclining to the north-east, to Ráno-kí Garhí; and, after going a kuroh and a half farther east from that village, you reach Budhí. Another kuroh brings you to Akbar-púrah, which is a place of considerable size, with a large bázár. To the north of the town, and immediately beneath it, is a large Rúd,¶ called the Katta'h, which has been cut from the river of Kábul. It flows for a short distance towards the east, and is expended in the irrigation of the lands. From Akbar-púrah one kuroh and a half in the direction of south-east, inclining east, is Khúsh Makám, which having reached, you go on another kuroh and a half in the same direction as before to Chaukí. From thence you go on another kuroh in the same direction as before, and reach the large village of Khidr Khel; and about the same distance farther in the same direction is Pabbián, from which place to Noh-s'hahra'h-i-Khálisa'h the road has been already described (page 34).

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* *See* page 208, and note ‡ for the correct genealogy of this clan.

† The Dara'h of Saiydúgán, mentioned at page 251.

‡ Not "Mingraura," as "the Mullah" has it in his narrative. It does not appear in his map, but, in his narrative, he tells us that "the Swát valley contains two large villages, Thána and Mingraura." He might have added, and a good many more.

§ *See* pages 236 and 243.

‖ Neither this town, nor the division of the Pes'háwar district from which it takes the latter name, is called "Khálsa," as stated in Colonel C. M. MacGregor's "Gazetteer." "*Khálsa*" is the name the old Sikh Government was called or known by; but "khálisa'h" means "lands held immediately from the Government, "and paying the dues directly to the Government"; and, the lands of that district being so held under the Mughal sovereigns of India, that name was applied to it.

¶ The writer makes a difference here between Nahr, "a canal," and Rúd, "a river," "a stream," "running water."

"The third route from Pes'háwar is as follows. Setting out from thence, you proceed one kuroh to the north, and reach the brick bridge over the Nahr-i-Sháhí, which canal comes from the left hand, and, flowing to the right, becomes expended in the irrigation of the lands of Chamkaní. Crossing by the bridge, you proceed three kuroh in the direction of north-east, inclining north, at which point are two villages. That on the right hand is called Mahmand, and that on the left Danúrí. On the way thither is much cultivation—fields and gardens—and plenty of water. Then you go on another kuroh in the direction of north-east to Dilazák, the name by which two or three villages (adjoining each other) are named, after the well known tribe of Afgháns so called. These are situated on the banks of the river of Kábul,* which lies on the left hand; and from thence you go one kuroh east to Shálí,† a large village on the Kaṭṭa'h Rúd, which stream runs on the left hand. Another kuroh farther to the east brings you to Jaba'h-há,‡ or 'The Bogs,' a large village so called, to the west of which is a wooden bridge. A water-cut from the Kaṭṭa'h Rúd has been carried under this bridge, and the water, after flowing to the right hand, is drawn off and expended in the irrigation of the lands (near by). Half a kuroh farther east from Jaba'h-há and you reach Akbar-púrah.

"The route from thence to Pabbíán and on to Noh-s'hahra'h-i-Khálisa'h has been given above. On the road from Pes'háwar to Akbar-púrah and Pabbíán by the above route there is much cultivation, and the country is well populated.

Setting out from Akbar-púrah, you proceed three kuroh north and reach the village of Shaikh Ismá'íl,§ north of which the river of Kábul and the Jinda'h, or Jindá, unite. The ferry at that point is known as the Guzar of Do-bandí; and at this place the united rivers receive the name of Landaey Sín or Little Sín. From the ferry, leaving the village of Nisata'h on the left, you go on to Noh-s'hahra'h of the Muḥammadzís, and from thence to Garhí Kapúra'h, as mentioned in the following route, or to Práng in the opposite direction, and from thence into Suwád."

### *Fifty-third Route. From Pes'háwar to Damghár of Suwád by way of Práng.*

From Pes'háwar you go four kuroh in the direction of north-east to Dilazák, previously referred to, situated near the banks of the river of Kábul. Having crossed it

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* These two routes, the above and the following, so near Pes'háwar, are, perhaps, of greater interest than special value for practical purposes near a city, and in a province which has been in our possession thirty-one years, as showing the state of the districts round nearly a century ago, and especially with reference to the manifold changes which have since taken place in the course of the river of Kábul and the different canals during that period, as well as in the courses and volumes of the streams in the Sama'h.

If we compare this and the following Route with the Thirty-fourth, given at page 176, we shall arrive at the following important conclusions. Neither was the name of the Adizí, nor Ná-Gumán, nor Sháh 'Álam (not "Allum") branch known, nor were these identical branches of the river of Kábul known when these surveys were made. At the period in question there were but two branches; one, the northern one, passable by boat only, the other, or southern one, fordable or bridged. What is now called the "Shaikh ká Kaṭṭah" (not "*Kuttah*," for that means *a dog*,) was then called the Kaṭṭa'h Rúd, and there is no mention whatever of the Bárah river flowing in the direction it now takes. It is never once referred to, notwithstanding the elaborate details, respecting the road from Pabbíán and Chamkaní to Pes'háwar, contained in the First Route. Now it would have to be crossed. On the way from Pes'háwar to Akbar-púrah also, the Bárah must now be crossed, but in the description of the route there is not the least mention of it, neither is the least mention made of it on the way to the same town by way of Daurá-púr and Ráno kí Garhí, although all the canals are named. In the present day that river must be crossed on the way thither.

In coming from Shab Kadr to Pes'háwar (Route Thirty-four, page 176), by Kángrah, Baṭ-Girawn, Yághí-Band, and Tarkhaey (which seems to have disappeared), to Dab, you used to cross the river of Kábul by means of a boat, which signifies that it is neither fordable nor bridged. Going from thence to Gul-Bela'h you then passed two canals which flowed east and joined the Jinda'h; now there are none intervening. Proceeding from Gul-Bela'h by Kharak, which apparently has disappeared, to Gújar, the present Mián Gújar, you, at the period in question, crossed the Murwára'h also by boat, but no Ná-Gumán branch. Now that branch intervenes, and it is by far the broadest of the three, being in some places, when at its full, over a quarter of a mile in breadth. Its signification is "unexpected," and the name is suggestive.

It is plainly stated before (page 177) that the river of Kábul has but "two branches," the northern branch being the river of Kábul proper, and the other the Murwára'h, the same probably as is referred to in the battle at Shaikh Tapúr as the Khazam (at page 227, note *), which is said to emanate from it and to join the Jinda'h, and that both must be crossed by boat, meaning that they were neither fordable nor bridged. Taking these facts into consideration likewise, it is not a matter of astonishment that the sites of many places mentioned in history, are not now known.

† This apparently is the "Sahibi" of our maps. Its people are, like those of Dilazák, Afgháns of the Dilazák tribe.

‡ The Pus'hto for a marsh or bog is "jaba'h."

§ Now, apparently, called the Bánda'h of Shaikh Ismá'íl.

from thence by means of a boat, you reach Dá'údzí, the name by which several villages named after that Afghán tribe are known. Two kuroh north from thence is Murwárá or Murwára'h, which is the name of a considerable river which emerges from the river of Kábul, and, flowing towards the right, unites with the Jinda'h or Jindá. Having reached the Murwára'h at the point in question, you go on for three kuroh in the direction of north-east, inclining north, and reach Práng, one of the villages of 'Ash-Naghar, or Hasht-Nagar, by crossing the Jinda'h in a boat to the west side of Práng. The route from thence to Damghár is given at page 239.*

*Fifty-fourth Route. From Kábul to Garhí† Kapúra'h, a distance of one hundred and thirty kuroh east.*

"The route followed from Kábul goes to Práng, and has been already described (at page 175). Setting out from the last-named place, and proceeding four kuroh to the south-east, inclining south, and leaving the large village of Nisata'h on the left, you come to the Do-bandí Ferry. At this point the Jinda'h river unites with the river of Kábul, and receives the name of Landaey Sín, or Little Sín, by which name it is chiefly known among the Afgháns. From the ferry you proceed twelve kuroh east, inclining south-east, to Noh-s'hahra'h (called Noh-k'hahra'h by the eastern Afgháns) of 'Ash-Naghar or Hasht-Nagar, and Noh-s'hahráh of the Muhammadzís, to distinguish it from the village of the same name on the opposite side of the river, known as Noh-s'hahra'h-i-Khálisa'h, and previously referred to at page 34, Section Two, which lies on the right-hand side of the road.

"There is a scarcity of water by this way, and considerable ascent and descent in some places. From Noh-s'hahra'h you proceed four kuroh north, inclining east, and reach the banks of the river known as the Kála'h or Kálá-Pární,‡ which comes from

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* *See also* pages 175 and 177.

† An Afghán would pronounce this word, which is Sanskrit, without the "h"—Garí.

‡ The word is, correctly, Kála'h-Pární, but the long "á" is sometimes dropped, and the word becomes, from constant use, Kal-Pární. It is the name of a great water-course, ravine, or river bed, which runs through the Sama'h from north to south. It takes its rise in the Báz Dara'h or valley, south and west of the Mhora'h or Mora'h Ghás'haey, leading into Suwát, and has several small and four or five larger tributaries or branches, three of the most considerable of which unite with it a short distance east of Gújar Garí, flow past Mardán and Útí, and some small villages on the east, the town of Torú, and some small villages on the west, and finally unites, after receiving other considerable tributaries, presently to be mentioned, with the Landaey Sín or Sind, or River of Kábul, about three miles and a half E.N.E. of Noh-s'hahra'h of the Muhammadzís, and rather more than a mile N.W. of the present Khatak village of Pír-i-Siwák, or Pír Siwák.

I call the Kála'h Pární a great water-course or river bed—at Kasama'í it is some forty feet deep—because it does not now flow throughout its course in a perennial stream, but, after rains, it contains a considerable volume of water, and sometimes rushes down with great violence; and its bed, particularly the southern half of it, below the junction of its upper tributaries near Gújar Garí, contains more or less water at all times of the year. The tract of country through which it flows is also called the Kála'h Pární district, and is constantly mentioned in the Yúsufzí history quoted in these pages, but latterly this name has grown into disuse.

It may be well to mention, however, that there is more than one tract of country styled Kála'h-Pární, which words are Hindí. There are two or three east of the Indus. The origin of the name is said to be pure and clear water, which, first flowing from a spring, and running over dark stones or in a dark stony bed, appears very dark to the sight, hence "dark or black water," as the words signify. Farther west, where the Tájzíks dwell, together with some Afgháns, and the Turkí tribes dwell, or did dwell, we have the same meanings in Sí-áh-Áb and Karáh-Sú respectively. *See* pages 58 and 59.

In the ranges of mountains bounding Suwát on the south, and Buner on the south-west, there are a number of water-courses or river beds, of greater or lesser importance, which unite with the Kála'h-Pární, the principal of which are, beginning from east to west, the Bagyára'í, the Lúnd or Lúndaey Khwar, the Guzar Rúd, and the Makám Rúd.

The Bagyára'í, or Bagyára'í Khwar, which latter word is the Pus'hto for a river bed or water-course, or bed of a mountain torrent in which some water is generally to be found, originates from a number of smaller streams and khwars, which bring down the water from the mountains near to and west of the Mala'h-khand Ghás'haey, runs past the low range of detached hills on which the Takht-i-Bihí is situated, on the east, and towards the village of Gújar Garí, near which it meets the Kála'h-Pární, and Lúndaey Khwar.

The Kála'h-Pární then runs about two miles farther in the direction of south-west, when it is joined by the Hisára'h Kanda'h, which comes from the direction of north-west. Kanda'h is a Pihlawí word used in Pus'hto, and signifies a great cleft or chasm, a cavity, a large ravine, or channel made by a mountain torrent or torrents, and very deep, and in which water accumulates in the rainy season and after heavy falls of rain. It is of much the same meaning as Pus'hto *khwar*, but *kanda'h* is the name these great ravines were called by previous to the arrival of the Afgháns in these parts, the Πάκτυες notwithstanding, and *khwar* is the name the Afgháns themselves gave to them and others. There are several *kanda'hs* east of 'Ash-Naghar or Hasht-Nagar, but one much larger than the others is called the Hisára'h Kanda'h, possibly after "the Hisár," one of the chief places in the district in ancient times (*see* page 175). This *kanda'h* begins about three kuroh east of 'Ash-Naghar, and in some places is from ten to fifteen *gaz* in depth. It runs south-east to join the Kálah-Pární, and forms the boundary between the 'Ash-Naghar district and the Sama'h.

The Lúnd, or Lúndaey Khwar, is so called from the Pus'hto or Afghán word *lúnd* for "wet," "watery," "moist," etc., as mentioned in the description of the Dara'h of Suwát. Its plural form, with a masculine noun,

the left hand (north), and flows towards the right, and unites with the Landaey Sín

is *láṅw-dah*, and with a feminine, *landa'h* and *landey* respectively. Like other adjectives of its class, in the masculine, it takes the affix *aey* (*see* under Nawa'h-ga'í, at page 113), used to indicate diminution and to lessen the importance of a word, or to convey contempt (*see* my Grammar, page 29), as in the word *land*, "short," "little," etc., and *landaey*, its diminutive, in the words Landaey Sín (for which word Lúndaey must not be mistaken), and the name of this river bed or ravine is therefore known as the Lúndaey Khwar as well as the Lúnd Khwar. I have entered into these particulars because persons unaware of these matters turn the name into "*Lúnkhor*," "*Lúnkwar*," "*Lúndkhor*," and the like.

The Lúnd or Lúndaey Khwar takes its rise from a number of minor branches in the same great mountain range as the Bagyára'í, but farther to the east, and west of the village of Kharkaey. After running south, during which it is joined by other branches, some of considerable size, it reaches the large village to which it gives name, the village of Lúnd or Lúndaey Khwar—*lit.*, the village on the Lúnd or Lúndaey Khwar—close to which, on the south side, another considerable branch unites with it, after which, and immediately north of the Paja'h range of hills, and near Sayyid-ábád, it unites with the Kála'h-Pární. The two then, after running farther south, unite with the Bagyára'í about two miles north of Gújar Garí, at which point the Togh Nála'h or stream, and some minor affluents, also penetrating the Paja'h hills farther east, join them.

The Balar (not "Bálar") Khwar, which is mentioned by Khush-hál Khán, Khatak, under the name of Balar Nála'h, in which, near Gumbat, he once laid an ambush, lies much farther east, towards the *Maira'h* or desert, and its tributary, the Shiga'í—in Pus'hto *shiga'í* signifies "sandy," "gravelly," "pebbly,"—or Shiga'í Khwar, or Gravelly Kanda'h, may also be called feeders, in some degree at least, of the Kála'h-Pární. The Balar Khwar takes its rise near the extreme northern point of the *Maira'h*, some distance east of the village of Hamzah-Der, and, running westward, passes immediately under the large village of Yár Husain on the south, and, shortly after, unites with the Balar Khwar or Kanda'h.

The Shiga'í Khwar or Kanda'h rises in the mountains running down southwards towards the Dara'h of Manera'í, from the range bounding the Chamla'h Dara'h in that direction. The country is much cut up by water-courses hereabouts, and the river arises from several small streams which unite near Amán-Kot, about six miles east of Parmulí, then bends towards the south-west in the direction of Hamzah-Dev, and running westward, passes close under Yár Husain on the south, about four miles westward of which it unites with the Balar Nála'h, just two miles south of Yár Husain, near Bázárga'í. The united Khwars, in one channel, then takes a course nearly due west, passes Gumbat a little to the north, at which point water is generally to be found in its bed, and about five miles farther west enters what was the *kol* or *joeyr*, now a marshy lake, into which the Guzar and Makám Rúds drain.

I have described the Kála'h-Pární and its tributaries as they *now* are, but, according to the statements of the author of these surveys, the whole of them used to contain much more water than they do at present, for he describes most of them as rivers. That he was correct in his statements the people of these parts fully confirm, for they say that, during the past sixty or seventy years, the water in most of the rúds and khwars has greatly decreased, and that many springs have altogether disappeared. The existent ruins of former ages, and the numerous mounds of earth, apparently artificial, which are to be found scattered all over this tract, which mounds, in the Pus'hto or Afghán language, are called *der* (but this well known term has been turned into "*Dheyr*," "*Dher*," "*Deyr*," and the like incorrect and meaningless words by one or two writers on the subject, and, consequently, instead of indicating what the word really means, they lead people astray), the diminutive form of which is *dera'í*, and still forms the terminations of the names of scores of villages, plainly show that, in bygone times, before and since the arrival of the Dilazáks, who were the earliest Afghán settlers in this part, especially before, it must have contained many flourishing towns and villages, and have supported a large population, who must have had water in far greater plenty than at present exists.

The whole of these khwars, however, still contain springs every here and there, and some water all the year round, as is attested by the number of villages built along their sides; and even in times of severe drought, when apparently dried up altogether, water can be found by digging a few feet in their beds, as is the case with most of the khwars in Afghánistán and on our Panj-áb border.

The Guzar Rúd or river is the next important tributary, which, in its true sense, is a river, for it has a swift stream, and is rarely dry. The name of this river—which is the Arabic word for a ferry, ford, or passage—is written with the Arabic letter ذ—*zál*, conveying the sound of *dth*, which people of Hind, and some Europeans who (notwithstanding their "ingenuity" in turning Afgháns into Πάκτυες) have no ear for sounds, cannot realize, and who, in consequence, turn it into simple د—*dál*, and make the word "*Gudr*," "*Gadr*," "*Gadai*," "*Gadar*," and even "*Gada*," after the same fashion as they turn the name of Mandar or Mandarn, written with Pus'hto ڼ, into "*Mandan*," and turn Kála'h Pární into "*Chalpani*," and even into "*Chalpanikhwar*," as if it were one word.

The Guzar Rúd issues from the mountains forming the south-west boundary of Buner, a little to the north-west of Sangáo, passes the three small villages called Kátlang (*see* page 195), pierces the Paja'h hills immediately west of Jamál Garí, passes the village called Guzar or "The Passage or Ford," which gives name to the river, enters—and, when these surveys were made, went to form—the *joeyr*, *kol*, or lake, now a mere marsh, referred to at page 247, where the Mukám Rúd and other khwars from the east, also empty themselves. Then, in a united channel, they issue from this marshy tract lower down, and the stream passes east of Torú, and about two miles south of that town unites with the Kála'h Pární, just above Ághalah-Der, which name, although it has a significant meaning in Pus'hto, has been turned into "Alahdèr," "Aladher," "Attadeyr," "Ghuladheyr," "Ghaladair," and "Gholader," by as many modern writers and compilers—anything but the correct name.

The Makám (incorrectly made "Mokam") Rúd was known in former times as "the river of the Yúsufzís," the name of which is evidently derived from the 'Arabic "*makám*" or "*mukám*," signifying "a station," "a place of residence or encamping," or "the halting of an army," and is not an uncommon name for a small river. It *now* takes its rise from two small streams rising at the head of the Súdam valley, in the mountains bounding Buner on the south—the half of its southern boundary—which unite about a mile north of Bázár. It then runs to the south-west, for a short distance west of Rustam, below which it receives a tributary from the eastward, which rises in the mountains a few miles west of Anbela'h, and continues its course south-west through the Súdam Valley as far as Bakhshalaey, when it turns south, and, passing by Sháh-Báz Garí, and Garí Kapúra'h, enters what was the great *kol*, *joeyr*, or lake, previously referred to.

The author of these surveys describes the sources of the Makám Rúd very differently. He says, at pages 247, 249, and 257, that its source is the stream rising in the little Dara'h of Mír Sháhí, which passes Náranjí, and, farther west, a little to the north of Parmulí or Farmulí, having joined another stream flowing out of

or River of Kábul, on the west side of the village of Pír-i-Siwák.* On both sides of this river's banks there are many ups and downs, and much *jangal*. The Radzaṛs, a sub-tribe of the Mandaṛ Afgháns, infest the roads in this direction."

I have already mentioned that Bábar Bádsháh was induced by Malik Hamzah, one of the Gagyáni chiefs, who had been in his service, to make a raid upon the 'Umr Khel Dilazáks, under the plea that they annoyed and molested the Gagyáni traders on their way to and from Hindústán, they having to proceed through the Kála'h-Párni district, then to Jánaḳur (not "Jahangíra"), Sunyála'h, crossing the Landaey Sín or river of Kábul at the Sargh-waṛa'í ferry, and thence to Níl-áb, Aṭak Banáras not then being in existence. The object of the Gagyáni chiefs was partly against the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs to whom Bábar was still hostile.

At the period in question all the territory between the Kála'h-Párni and the Abáe-Sín or Indus, including Buner, was in the hands of the Dilazák Afgháns, and the 'Umr Khel section of that tribe held the Kála'h-Párni district, which was covered, every here and there, with vast cane forests, in which canes six and seven *gaz* in length—from 18 to 20 feet—were to be found, and which forests were infested by man-eating tigers, and gave shelter to the rhinoceros. The bed of the Kála'h-Párni is said to have been much narrower then than now; and the 'Umr Khel possessed two villages on its banks, one on one side, and the other facing it, and both were connected by a bridge. These villages were situated, in all probability, north of Útí Mardán, but may have been farther south, for their exact position is not mentioned in history. The Mughals and their allies surprised the western-most village, and secured the bridge-head. The 'Umr Khel defended this with great obstinacy, and held the Mughals at bay until Bábar himself led them on. The bridge and other village were then captured, but the 'Umr Khel had time to send away their families, cattle, and other effects, to the Kaṛah-Már hills, before the Mughals entered the village.

In this affair, Sháh Boṛa'í, the wife of Rustam, a prominent man of the 'Umr Khel clan, and her cousin, perished. She wore male attire previous to her marriage, and was famed for her warlike prowess, and, subsequently, used to accompany her husband in military expeditions with her face veiled. Rustam was laid down with fever, and was unable to fly, and there was no means of removing him when the Mughals attacked the place. She defended him valiantly, and the enemy, who took her for a man, had great difficulty in overcoming her. She and her husband were both killed.

Soon after this affair, a Gagyáni chief having been killed in a brawl among his own tribe, Bábar, suspecting or fearing treachery, abandoned further operations and retired, as I have mentioned at page 224. This affair appears to have happened just before Bábar crossed the Indus and invaded the Panj-áb, and occupied Bárah and Khúsh-áb.

To return to the description of the route to Gaṛhí Kapúra'h.

"From the point where the Kála'h Párni unites with the Abáe-Sín, four kuroh north, inclining north-east, is Torú, a large village, or rather town, belonging to the Mashranzí Kamálzí, 'Uṣmánzí sub-tribe or division of the Mandaṛs.† East of it is a small river called the Maḳám, which rises in the mountain range north of the Súdam

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another small dara'h, called the Sher Dara'h, the united streams run towards the west, pass not far from Múchaey, and then, some miles north of Shewa'h, after having been joined by other tributaries from the mountains north of Rustam in the Súdam Dara'h (to which some recent writers have applied the fanciful name of "the *Ilam* "*Range*," but which is quite unknown to the people of this locality), flow down by Sháh-Báz Gaṛí, as already described. That this was the course of these two streams, which constituted the sources of the Muḳám Rúd, at the period in question, is undoubtedly the fact, as is also the statement that vast changes have taken place in these parts since that time, of which the people themselves are well aware. The effects which these changes produced, to the *kol* or *joeyr* in particular, I have referred to farther on.

*Now* those two streams go to form the Khwaṛ, which runs southward, and passes Parmulí, Shewa'h, Shaikh Jáná, and Naua'h Ḳala', when it bends to the west, and, running by Kálú Khán and Adínah, between which two places it separates into two branches, the main branch passes Ismá'íla'h, and both are soon after lost in the ground on nearing Gaṛí Kapúrah, where, instead of the *kol* or *joeyr*, at present there is only a large extent of marshy ground. This Khwaṛ appears to have no single specific name, since some call it the "Árang "Khwaṛ," others the "Wûch Khwaṛ," "Ûch Khwaṛ" or "Ûch Chína'h," some, "a feeder of the Kalpani," others again, "a great sandy ravine," and the like, but Ûchh Khwaṛ is the name chiefly applied to it. These are all the khwaṛs draining into the Kála'h-Párni.

There are others draining into the Abáe-Sín or Indus, which will be referred to in their proper places.

* This place is at present generally known as Pír Siwák, but it is sometimes called Pír Sihwák. It now belongs to the Khaṭak Afgháns. *See* also page 273.

† This is quite correct. They are Mandaṛs, not Yúsufzís. Not "Mishránzáes," however, because "mashar" and not "*mishar*" is the Pus'hto for elder, whence the name Mashranzí is derived, and the "*a*" is not long but short. The name of this place suggests connection with the Torú Ál, or Torú tribe of the Gibarís.

Dara'h or Valley, and falls into a large *kol, joeyr*, or lake.* This lake is of considerable extent, to such degree that, for a distance of three or four kuroh all round it rice is largely cultivated.

"Leaving Torú, you proceed two kuroh north-east, inclining east, to Amánzí, a large village inhabited by Afgháns of that section of the 'Usmánzí Mandars, and in going thither you follow the course of the Makám river. At this village the route given farther on branches off towards the Karyah or Village of the Bádsháh in Buner. From Amánzí you proceed three kuroh, much in the same direction as before, to Langar-Kot, a hisár or fortress of considerable elevation, on the east side of the Makám river, and giving name to the dara'h.† Half a kuroh farther on is Garhí Kapúra'h, a strong fort and large village, on the east bank of the Makám stream. The tract around belongs to the Amánzí Mandars.‡

"On the way from Torú to this place you meet with many ascents and descents, while a lofty mountain range lies near by on the left hand (the range separating this tract from the Lúnd Khwar or Lúndaey Khwar Dara'h or Valley). The country through which this route lies (from Noh-s'hahra'h) is part of what the Afághinah§ style the Sama'h in their language, signifying a plain or level tract, and extending from the Landaey Sín, or river of Kábul on the south, to the mountains bounding Suwád and Buner on the north."

*Fifty-fifth Route. From Kábul to Karyah-i-Bádsháh, or Village of the Bádsháh, which is one of the large villages of the country of Buner, a distance of two hundred kuroh‖ east.*

"This route may be subdivided into three. The third lies through Suwád, the first leads direct from 'Ash-Naghar or Hasht-Nagar, and the second is by Langar-Kot.

"*First Road.*—By 'Ash-Naghar to Karyah-i-Bádsháh. The road between Kábul and Noh-s'hahra'h as far as the Kála'h Pární has just been described. From the last-named point you go two kuroh north-east, inclining north, to Ghálaey-Der, otherwise Ághalaey-Der¶ (in Pus'hto, ághalaey means pleasing, agreeable, etc.), now wholly

* This *joeyr* or *kol* has almost disappeared. The cause of this change is partly accounted for in note ‡, page 249, which see, and note ‡, page 244, para. 10.

† After what is stated here, and what immediately follows, it is almost superfluous to say that Langar-Kot, etc., is not "the modern Kapurda Garri, a fort built in 1670 to command the plain of Yusufzai."

Langar-Kot is mentioned in the Yúsufzí history which was written more than a century before 1670, indeed, before 975 H., 1566-67 A.D. There is no doubt but that it is an ancient site, probably of a fortress, which appears to have given name to the dara'h. The low range of hills on which it stood was called the Koh-i-Langar, or Langar range, before the time of Akbar Bádsháh at least.

After the disaster sustained by Akbar's troops in their retreat from Suwát, related farther on, the young Prince, Murád, along with the Rájah, Todar Mal, at the head of fresh forces, was hurried across the Indus, from Akbar's camp at Atak, to oppose the victorious Afgháns, who were reported to be in full march upon that place, and took post at Misrí Bánda'h to threaten their flank. Soon after, the young Prince was recalled, and the Kunwar, Mán Singh, was summoned from the neighbourhood of Jam-rúd, where he was watching the Táríkís, to serve under the Rájah's orders. Mán Singh at this time erected a fortification near the site of Úhandh—said to have been that of an ancient city, but, at that time, only a great mound of earth—and made arrangements for the cultivation of the lands belonging to it.

In the meantime Todar Mal moved from Misrí Bánda'h to the Koh-i-Langar, which range, Abú-l-Fazl, the historian of Akbar's reign, says, is an offshoot from the mountains of Suwát (of the mountains bounding Suwát and Buner on the south), and there the Rájah erected a permanent camp. From these two points, Langar-Kot and Úhandh, the two commanders began to make raids into the territory of the Mandars and Yúsufzís, and to plunder and devastate it, and massacre its people. These events happened in 1586 (994 H.), nearly a century before 1670.

Langar, in Persian, means a place where food is daily given away to the poor and needy, also a circle or enclosure of stone, brick, or other material, erected round the tomb and shrine of some holy man among the Musalmáns; and, sometimes, a khánkah, or religious structure built for recluses, is also called a Langar. In the hills referred to there was, no doubt, such a structure as is here mentioned.

Garhí Kapúra'h is sometimes called Kot Kapúra'h.

After capturing the Dilazák villages just previously named, Bábar Bádsháh and his Gagyání allies set out in pursuit of the fugitive Dilazáks in the direction of Sháh-Báz Garah and Karah-Már. After proceeding for a distance of three kuroh, night overtook him, and he encamped near the Mákam river; and close to the place where his camp was pitched, one Yúsufzí historian says, "the fort of Langar-Kot now stands," that is, the defences erected by the Rájah, Todar Mal, above referred to. They are now in ruins. The village of the Langar is mentioned by the Akhúnd, Darwezah, in his work. It was here that the notorious heretic, the Kalandar, Sháh-Báz, took up his residence when he came from Khurásán into the Sama'h, and here was a *langar*, the tomb of the venerated Sayyid Mahmúd. *See* page 218.

‡ *See* note †, page 246.

§ The 'Arabic plural of Afghán, in the same manner as Turk, and Tarákamah. It is commonly used in Persian writings.

‖ One copy of the original has "one hundred and eighty kuroh."

¶ "Ghuladheyr," "Alahder," "Aladher," "Attadeyr," "Gholader," etc., as in our maps and gazetteers, is not correct. The correct name is shown by its Pus'hto meaning. It is in the Kála'h Pární district. As mentioned elsewhere, it is probably near the place where the 'Umr Khel Dilazák villages stood, which were

deserted, but, in ancient times, the site of a strong fort, and the seat of government of this tract of country. Torú, Langar-Koṭ, and other villages, lie some distance from it to the north and east respectively. Another five kuroh from thence in the direction of north-east, and you reach Míán Khán, and then, keeping onward for eight kuroh more, much in the same direction as before, arrive at the village of Rustam, situated on the east side of the Maḳám river. Setting out from thence, you proceed for another eight kuroh in the direction of north, inclining north-east, to Túrsak,* and on the way thither have to cross a defile of considerable elevation, the crest of which marks the boundary between the Sama'h and Buner, and when you reach the foot of this defile the Sama'h terminates.

"From Túrsak you go on to Maira'h, distant a kuroh and a half in the direction of north, inclining north-west. As the Afgháns of the small dara'h in which Túrsak and Maira'h are situated belong to the 'Ísázís, a small section of the Ilyászí Yúsufzís, it is also called the 'Ísází Dara'h. You next proceed three kuroh from Maira'h, in the direction of north-east, to Pá-e Khel and Kálá Khel, two villages belonging to the Gadází clan of the above-mentioned Ilyászís; and the river of Buner flows below these villages on the east side.

"Another kuroh north from Pá-e Khel brings you to 'Ḳaryah-i-Bádsháh,' or 'Village of the Bádsháh,' or 'Bádsháh's Village,' which is of considerable size, situated at the foot of the mountain range separating Buner from Suwád. The river of Buner, before referred to, is crossed below the village to the west side; and north of the village is a small stream, which comes from the direction of east, and, on the west, unites with the river of the Gadází Dara'h. A little to the north of the point of junction of the two streams is the *mazár*—tomb and shrine—of the Sayyid, 'Alí, the Tirmizí, a native of Tirmiz on the Ámúíah (Oxus), whose disciple the Ákhúnd, Darwezah, was. The Afgháns hold the Sayyid, 'Alí, in the greatest veneration, and style him the Pír Bábá. The village is peopled by the Sayyid's descendants.†

"*Second Road.*—By Langar-Koṭ and Súdam, or Sudam, to the Ḳaryah-i-Bádsháh, or Village of the Bádsháh.

"From the village of Ámánzí, mentioned in the preceeding (Fifty-fourth) Route, you proceed three kuroh east to Ismá'íla'h,‡ and Langar-Koṭ and Gaṛhí Kapúrah lie half a kuroh distant on the right hand.§ From Ismá'íla'h you go on to Adínah, distant one kuroh in the direction of east.‖ Leaving Adínah, you go on for a distance of another kuroh and a half east, inclining south-east, to Kálú Khán, with Takhta'h-Band lying distant, under the hills, on the left hand, in the direction of north-west, and Sher Ghund, about the same distance to the north-east. Kálú Khán is a large village, and the residence of Karam Khán, the Mandaṛ chief. From thence you proceed another kuroh and a half east to Tálandey, and from thence one kuroh north-east to Nawaey. Another half a kuroh north, inclining north-east, brings you to Shaikh Jáná. Leaving that place, you go on to Shewa'h, distant nearly two kuroh to the north, a short distance east of the Kaṛah-Már range of hills. This is a town

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connected by a bridge, and in one of which Sháh Boṛa'í, the Dilázak heroine, fell. It is also written Ághalah-Ḍer. A weekly market used to be held here. Pír-i-Ros'hán, *alias* Pír-i-Tárík, resided for some time at this place, and from it issued his manifestoes, and here he was surprised by Muḥsin Khán, Ṣúbah-dár of Kábul, and captured. He managed to escape from his hands, however, and again caused great disturbances. Finally, after having been again overthrown by Muḥsin Khán in Nangrahár, or Nek-Anhár, he managed to reach a village in the Kála'h Pární district, but some say Sher-páo of 'Ash-Naghar, where he died of fever, brought on by fatigue, chagrin, and exposure, and went to the place prepared for him. What happened to his remains will be mentioned in another note.

* Túrsak is a town of some size, belonging to two small sections of the 'Ísází (some say 'Áyishahzí) Yúsufzís. There is an ancient *ṭop* or cupola near this place, and another under the little range of hills immediately north of the town, known as the Ja'far Koh, on which are some other ancient ruins.

† *See* page 252.

‡ Incorrectly called "Smalia" in the maps. What appear in Colonel C. M. MacGregor's "Gazetteer" as "Smalka," "Shmalia," "Ishmalia," and the like, in as many different places, all refer to this place.

§ Captain T. C. Plowden, S.C., says, in his notes to the translation of a book styled "Kalíd i-Afghání," (page 180) that "Langarkot is the modern Kapúr da-Garrí," and that it consists of "four villages of Garri "Ism'aílzai, Garri Daulatzai, Kot Ism'aílzai, and Kot Daulatzai." A few pages farther on he says that "Garri Daulatzai (known as Kapúr Garrí) stands on the site of the ancient Langarkot," while, in the text to which this note is appended, Langar-Koṭ is mentioned and Kapúr Ghaṛí not. A few pages farther on (Appendix IV., page ii.) he says "Langarkot is modern Garrí Ism'aílzai *cum* Daolatzai." From the route above given it is clearly shown that Langar-Koṭ (the fort) and Gaṛhí Kapúra'h, otherwise Koṭ Kapúra'h, although near each other, were totally distinct places. *See* preceding note †, page 247.

Gaṛhí Kapúra'h is contained in Colonel MacGregor's work under one heading as "Kapúr da Garhi, about "6 miles east of Hóti Mardán," and, in another place, as "Garíkapúr, about 7 miles east of Mardán fort," as though two distinct places.

‖ Adínah is the name of a clan of the Radzaṛ Mandaṛs. The village is situated on what is sometimes called the Árang Khwaṛ, and Úchh Khwaṛ, but these names are somewhat loosely applied.

of considerable size; in fact, the largest in these parts.* From it you next proceed two kuroh north-east to Jalál and Ghulámán, and from the last-named village two kuroh north to Sudam or Súdam, as it is also written, another large village.† Two kuroh farther on from thence is the small village of Malandaraey.

"From the village of Shewa'h to the last-named place this tract of country is also called Sudam. A small river rises near here, which, not far from Shewa'h, joins that flowing out of the Sher Dara'h, and receives the name of Maḳám, which, after passing by Langar-Koṭ, enters the *joeyr*, *kol*, or lake, referred to at page 247.‡

"Setting out from Malandaraey, you go two kuroh and a half to Tuwaey (in one copy Nuwaey), and by the way have to cross a great *kotal* or pass,§ named after the village of Malandaraey, and its crest marks the extremity of the Sama'h territory in that direction, and beyond it, on the other side, is Buner. Having crossed this *kotal* you proceed two kuroh and a half to Khaṛappa'h, which Afgháns pronounce Kaṛappa'h. North of it there is a lofty defile to be crossed, and having done so, and descended on the other side towards the north, you reach a small river, known as the Makhzí river, which comes from the right hand, and, flowing towards the north, unites with the river of Buner.

"Departing from thence, you go on for a distance of two kuroh north-west, inclining north, to Ilaey, an ancient village, situated on a spur from the mountains, on the left-hand side of the route. In bygone times it was the place of residence of the ruler‖ of the Buner Dara'h. The river of Buner¶ flows beneath it on the east side, while on the right hand is an extensive open plain, known as Makhzí,** after a clan of the Ilyászí Yúsufzís. A road coming from the right hand, from the direction of Shikolí,†† joins this route at Ilaey.

"Leaving the latter village, you proceed, for a distance of three kuroh north, along the banks of the river of Buner, and reach Ghází Khání, a small village on the right hand, on a hill. Continuing onwards, in the same direction as before, for a kuroh and half along the banks of the same river, you reach Sulṭán-Wash,‡‡ another small village on the right hand, also perched upon a crag. Setting out from thence, and going another kuroh and a half farther north, you reach Ḳaryah-i-Bádsháh, or The Bádsháh's Village.

"Pá-e Khel and Kálá Khel, mentioned in the preceding route, lie at a distance on the left hand. The excessively mountainous nature of the tract passed through on the latter part of this route is almost beyond description."

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* Shewa'h is remarkable as being the place, on a hill near which, the beacon fire was lighted as a signal to the people of the villages round, when it was determined to cut off the followers of the Khalífah, the Sayyid, Aḥmad, referred to in note †, page 252. The Afgháns wished to get rid of him and his followers, for they never yet tolerated Khalífah, or "King;" and, according to the plot formed for the purpose, they induced the Sayyid to send out his followers into the different villages round to collect the tithe, in order to separate them. The firing of the beacon at Shewa'h was the signal agreed upon for falling upon the Khalífah's men; and, on a certain Thursday night, when one watch of the night had passed, the beacon blazed out. Some 800 of the Khalífah's followers were cut off, he being at Panj-Tár at the time with 150 of them. The Afgháns were about to fall upon them likewise, when Fatḥ Khán, the Mandaṛ chief, conducted him by an unfrequented route through the mountains to the north, and sent him in safety across the Indus into the Hazárah district.

† Also called Súdamúnah, or the Súdams. According to our maps there is no place so called at present. The chief of Súdam resides at Chhár-gola'í, about two kuroh and a half south-west of Rustam.

‡ It will be remarked that there is no mention of any river or river-bed crossed up to this point, which is another proof of the great changes which have taken place in the Sama'h since these surveys were made. In going from Adínah to Kálú Khán at the present time you must cross the Khwaṛ, in these days sometimes called the Árang Khwaṛ, and Úchh Khwaṛ, and, in proceeding from thence to Shewa'h by the above route, you skirt it the whole way; in fact, from Nawaey to Shewa'h, you have to keep close to it. The author, who is so particular in mentioning rivers crossed, and rivers near, would not have omitted to mention them had any existed at the time. It is the more remarkable because the sources of the present Khwaṛ are the very two streams which issue respectively out of the Sher Dara'h and Dara'h of Mír Sháhí, referred to at page 257, and which, in those days, flowed west instead of south, and were the sources of the Maḳám Rúd, at which period the great *kol*, *joeyr*, or lake, existed where now only a great marsh remains to attest its previous existence. The probability is, that, when the course of these two streams became changed through some convulsion of nature not recorded, or of which European writers have no cognizance, the great *kol* or *joeyr* greatly diminished, and soon became changed into an extensive area of boggy ground.

Another remarkable fact remains to be mentioned. As far as I can discover, the great lake bed immediately west of Ḳala'bat, which is alternately full and empty for periods varying from five to ten years, was formed about the time that the Maḳám Rúd lost its two affluents or sources, when they took a course from west to south, and since the author of these surveys wrote. *See* also note *, page 32.

§ *See* page 263.

‖ In the time when the Mutráwí tribe held it.

¶ *See* the Sixty-eighth Route, page 287, where the Baranḍú river is mentioned.

** This is the place which one of Colonel C. M. MacGregor's authorities makes into "Makhozai."

†† *See* page 215. This is a totally different place from that mentioned at page 231, but is the same as is mentioned in the Sixtieth Route, which *see*.

‡‡ Neither "Sultánwes" nor "Sultánwáis." Wash is an old Tájzík word and a particle of similitude.

A third road is not given, as, after reaching the Suwád valley, the route is the same as that given in the Fifty-eighth Route, farther on.

*Fifty-sixth Route. From the S'hahr of Bájawṛ to Damghár of Suwád.*

"Issuing from the S'hahr, and proceeding one kuroh to the east, you come to the large village of Ḳalá'-cha'h, and the river of Sherí* flows on the left hand, and Náwa'h Ḍand lies on the right. The village of Mahmandzí lies on the left hand, on the other side of the afore-mentioned river.

"From thence (Ḳalá'-cha'h) you go on another half a kuroh east to Súraey Wálah, another small village, and on the way thither you have to cross the before-mentioned river. After going another kuroh and a half from thence you reach Jár, which is a large village on the left hand, on the river of Chanḍawul, and the river of the Bábá-Ḳara'h Dara'h lies on the west side of it, the village being thus situated between two rivers, which unite to the east of it, while the Sherí river flows near by, on the right-hand side.

"From Jár you proceed to Anís Khel,† a large village on the Sherí river, distant one kuroh east. The rivers of Jár and the Maidán Dara'h come from the left hand, and unite with the before-mentioned river. You then proceed two kuroh farther east to Aogúsum, and another kuroh to Guṛaṛ. Three kuroh farther, in the direction of north-east, brings you to Khema'h,‡ a large village belonging to the Yúsufzí Afgháns, and the river of Bájawṛ, flowing to the right hand, joins the river of Panj-Korah.

"From this village to Toṛ-mang, and from thence to Damghár, the route has been previously described.§ The territory of Bájawṛ extends as far east as Khema'h; and from Aogúsum‖ east the Yúsufzí tribe is located."

*Fifty-seventh Route. From the S'hahr of Bájawṛ to 'Ash-Naghar or Ḥasht-Nagar.**

"There are two roads to 'Ash-Naghar from the S'hahr of Bájawṛ. One goes by Náwa'h-ga'í and Khema'h,¶ as has been already mentioned: the other is as follows.

"Setting out from the S'hahr, and proceeding fourteen kuroh south-east, you reach Baṛhang,** a small village belonging to the Utmán Khel Afgháns. From thence you go eight kuroh to Trikh-Áo,†† the name of a ferry over the river of Panj-Korah, which ferry they also style by the name of Zángo. You pass the river by means of a raft, and go on for seven kuroh farther towards the south to Búcha'h,‡‡ and at that point cross the river of Suwád by means of a bridge, but, according to the statements of some persons, by means of a *zángo*, or raft; hence one of the names of the ferry.

"The details respecting the remainder of the route between Búcha'h and 'Ash-Naghar have been previously given (at page 177)."

*Fifty-eighth Route. From the S'hahr of Bájawṛ to the Ḳaryah-i-Bádsháh or the Bádsháh's Village in Buner.*

"The route leading from the S'hahr of Bájawṛ to Damghár has just been described (in the Fifty-fourth Route).

"Leaving Damghár, and proceeding south for a short distance, you reach the river of Suwád, and cross it by means of a raft. You then continue in the same direction for another kuroh, and reach Míngowaṛa'h, which is a large village on a mountain spur,§§ lying on the left-hand side of the route, which follows the course of a river bed.

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* The same as is mentioned in the Thirty-sixth Route, and in the Eighteenth, pages 143 and 182.

† *See* page 164.

‡ *See* pages 116 and 178.

§ At page 231. *See* also page 178.

‖ This place is in the Maidán Dara'h. *See* page 117.

¶ *See* page 178.

** *See* page 219.

†† Trikh-Áo, in Pus'hto, has a meaning, but "Tarnao," as it has been erroneously styled, none. It is in the Utmán Khel country, not in "Hashtnagar."

‡‡ *See* page 177. Here the river of Suwád is sometimes called the Ágaṛah, from the small stream, apparently, which rises on the northern face of the mountain range, bounding Lower Suwát on the south, and flows to the west, joins the united rivers of Bájawṛ, Báshḳár, Panj-Korah, and the river of Suwát, about eight miles below the junction of the latter with the three former rivers and their feeders.

§§ This place consists of some seven or eight hundred houses, and contains a number of Hindú inhabitants. It is a short distance from the left or eastern bank of the Suwát river, and north-west of it, on the opposite side, is Damghár.

Saiydú, or, in the plural form, Saiydúgán, giving name to the dara'h likewise—"Syaḍú-gam," as it appears in Colonel C. M. MacGregor's "Gazetteer," and "Seedo" of Major Biddulph's book, being quite out of the question—became famous after the author of these surveys wrote his account, as the residence of the Akhúnd

From Míngowara'h you go two kuroh south, to Saiydú, which lies on the left hand. It appears to be the site of an ancient city, for there are extensive and massive ruins car by, among which is a *top* or cupola. From this point two roads diverge. The right-hand one is as follows:—Leaving Saiydú, and proceeding one kuroh to the south-west, you come to Gulaey-Grám, which is situated on the right-hand side of the way.

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of Suwát, about which poor old recluse the most absurd nonsense has been, and still is, written. I gave a short account of him and his mode of life twenty years ago, in my paper on Suwát, previously referred to in these Notes, and need not recapitulate it here.

Persons interested in so doing were in the habit of spreading reports that this old priest, whom they made out as having numerous armies of Gházís at his back, was ready to pour them down upon our territory. He was said to be "occupied day and night in plotting against us"—in fact, that he did nothing else—and even that he was a king-maker. Colonel C. M. MacGregor even, in his Gazetteer ("Central Asia," Part I., Vol. 3, page 155), says:—"The Akhún proposed that a chief hitherto unconnected with Swát should be chosen (as "king), and, among other nominations, pointed out Syad Akbar of Satána as a man of energy, head, true "Mahamadan [*sic*] principles, qualified for the position, with the advantage of being a Syad.

"Syad Akbar was accordingly invited to become *King* of Swát, under the patronage of the Akhún, and "shortly after was duly installed," etc.

Whether he ascended a throne and assumed a crown and sceptre or not, is not said.

On the very next page the compiler writes of "the Swát Governor," "the Swát Government," and "the "rulers of Swát." All these terms could scarcely refer to the poor old recluse. Such are the errors caused by shutting our eyes to the fact of the existence of the chiefs of the different great clans, especially the chiefs of the Rárnízís and Bá'ízís.

Another writer, the Rev. J. Cave Browne, in a book entitled "Punjab and Delhi, in 1857" (Vol. II., p. 311), says:—

"On our northern frontier, in the Swat valley, the laboratory of Mahommedan intrigue, the right hand of the Alchemist was paralyzed at the very moment when he had seemed to have attained the grand *eureka* of his life. The *Badshah* whom the wily Akhund of Swat had raised, in order to gather under the green banner of the prophet every Mahommedan fanatic [all are 'fanatics,' 'rebels, or 'dacoits,' who fight against us according to some people], and to recover Peshawar over the corpses of the unbelievers,—this creature king *died on the very day* that the tocsin of rebellion was sounded forth from Delhi; and the fanatic fury which was to have overwhelmed Peshawar spent itself in civil war in the Swat valley."

It was *a year after* this that I sent a person into the Suwát valley, as previously stated. Whoever will read the account of the Ákhúnd in my Suwát paper cannot fail to perceive the absurdity of all this.

Some years before the rebellion of 1857, the Akhúnd of Suwát, as the spiritual guide of Afgháns of that part, was requested by some of his most orthodox followers to appoint a Bádsháh, that is to say, a Sayyid, *not a king*—and the word also means a great lord, noble, or headman—but as a sort of high-priest, or rather a legate, to whom the *zakát* and *'ushr*, certain alms and a tithe sanctioned by the Ḳur'án, might be legally paid [Khush-hál Khán, Khaṭak, mentions a precisely similar circumstance in his day], and who must be a Sayyid, which the Ákhúnd himself was not. As the Sayyid, Akbar Sháh, of Sathánah on the Indus, was the head of the most influential family of Sayyids in those parts, the Ákhúnd named him as the most proper person to whom these alms and tithe might be legally paid, as being a descendant of the prophet, Muḥammad. He died *some months after* the Díhlí massacre, on which his son, the Sayyid, Mubárak Sháh, desired to be nominated to the same office, but, as the Suwátís were no longer inclined to pay the tithe, the Ákhúnd declined to do so.

These are the facts concerning the "King of Swat," so called. All appear to have forgotten that there were several powerful independent chiefs in Suwát, and that the most powerful chief of all the parts around was Ghazan Khán of Panj-Korah, and that his ancestors, and the ancestors of the other chiefs, never tolerated a king, not even Aḥmád Sháh, Durráni, in the height of his power, and never have done so.

I notice that Colonel C. M. MacGregor quotes very copiously from my "Account of Suwát," but, strange to say, does not even refer to my account of the Ákhúnd, and quotes that of others instead. One of the objects I had in view, when despatching a person into the Suwát valley, was to obtain an unprejudiced account of him from a personal interview, and the chief of a loyal Afghán clan accompanied my agent.

The late Ákhúnd left Suwát when a mere child, and resided in the Khaṭak country, at Saráe, at the *ziárat* or shrine of the Shaikh Raḥím-Kár. There he remained as a student of theology until past his thirtieth year, and was so abstinent that he could scarcely walk a hundred yards through weakness. When the Sikhs got the upper hand at Pes'háwar, and drove out the Bárakzís, he left the Khaṭak country and returned to Suwát. Previous to his attaining eminence as a spiritual guide, the most influential religious character in those parts was the Ṣáḥib-zádah [that is, the son of some man held in veneration for piety, just in the same manner as the late Akhúnd's son will be styled the Ákhúnd-zádah] of Úchhúnah—as the two villages, Úchh-i-Bálá and Úchh-i-Pá'ín, in Lower Suwát, are styled.

I notice in "the Mullah's" narrative, para. 16, that he falls into the same errors, only he makes a deeper plunge. His errors must be patent to every one conversant with the tenets and ordinances of the Muḥammadan religion, but, at the same time, they tend to prove what I have previously stated.

He says: "Titles appear to be assumed at pleasure in some of the valleys in the Swát district. Khán Saiyid "Ahmad Sháh" ["Khán Saiyid" is certainly new], "native of Sarsenai, has assumed the title of King of the "Sibujní Valley" [like all Sayyids, he is, of course, entitled to be called Bádsháh, as well as by the shortened title of Sháh], "and levies on all the villages in the valley a tax of one tenth of the produce of every kind of grain, "and a small percentage on the live stock. This tax, called *ushur*, is, properly speaking, rather a voluntary "contribution" [*see* para. 9 of this note] "or offering than a tax. Should there be no King or Khán" [there are several of the latter in Suwát, for example, at Tárnah and Allah-ḍand], "the *ushur* is distributed among "the poor. The word is from the Arabic, and signifies 'God's property.' The King's servants are called "*Ushurain*, as they collect the *ushur*."

It seems as improbable that a Mullá should be ignorant of the meaning of *'ushr*, not "*ushur*," as that a parson should not know the meaning of *tithes*. Can the title of "Mullah" be an assumed one, as in "some of "the valleys of the Swát district?" The word *'ushr* signifies "a tenth," and is derived from the 'Arabic *'ashara*—"ten." The giving of alms, legal and voluntary, is enjoined by the Ḳur'án; and these legal alms are termed *'ushr* or *tithes* by theological writers; the voluntary alms are termed *ṣadaḳa*.

As it is quite time that this "King" bubble should be burst, I may mention that, according to the Muḥammadan law, these tithes and alms must be given of five things:—1, of corn; 2, of fruits; 3, of cattle of all sorts and kinds; 4, of money; 5, of wares and manufactures sold. Such being the case, the collections made

"From this place also two roads diverge. The right-hand one leads over a lofty defile, after crossing which you come down into the Dara'h of Hazárah and Máni-har.*

"The left-hand route is as follows:—Leaving Gulaey-Grám, you proceed half a kuroh west to Kokraey, and then another kuroh south-east to Saif Bánda'h (probably, Saifál Bánda'h), a small village belonging to the descendants of the Ákhúnd, Darwezah, which lies on the left-hand side of the route. On the east is a great mountain range, and among its ravines a stream rises, which flows towards the north, and, west of the village of Míngowara'h, unites with the river of Suwád. You proceed on your way along the course of this stream. From Saif Bánda'h (Saifál Bánda'h ?) you begin to ascend, and continue to do so for a distance of four kuroh in the direction of south-east, inclining east, and reach the crest of the range, the way being exceedingly crooked and winding. On the right hand, on the crest of the range likewise, there is a small lake, named Hulam, which is a sacred place of the Hindús, and which they visit in Baisákh (April–May). The *kotal* or pass leading over this range is called the Bijwára'h Ghás'haey; and the crest of the range constitutes the boundary between the territories of Suwád and Buner.

"You now begin to descend on the other side, and, proceeding downwards for a distance of four kuroh, in the direction of south-east, reach the little village of Pilhana'h† Bánda'h, which is in Buner. On the right-hand side of it, from a ravine in the side of the mountains, a stream issues. From the last-named village you go three kuroh to the south, and reach a point where a river of some size issues from the small dara'h named Gadází, after that section of the Ilyászí Yúsufzís, and which lies on the left hand as you proceed. This river unites with the stream coming from Pilhana'h Bánda'h, and receives the name of Gadází river. The Gadází Dara'h so called is about three or four kuroh in length, and runs in the direction of north-east and south-west.

"Proceeding a short distance south from the junction of the two streams referred to, you reach the *mazár*—tomb and shrine—of the Sayyid, 'Alí, the Tirmizí. South of it again there is another small river, which comes from the left hand, and also unites with the river of the Gadází Dara'h. To the south of the small river just referred to is the large village known as the Ḳaryah-i-Bádsháh, or The Bádsháh's Village,‡

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by Aḥmad Sháh, or Aḥmad Bádsháh, but not Aḥmad *King*, as a Sayyid, are sufficiently accounted for. "The Mullah," apparently, might study 'Arabic and the Muḥammadan law with much advantage.

In the following paragraph he says:—"Three or four years previous to the death of the Akhúnd of Swát, "he expressed a wish that Saiyid Ahmad Sháh should be nominated king over the whole of Swát; the latter, "however, and other influential men, would not agree to this proposition" [truly], "but advised the Akhúnd "to allow his eldest son to assume *the reins of government*. This again the Akhúnd dissented from, saying "that he himself was a *fakir*" [What! the "levier of armies," and "leader in the field," attended by his "standard-bearers," a faḳír ?], "and his son must be one too." *See* my "Account of Suwát," in the "Bengal "Asiatic Journal," page 19, para. 3.

There are no "reins of government" in Suwát to "assume." Each chief, and each clan, is independent, but, on occasions of emergency, or the invasion of their territory, the different chiefs and clans combine. At such a time their supreme head would probably be (as his father used to be before him) Raḥmat-Ullah Khán, the head of the Molízí Yúsufzís of Panj-Korah—"the Mullah's" *inhabitant of Dir in Malezai*, referred to in note *, page 202,—the greatest and most powerful chief of those parts, in counsel with their then chief spiritual guide, whoever he might be. What was meant by the notables of Suwát was the receipt of the tithes and alms by the Ákhúnd's son, not "the reins of government," but, as he was not a Sayyid, he was not legally qualified, even had his father consented; and the knowledge of this prevented the Ákhúnd from assenting, had he been inclined to do so, and every Sayyid would have objected.

The most romantic account I have yet met with, however, is contained in a book entitled "Central Asian Portraits," by Mr. D. C. Boulger, but instead of a portrait we have a caricature. He tells us (p. 40) "how easy "is the passage, among the superstitious and fanatical hillmen of the lands beyond the Punjab, *from the hermit's* "*cell to the chieftain's castle*." A description of "the chieftain's castle" will be found in my article on Suwát in the "Bengal Asiatic Journal," previously referred to, page 19.

He also tells us that *Akhond* signifies "a priest magistrate"; and that his "exclusive spiritual power over-"rode whatever secular authority the native chiefs possessed," etc., etc. The Ákhúnd, Darwezah, mentioned in these pages, was no more a "priest magistrate" than the Ákhúnd of Suwát, whom the people round followed and venerated as their spiritual guide. The meaning of Ákhún or Ákhúnd, not "Akhond," will be found in any Persian Dictionary; and as to the late Ákhúnd's "spiritual power" over-riding "the secular power" of the native chiefs, a proof, in point, will be found in my Suwát paper, pages 16 and 17. If he possessed such power in his lifetime, who possesses it now, for his death appears to have made no difference to Suwát politically? The power remains in the same hands as before, but the personal influence which greatly guided it is gone.

* This is the Hazárah and Máni-har referred to at page 241.

† Not called "Bulhan." "Gadézái," and "Búnér," are equally incorrect, and "Buhnair" wholly so.

‡ The crude idea that the word Bádsháh applies to a king alone has caused a deal of nonsense to be written. If Bádsháh stood alone for king, there must have been a king of Buner between three and four centuries ago, for the Sayyid 'Alí's village is called "The Bádsháh's Village." There must have been a great number of dynasties unknown to history, according to the same logic. I find also that the Hindústání Waḥábí, the Sayyid, Aḥmad, who gave such trouble to the Sikhs and Bárakzís, and who was killed at Bálá-Koṭ, in Hazárah, in 1831, has also been dubbed a king, "to whom," says one, "Futteh Khan Mundur" [*sic*] "may be said *to have given* "*the crown*." He was not even styled Bádsháh, however, but Khalífah, and the writer might have said "given the Khiláfat," and so had a "Caliph," as well as a "King."

inhabited by the descendants of the before-mentioned Sayyid, or, as they also style him, the Pír Bábá, and the Gadází river flows near by on the right hand.

"The left-hand route from Saiydú is as follows:—Leaving that place, you proceed about two kuroh south-east to Islám-púr, peopled by the descendants of the Mián, Núr, grandson of the Ákhúnd, Darwezah, which is situated on a mountain crag.* From that side a stream comes, which runs towards the north, and near the village of Saiydú unites with the river of Míngowara'h. From Islám-púr two roads diverge. That on the left hand leads over a high mountain range, and brings you into the Dara'h of Manglawar,† the southern boundary of which this cross range forms, and which contains within it about forty villages. The water of the dara'h flows towards the north, and unites with the river of Suwád. From Manglawar you set out in the direction of south-east, and, having crossed the high mountain range, you enter the Gadází Dara'h,

"The right-hand route from Islám-púr leads for one kuroh up the mountain range, and down to Saif Bánda'h (Saifál Bánda'h?);‡ and from that place to The Badshah's Village the road has been already described."§

*Fifty-ninth Route. From the S'hahr of Bájawr to Kogá of Buner.*

"The road from the S'hahr of Bájawr to Damghár of Suwád, and from thence to The Bádsháh's Village, and to Kharappa'h, has been already described.

"Leaving Kharappa'h, therefore, and proceeding for a distance of one kuroh and a half south, inclining south-west, you reach Regah,‖ a small village lying near by the road on the right hand. Then you go on another two kuroh, inclining more to the south, to Baro Khel,¶ another small village, and the Kalaey-i-Miágán, or The Village of the Miáns, lies half a kuroh towards the east, at a distance from the road, on the left-hand side.

"From Baro Khel you go one kuroh to the south, inclining south-west, and ascend the mountain range before you for about the distance of another kuroh. Having gained the crest, you descend, much in the same direction, for another kuroh and a half. The defile which you cross is called the Anbela'h Ghás'haey.** It is very

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With all the discoveries, notwithstanding, respecting the "king of Swat *succeeding to the throne*," "which "*entailed the kingdom on the heirs for ever*," and such like nonsense, the writers do not appear to have discovered to what family the "Syad king," Akbar Bádsháh, referred to in the previous note, belonged. He was a lineal descendant of no other than the Sayyid, 'Alí, the Tirmizí, the Pír Bábá, mentioned at page 248, and after whom the above-mentioned village is called "The Bádsháh's Village." There were, a few years ago, and probably are still, three principal branches of this family, the head being two brothers, the Sayyid, 'Azim Sháh, and the Sayyid, Mián Sháh. The former, who was of an easy good-natured disposition, left his more active-minded and energetic brother to exercise his spiritual authority. They resided a good deal at Takhta'h-band, mentioned at page 248. *See* also note §, page 275.

The head of the second branch was the Sayyid, Akbar Sháh, of Sathánah, the same who has been made "king of "Swát" by English writers. The head of the third branch was the Sayyid, Rasúl Sháh, of Chamla'h. All these were both Sháhs and Bádsháhs, but not kings, and Akbar Bádsháh was no more "king of Swát" than "king" of "Sama," or "king" of "Búnér," or, indeed, "king" of "Yághistán." How numerous the "king" family was is proved from the fact that, at the attack of Sathánah, in May, 1857, among the "fanatics" killed were "four leaders, one of whom was known as 'the Badshah.'" Thus, by these accounts, in May, 1857, there were "two Richmonds in the field" at the same time, the Bádsháh of Suwát and the Bádsháh of Sathánah, and, it may be added, scores of others in the same locality, namely, all the Sayyids of the family referred to. Kings must have been, and must be, very numerous in the parts north of the Landaey Sín, for esides all these Bádsháhs, if it meant king only, there is the Bádsháh of the Spín Káfirís, mentioned in these surveys, the Bádsháh of Kanjút, and the Bádsháhs of Káshkár, etc. With regard to these latter, Bádsháh means Chief. *See* also page 172, where the Ákhúnd, Darwezah, says the Yúsufzís made Ghází Khán their Bádsháh, or Chief.

* The Mián's tomb may still be seen there. This person is the butt of Khush-hál Khán's irony in his poem on Suwát, a portion of which is contained in the account of that valley, page 204.

† "Manglor" is quite a mistake, and I have never written it so.

‡ The dara'h in which Islám-púr is situated lay in that part of Suwát inhabited by the Suwátí tribe of Mutráwí, and here, in this dara'h, their stronghold lay, called Bál-Grám, which was evacuated by them, and taken possession of by the Yúsufzís and Mandars after the conquest of the rest of Suwát. It is situated in the mountains between Suwát and Buner, and its ruins are still inhabited by the Gújars. The only open and somewhat level part in this dara'h is Kátila'í, where the Afgháns encamped when they moved against Bál-Grám. The Mutráwís, after this, retired across the Indus, where they, and others of the Suwátí race, may still be found. Kátila'í is more correctly a ramification of the Dara'h of Saiydú-gán, through which lies the road over the mountains into Buner by the Bijwára'h Ghás'haey, just described above, for which "Jawarai" is an error. It is well wooded, and much fruit is produced in this dara'h.

There is said to be a large *top* or cupola here, as large as that of Shankar-dár, of which I gave a rough sketch in my "Account of Suwát," page 12.

§ *See* page 252.

‖ "Regar," as recently written, is not correct: there is but one *r* in the word. In the hills south-west of this place there is an ancient *top* or cupola.

¶ Turned into "Burkilla" in our maps.

** What we call the "Ambela Pass," is not the whole of it: it is only a portion of it, and the above is the other part.

difficult and arduous, and the crest of it marks the boundary between the Kohistán of Buner, and the *Sama'h* or plain, before mentioned. Having cleared the mountains, you proceed for rather less than a kuroh in the direction of south, and reach the village of Anbela'h, which belongs to the Mandars. Leaving that, and going a kuroh and a half farther in the direction of south-east, threading your way along the bed of the Anbela'h river, with high mountains on either hand, you reach Kogah.

"The dara'h, through which you pass from Kharappa'h to Baro Khel, is called the Núrízí Dara'h, after a clan of the Malízí Yúsufzís; and the stream running through it, having made its way through the high mountain range on the left hand, unites with the river of 'Ísází, and finally joins the Abáe-Sín."

*Sixtieth Route. From Koga'h or Kogá of Buner to Hazrao, which route brings you into the great road from Láhor to Kábul.*

From Koga'h or Kogá, you proceed five kuroh south to Chinjzley—written and pronounced Chingley by Eastern Afgháns—a village of considerable size* belonging to the Khudo Khel section of the Sadozí clan of Utmánzí Mandars. On the way thither you have to cross a high mountain range in which a small river rises, and which flows through the Dara'h of Manera'í, mentioned previously (at page 216), and, passing to the south, unites with the Abáe-Sín.

From Chinjzley or Chingley seven kuroh south is Panj-Tár, the name by which a cluster of villages is known, belonging to the before-mentioned Khudo Khel, and the residence of Alif Khán,† the chief of that section of the Mandar tribe of Afgháns. In going thither you follow the course of the river running out of the hills, as previously mentioned, and here called sometimes the Chinjzley or Chingley river.‡

You then proceed five kuroh south to Manera'í, giving name to the Dara'h of that name. This is a very large village, belonging to the Mandars, and is particularly famous as being the native place of Najíb Khán, Mandar, who was originally a peasant of this village, and rose to be the Commander-in-Chief of the forces, and Minister, for a time, of Aḥmad Sháh, Bádsháh of Dihlí.§ One kuroh and a half farther south is another

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* This was once a fine, flourishing town, containing some 1,500 houses, and a bázár. It was destroyed by the force under the command of Major-General Sir S. Cotton, in April, 1858.

† This Alif Khán was descended, in a direct line, from a brother's son of Malik Ḳará, the father of the celebrated Khán Kajú. Fatḥ Khán, who died in 1840, was his eldest son. Fatḥ Khán had, among other children, three sons, the eldest of whom, Muḳarrab Khán, then about thirty, was on bad terms with his father, and had lived apart from him, in a fortified village some miles distant, for seven or eight years. The second son, 'Álam Khán, was a youth about nineteen years old, and was his father's favourite; indeed, the enmity between the father and his eldest son, Muḳarrab, was caused through the desire of Fatḥ Khán to set aside the claims of Muḳarrab, and give the succession to 'Álam, a mode of procedure which perhaps, more than anything else, has caused the destruction of many great Afghán families from their sovereign's family downwards. The third son, named Maddad, was about fourteen years old at his father's death, but he had caused his parent's displeasure to such degree, three years before, that his father would not allow his name to be mentioned in his presence, not even when on his death-bed. This boy had fled, and was living with Muḳarrab.

When the Sikhs, some years before, entered the Sama'h with a large army, to the number of 14,000 or 15,000 men, with guns, and under the leadership of one of the European adventurers in the Sikh service, but others say, under the command of the Kunwar, Sher Singh, and the Sardár, Harí Singh, appeared before his villages named Panj-Tár, Fatḥ Khán, who could not muster more than about 300 followers, made a gallant stand against the invaders for some hours, when they thought fit to retire, expecting that the Buner clans would come down upon them in the night. They burnt one of the villages and its masjid before they decamped.

Panj-Tár, which, as the name implies, consists of a cluster of *five*, not four, villages, again recovered, and became a flourishing place, and lately contained from 900 to 1,000 dwellings. It was, however, again given to the flames in April, 1858, by the force under Major-General Sir S. Cotton. Muḳarrab Khán, who had succeeded his father, lost his possessions, and, for a time, resided in British territory, but, subsequently, he again engaged in intrigues against us, in his endeavours to regain his lost possessions. What has now become of him I am unaware.

‡ The river here referred to is now known as the Badraey Khwar. It rises in the mountain range bounding the Chamla'h Dara'h on the south, one lofty peak of which is called Mahá-wan or Mahá-ban in Sanskrit—signifying "the great wood or forest," and Mahá-barn by the Afgháns. The village of Chinjzley is situated on one of its feeders, which is locally called, in consequence, the Chinjzley river. The united streams run through the Khudo Khel territory, and nearly due north and south after reaching the village named Salím Khán, then, passing Manera'í, Panj-Pír, and some other villages on the west, flow on to Zeyda'h, after which they bend to the westward, and enter the Abáe-Sín or Indus about a mile and a half west of Úhandh. In the present day, during the summer months, the stream becomes dry throughout great part of its course, but, after heavy rains in the hills, it changes to a foaming torrent, often impassable for days together.

§ Muḥammad Najíb Khán, son of Iṣálat Khán of the 'Umar Khel clan of the Sadozí, Utmánzí, Mandars, like many others of his countrymen before him, sought to better his fortune in Hind. His uncle, Bisharat Khán, was then serving under the Afghán chiefs of Rohil-khand, and to him Najíb Khán went. He soon distinguished himself, and was made a Rasála'h-dár by Sa'd-Ullah Khán, chief of Kather, during whose youthful years Háfiz Raḥmat Khán, presently to be noticed, governed for him; and Dowandaey Khán, another distinguished Rohilah chief, a nephew of Ḥáfiz Raḥmat Khán, gave him his daughter in marriage.

When the rebel Wazír of Dihlí, Ṣaf-dar-Jang, the progenitor of the "Kings of Oude," so called, was dismissed

considerable village called Kálá, and from thence you proceed one kuroh more, in the

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from his office for the base murder of his rival the eunuch, Jáwed Khán, the Bádsháh's favourite, he openly rebelled against his sovereign, Aḥmad Sháh, advanced with an army to attack him in his capital, and pitched his camp near Dihlí. Ṣaf-dar-Jang obtained assistance from Ḥáfiẓ Raḥmat Khán, who was under obligation to him, and he marched to his support at the head of a large force.

The Bádsháh endeavoured to induce Ḥáfiẓ Raḥmat Khán to desert Ṣaf-dar-Jang, and come over to him, but he pleaded that his honour was at stake if he should act hostile to Ṣaf-dar-Jang. The Bádsháh allowed his plea, but desired him, as he could not fight for his sovereign, not to fight against him, and to withdraw with his forces. This he did, and returned home. The Imperial officials, on this, endeavoured to induce some of the subordinate leaders with Ḥáfiẓ Raḥmat Khán's force, with promises of high pay and promotion, to join the Bádsháh's army, but, with a single exception, they did not accept those offers.

The exception was Muḥammad Najíb Khán, who was in command of a body of 100 horsemen. He entered the Mughal service; and, as his name as a bold leader was already well known, numbers of the Afghán soldiery joined him, and, in a few days, he had 2,000 men under his standard. He greatly distinguished himself in the battle of Koṭilah which followed, and was rewarded with a valuable jágír or fief.

During this stormy period he continued to rise to distinction; and, when another arch-rebel and Wazír, Ghází-ud-Dín Khán, the younger, who put out the eyes of the Bádsháh, Aḥmad Sháh, and set up 'Álam-gír-i-Sání, called in the Marhaṭṭahs, which act was the source of so much bitter misery to Hindústán, and caused the total downfall of the Mughal empire, already tottering, the Nawwáb, the Najíb-ud-Daulah, to which title Najíb Khán had been raised, was, in reality, the only Muḥammadan chief of power and ability who always opposed the Marhaṭṭahs. The Najíb-ud-Daulah could not, however, bring into the field an army sufficiently strong to withstand those whom Ghází-ud-Dín Khán had called in more particularly against himself, and he had to retire from Dihlí; and the Bádsháh, 'Álam-gír-i-Sání, had to open the gates and again to receive Ghází-ud-Dín Khán as his Wazír.

The Mussalmán chiefs of Hindústán generally, sought help subsequently from Aḥmad Sháh, Durráni, the Bádsháh of the Afgháns, to expel the Dakhaní marauders; and, when he entered India, the Najíb-ud-Daulah also joined him. When Aḥmad Sháh, Durráni, retired, after expelling them, and arranging the affairs of the Díhlí State, he, at the entreaty of his namesake, Aḥmad Sháh, the Mughal Bádsháh, nominated the Najíb-ud-Daulah, whose character and abilities stood very high, to the post of Amír-ul-Umará of that kingdom, as a counterpoise to the Wazír, Ghází-ud-Din Khán.

It would occupy too much space here to narrate, however briefly, a tithe of the events of this period, which belong to the history of India. Suffice it to say that the Najíb-ud-Daulah, subsequently, when Aḥmad Sháh, Durráni, was again marching to rescue Dihlí and its ruler, from the same rebel Wazír, Ghází-ud-Dín Khán, and his allies, the Marhaṭṭahs, the Najíb-ud-Daulah, with his own forces, at the passage of the Jún (the Jamna, so called), overthrew the Marhaṭṭahs with great slaughter, and Datah, the Paṭel, Madho Ráo Sindíah's uncle, their leader, was killed; hence the subsequent bitter hostility of the Marhaṭṭahs, and of Sindíah in particular, towards the Najíb-ud-Daulah's family. This happened in Jamádí-ul-Awwal, 1173 H. (January, 1760).

The battle of Pánipat followed early in 1761 (1174 H.), on which occasion the Najíb-ud-Daulah brought 16,000 men into the field. In concert with 'Ináyat Khán, son of Ḥáfiẓ Raḥmat Khán, he made an ineffectual attempt to storm the entrenched camp of the Marhaṭṭahs, and they were repulsed with the loss of 6,000 men.

Towards the close of his career, an effort was made by the arch traitor, Ghází-ud-Dín Khán, the Wazír, to deprive the Najíb-ud-Daulah of the office of Amír-ul-Umará, and to set up Aḥmad Khán, Bangas'h, of Farrukh-ábád, in his place. This caused enmity between the Najíb-ud-Daulah and Ḥáfiẓ Raḥmat Khán, who took the part of Aḥmad Khán, Bangas'h. The Najíb-ud-Daulah, on this, entered into terms with the Marhaṭṭahs, a pernicious example set him by others, and which was now become quite a custom, while they were ever ready to take up the cause of the highest bidder. Although in a weak state of health at the time, he was moving against Aḥmad Khán, Bangas'h, when he was taken dangerously ill, and it was thought advisable to remove him to Najíb-ábád, the town which he had himself founded, together with the stronghold of Najíb-Garh, close by, and also Ghaus-Garh, but he died at Hápúr, on his way thither. He was buried at Najíb-ábad, in the handsome tomb which he had prepared for his last resting place, in October, 1770.

The Najíb-ud-Daulah was a poet of no mean powers; and I have a Díwán of his poems, in the Pus'hto or Afghán language, in my possession. Respecting the fate of the last representative of his rival, Aḥmad Khán, Bangas'h, of Farrukh-ábád, *see* my "Poetry of the Afgháns," page 326.

The son of the Najíb-ud-Daulah, Zábiṭ (not "Zabitah") Khán, but not by the daughter of Dowandaey Khán, separated from the Marhaṭṭahs as soon as he was able to get out of their clutches and effect his escape from their army; for after his father's death, he made up matters with Aḥmad Khán, Bangas'h, and they had detained him against his will. Sháh-i-'Álam, Bádsháh, however, who had now succeeded to the Dihlí throne, and was a tool in the hands of Mhado Ráo, Sindíah (the nephew of Datah, the Paṭel, who was killed in battle against the Najíb-ud-Daulah), incited the Marhaṭṭahs to hostility against Zábiṭ Khán, the object being to prevent his interference, as successor to his father, in the affairs of Dihlí, to which Sháh-i-'Álam was returning. Zábiṭ Khán was resolved to enforce it, and he put his troops in motion and marched towards Dihlí accordingly. Sháh-i-'Álam, and his Marhaṭṭah allies, moved against him; and, through want of energy on his part, Najíb-ábád, and his father's family, as well as his own, fell into the hands of those infidels. They were treated with great indignity; Najíb-ábád was sacked; and all their property and treasures were carried off.

The families were subsequently freed, at the interference of the Bádsháh, Sháh-i-'Alam, on payment of forty lakhs of rúpís—400,000*l.*—to the Marhaṭṭahs for "the expenses of the war" against Zábiṭ Khán. For this sum, Ḥáfiẓ Raḥmat Khán, in an evil hour, gave a bond to the Shujá'-ud-Daulah of Awadh (son of Ṣaf-dar-Jang), and this bond was the ultimate cause of all the misfortunes of the Nawwáb, the Ḥáfiẓ-ul-Mulk, Ḥáfiẓ Raḥmat Khán, the appropriation of his territory by the Shujá'-ud-Daulah, and that much injured man's death in battle with the Shujá'-ud-Daulah and his British allies.

Zábiṭ Khán subsequently acquired considerable power, although he did not regain it at Dihlí again. He died in 1785, and his son, Ghulám Ḳádir Khán, succeeded to the fief of his father. He was subsequently sent for by the Bádsháh, Sháh-i-'Álam, to assume the direction of affairs. Having gained a footing at Dihlí, and remembering probably the past conduct of the Bádsháh towards his father, he behaved in a high handed manner towards him. The Bádsháh, on this, began to intrigue with his old friends, the Marhaṭṭahs, for his betrayal and ruin. Ghulám Ḳádir Khán, on being made acquainted with this plot, and considering what his family had already suffered at his hands, and those of the Marhaṭṭahs especially, was so exasperated against the Bádsháh that he deprived him of sight with the point of his own dagger, the females of the Bádsháh's

same direction, to Panj Pír, another good size village.* Setting out from thence, and going four kuroh farther towards the south, you reach Hundh, but more correctly Úhandh, which is the site of an ancient city and a considerable fortress (a fortified city), on the banks of the Abáe-Sín, founded by Bádsháhs of former times.†

From thence you cross the great river by boat to the Hazrao ferry; and, having proceeded one kuroh south inclining east from thence, reach the cluster of villages known as Hazrao, belonging to the Ghurghusht Afgháns, previously mentioned (in the beginning of Section Two, page 31, which see) in the Sind-Ságar Do-ábah."

*Sixty-first Route. From Kábul to Koga'h or Kogá, a village of the territory of Chamla'h, a distance of one hundred and sixty kuroh.*

"This route likewise leads into Pakhla'í, Tunawul, and Kash-mír.‡

"The route from Kábul, as far as Noh-s'hahra'h, of Ash-Naghar, and from thence by Amánzí and Shewa'h, has been already described at pages 244 and 247.

"Setting out from Shewa'h, and proceeding one kuroh north, inclining east, you reach Parmulí, a large village so called after a clan of the Mandar Afgháns,§ and which is distant about one kuroh from the eastern termination of the Karah-Már range of hills.‖ Here two roads diverge. The right-hand one is as follows:—Leaving this village, you go in the direction of north-east for a distance of two kuroh and enter the small Dara'h of Mír-Sháhí, so called after a little village of that name, about half a kuroh farther up the valley, and inhabited by Mandars. You then proceed three kuroh north-east, inclining east, and begin the ascent of the Koga'h *Kotal*, as the pass over the mountains leading to it is called. It has about one kuroh of ascent and descent in the direction of north-east; and having cleared the defile on the northern side, distant about a kuroh from the crest, a short distance farther brings you to Koga'h, which is a large village belonging to the Mandar Afgháns. The route from Tunawal to this place will be found farther on.

"North and south of this village are high mountain ranges; and a short distance to the north is a small river, which issues from the mountains near by on the south-west, runs towards the east to join the Daulatzí river, or river of Buner, after which the united waters receive the name of Barandú. On the opposite (north) side of this stream from Koga'h is a high range of mountains bounding Chamla'h on the north-west, and separating it from Buner.

"The left-hand route from Parmulí takes you for a distance of two kuroh north, inclining east, into the Sher Dara'h, which is a considerable cleft or opening in the

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family were subjected to gross outrages, and the little treasure remaining was carried off. This happened in 1204 H. (1790 A.D.).

Although there can be no excuse for the excessive cruelty (too common even in the present day) of Ghulám Kádir Khán towards Sháh-i-'Álam, but which has been much exaggerated, Indian history writers do not appear to have made any allowance for the treatment of his own family at the hands of the Marhattahs. Shortly after, Ghulám Kádir Khán, having been captured in attempting to escape from the fort of Míraṭh, which he had bravely defended, by his horse falling under him, and leaving him senseless on the ground, was put to the most painfully cruel death that Marhattah ferocity could devise, by order of Sindíah (the Patel, Datah's nephew), who hated the Rohilahs as much as they hated him, and all other Marhattahs.

* This village is so called from a rocky hill immediately to the east of it, which is covered with *jangal*. Its name signifies the "Five Saints, or Spiritual Guides." It is visited by Muhammadan females in considerable numbers, in April of each year, and by Hindú women, in October. The village lies on the right bank of what is now called the Badraey Khwar.

At L'wara'h Manára'h, near Sawába'í, five kuroh to the north of Manára'h on the Abáe-Sín, there is a rocky hill or spur completely detached, and known as the Taraka'í of Khán Kajú, and near there he was buried. In Pus'hto a rocky spur detached from the hills is called a "taraka'í," in distinction from a spur, hill, or mound of earth, which is called a "ghunda'í." *See* note *, page 241.

† It sustained much damage in 1840, when the Abáe-Sín or Indus was flooded, and when so much damage was caused. This is the place which some persons, to suit their own theories, would turn into Wahind. *See* my "Translation of the Tabakát-i-Násirí," page 76, note 2.

The Afgháns of the Sama'h used sometimes to make raids into the Mughal territory east of the Indus from Úhandh. They did so in 1077 H., in the reign of Aurang-zeb-i-'Álam-gír; and were subsequently defeated, on the 15th of Shawwál—the tenth month—April, 1667 A.D., near the Hazrao ferry, by Kamál Khán, the Fowjdár of Atak Banáras, and his troops, aided by reinforcements from Pes'háwar, and the contingents of the neighbouring feudatories of the empire with their contingents, including Ashraf Khán, Khatak, son of Khush-hál Khán, who was then languishing in exile in the fortress of Rantabhúr. The Yúsufzís and Mandars, and others who had joined them, were defeated and put to flight, with a loss of some 2,000 men, including 400 killed and 40 taken prisoners. The others perished in the Indus in attempting to reach the opposite side.

At this period the river flowed in three channels between Hazrao and Úhandh, and these were fordable in several places.

‡ The Durránís used this route when Kash-mír was under their sway, in preference to the route by Atak.

§ These must not be mistaken for the Ghurghusht Parmulís or Farmulís east of the Indus.

‖ At the present time, the two streams which formerly ran to the westward before reaching this village, and were the sources of the Makám Rúd, as before stated, now pass near it on the west side, and run to the south, and constitute what is known chiefly as the Úchh Khwar. *See* note ‡, page 244, para. 16.

mountains,* inhabited by a section of the Mandar tribe of Afgháns; and the stream from the Dara'h of Mír Sháhí uniting with that flowing out of the Sher Dara'h, at this point, flows towards the west, and joins the river of the Súdam valley, and the united streams then receive the name of Maḳám river, previously referred to at pages 247 and 249.

"From thence (the point of junction) having gone three kuroh to the east, and then two kuroh to the north-east, another kuroh farther brings you to Anbela'h, a small village on the left hand side, near the line of route.† Another kuroh east brings you to Koga'h, the chief place in the Dara'h of Chamla'h, and the road or track over the mountains leading to Anbela'h is like the dry bed of a river."

Before leaving this part, and describing the remainder of the Afghán territory embraced in this Section of Notes, it will be well to give a short account of the first great disaster sustained by the Mughals of India at the hands of the Yúsufzí and Mandar Afgháns in the Karakar and Malandaraey Passes. The author of these surveys does not give any account of the former Pass, which appears not to have been much used at the period when he wrote.

The Mughals were on their way from Suwád, which they were unable to hold, into Buner in order to rejoin the camp of Akbar Bádsháh then established at Aṭak Banáras, which had been founded only a short time before.

To make the account intelligible, I must refer to some other events preceding it.

Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím, the Bádsháh's brother, died in the province of Kábul, which was his fief,‡ on the 12th of Sha'bán, the eighth month of 993 H. (August, 1585 A.D.). On the third of the following month—just twenty days after—the news reached Ágrah. Akbar was inclined to confer the fief on his brother's sons, who were mere children; but his counsellors strongly advised him against it, on account of the power of the Úzbaks in Badakhshán and territories around. On the 10th of Ramaẓán, within a week of the receipt of the news, Akbar Bádsháh set out from his capital for the Panj-áb. On the way, information reached him that the Kuṇwar, Mán Singh, who was stationed in the Panj-áb, on the news of the Mírzá's decease, had crossed the Níl-áb (Indus) and moved on Pas'háur, the officials of the late Mírzá retiring to Kábul.§ On reaching the Bihat or Jhilam on the 28th of Zí-Ḳa'da'h, the eleventh month, a despatch reached Akbar Bádsháh from Mán Singh, intimating his having reached Kábul and occupied it without any opposition, and the submission of the officials; and that, having provided for the safety of the city, he had set out, along with the sons of the late Prince, for the Bádsháh's presence. He reached the Bádsháh's camp, soon after, at Ráwal Pindí, on the 25th of the following month, Zí-Ḥijja'h. Soon after, Akbar, who intended to annex Kash-mír, moved to Aṭak Banáras, which he reached on the 15th of Muḥarram, the first month of the year 994 H. (26th December, 1586 A.D., old style).

Some years previous to this, Jalálah, son of Pír-i-Ros'hán, *alias* Pír-i-Táríḳ, who was in his fourteenth year when his father went to the place prepared for him, had presented himself to Akbar Bádsháh, when that monarch was on his return from Kábul in 989 H. (1581, A.D.) and was favourably received and well treated; but he, shortly after, fled to the Afgháns again, and raised sedition in the country west of the Indus. The routes between Kábul and the Panj-áb were infested by Táríkís; and the Khaibar route had been so effectually closed by them, that the envoy from the Úzbak rulers, on their way to Akbar's presence, could not get through it, although attended by a strong escort. Consequent on this state of affairs, the fief of Kábul and its dependencies was conferred upon the Kuṇwar, Mán Singh, with directions to quell these disturbances. He set out for Pas'háur accordingly.

Soon after Akbar had reached Aṭak, the Chiefs and Maliks of the Afghán tribes and clans of Mahmand, Khalíl, Gagyání, Torí, Dzádzí, Sherazád, Khiẓr Khel, some Ghurghushtís, and a few others, came in to complain to him of the doings of the

* During the Anbela'h campaign the route by the Sher Dara'h to Chamla'h was greatly improved by the troops, and is now a very good road.

† The pass is so called after this village, and not called "Súrkháwí" after a village of that name, for Surkh-Aobaey is the name of the stream, not the village, and besides it lies on the southern side of the mountains, while Anbela'h is close under the mountains on the northern side.

‡ All the territory subject to the Mughals west of the Abáe-Sín or Indus was under his sway, and his officials were located in the Pes'háwar district and administered the affairs of these parts. Their jurisdiction does not appear to have extended on the north beyond the Do-Ábah and 'Ash-Naghar, and not over any part of the Sama'h.

§ The death of the Mírzá was not wholly unexpected, and Mán Síngh had been previously directed how to act under certain contingencies, and to take charge of his children.

Yúsufzí and Mandaṛ tribes, which were always molesting them, and plundering caravans of traders and travellers on their way from Kábul and Hindústán, and *vice versa*, between Bagrám (Pas'háur) and Níl-áb, and that they got a bad name for the acts of the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs.

At this period the Khaṭak tribe of Afgháns were beginning to establish themselves in their present localities, and moving towards the Landaey Sín; and Malik Akoṛaey, the great grandfather of the celebrated Khush-ḥál Khán, who had previously presented himself, was mentioned to the Bádsháh as being competent to protect the road from Aṭak towards Pas'háur. He was accordingly summoned, and the tract of country from Khair-ábád to Noh-s'hahra'h-i-Khálisa'h was conferred upon him, in fief, on his undertaking that service. This chief founded the fort of Akoṛah, which he named after himself.

These complaints made against the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs determined the Bádsháh to despatch Zain Khán, Kúkah, entitled Kokal-tásh, at the head of a considerable army "to tranquillize" the territories of Suwád and Buner (which did not belong to Akbar Bádsháh), and bring the "rebel" Yúsufzís (who were not his subjects) into the right way. Zain Khán was despatched on the same day that an army was sent against Kash-mír for the same purpose, namely, annexation.

Abú-l-Faẓl says, "the object was to make inroads upon the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs, "which people dwell in Suwád and Bájawṛ, and a number in the Dasht (the Sama'h "previously referred to*). Suwád and Bájawṛ are delightful tracts of country con- "taining pleasant jal-gáhs (meads) and grassy slopes filling the heart with delight in "their contemplation. The Kohistán to the north of the Dasht is about thirty *kos* "in length by twenty in breadth. Zain Khán did not commence operations in this "level tract, but pushed on at once into Bájawṛ."

Akbar Bádsháh also detached another force under the Sháikh, Faríd, Bukhárí, Ḳará Beg, and other leaders, into the Sama'h to harry that part, and create a diversion. This order they carried out, plundering and devastating the country of the Mandaṛs and their allies, after which they returned to the royal camp at Aṭak. They reported that it would be a difficult matter to occupy the Sama'h on account of its extent and populousness, and that it would be advisable to send another army into it to altogether destroy, root and branch, the "ungrateful wretches," as the Mughal invaders style them, then to advance into the Kohistán and effect a junction with Zain Khán.

Zain Khán, however, reported in the mean time that he was powerless to enter Suwád, the Afgháns being so numerous, until reinforcements reached him. On the 2nd of Ṣafar, the second month of 994 H. (January, 1585, A.D.), two other bodies of troops were detached. One under Sá'íd Khán, the Ghakar, and other leaders, with Shaikh Faiẓí, Abú-l-Faẓl's brother,† was to enter the Sama'h and chastise the refractory Afgháns of that part and create a diversion, while the other, under Akbar's prime favourite, Rájah Bír-baṛ (the latter word signifying "the very" or "most brave"), Fatḥ-Ullah, and others, and consisting of veteran troops under Ḳásim Khwájah, Tásh Beg, and others, were to march through the Sama'h and enter Suwád. All those who submitted were to be spared, and those who did not were to be plundered and annihilated. This latter force, having entered the Sama'h, and carried out its instructions respecting that part, moved towards the territory of Bájawṛ to join Zain Khán.

Having advanced a little way through a defile, the troops, under Bír-baṛ and others,

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* *See* page 218. Dasht, in Persian, has much the same signification as Sama'h in Pus'hto.

† Those sent with armies were not always soldiers by profession, as in this instance; and it may be noticed throughout Akbar's reign, that whenever he despatched an army on an expedition there was generally a Musalmán and a Hindú in joint command, the one to take care of and act as a check upon the other.

Shaikh Faiẓ, *alias* Faiẓí, Abú-l-Faẓl's elder brother, was a civilian and a poet, and had been teacher of the Princes, Akbar Bádsháh's sons. Bír-bal or Bír-baṛ, as it is also written, belonged to the Bhát or minstrel class, and was made Poet Laureate, and was sometimes employed on missions, but spent most of his time at Court. It is said that, when it was determined to send reinforcements to Zain Khán, Akbar Bádsháh made Abú-l Faẓl and Bír-baṛ draw lots which should go, and that the lot fell on Bír-baṛ. He had never been employed in any military capacity before in his life.

Zain Khán, on the contrary, *was* a soldier, and, altogether, the most successful of all Akbar's generals against the Afgháns and Táríkís. His father was a Turk, a native of Hirát, and his mother was Akbar's first nurse. Zain Khán's paternal uncle's daughter was married to the Sháh-zádah, Sulṭán Salím, afterwards Jahán-gír Bádsháh, and she was the mother of the Sháh-zádah, Parwez. Subsequently, Sulṭán Salím fell in love with Zain Khán's daughter and married her, much against his father's wishes. Zain Khán subsequently rose to the rank of commander of 5,000, and held the government of the Kábul province and its dependencies. He was given to drink, and died partly from this excess in 1010 H. (1601-2, A.D.).

reached the halting place called Ḍog,* and the Yúsufzís, thinking it a good place for making a stand, determined to do so. An obstinate "skirmish ensued," according to Abú-l-Faẓl, "and brave deeds were done, and numbers of the rebels were killed and "taken prisoners, but, as the day was far advanced, instead of pushing on, the force "returned to its previous encamping ground. This was deemed expedient more "particularly because the troops were unacquainted with the country in front; indeed, "it was found that they could not have reached the point intended by that road, and "so they returned to the Dasht (the Sama'h) to take another route." It is evident that Bír-baṛ and the others met with a serious reverse.

At this time, the Ḥakím, Abú-l-Fatḥ, was directed by the Bádsháh to enter Suwád with a numerous force, when news was received from Zain Khán of "his complete "success over the Afgháns, but as his troops, from constant hard work and marchings "and counter-marchings, had sustained hardships, and as the Afgháns had assembled in "numbers in the Karakar Pass, between Suwád and Buner, if he were reinforced by a "few of the Bádsháh's brave troops, he could easily dispose of the rebels, and bring "the whole country under subjection."

The success of Zain Khán, who was of a very sanguine temperament apparently, is thus narrated by Abú-l-Faẓl.

"When Zain Khán reached Bájawṛ by the road of Dánish-Kol, that territory was inhabited by 30,000 Yúsufzí families, who lived in their fastnesses in pride and haughtiness, but they lost the opportunity of occupying the defiles and of impeding his advance, from the celerity of his movements. Jánish Bahádur, with a portion of the force, made an attack upon the S'hahr-i-Gibar (the S'hahr or K'hahr of Bájawṛ, previously mentioned),† and numbers of Afgháns were well punished. Being reduced to extremities, Ghází Khán, Tá'ús Khán, Naẓar Khán, and other Maliks, submitted, and the disturbances (caused by the Mughals invading their country) were quelled.‡

"Zain Khán then turned his attention to Suwád, in which 40,000 Yúsufzí families were located; and when he reached the banks of the Suwád river (the united rivers of Suwád, Báshḳár, Dír, Panj-Korah, and other tributaries, before it enters the Do-Ábah) the Afgháns opposed him valiantly. The van was, in consequence, unable to effect the passage of the river, but the rear division hastening to its relief, having come up, the Afgháns were in their turn forced back, and put to flight, after which the passage of the river was effected, and Suwát entered, as related at page 235.

"After this success Zain Khán advanced to Chak-Dara'h,§ in the Lánw-dah division, opposite to Allah-dand, the chief town of Lower Suwát, which is centrally situated, and commands one of the ferries over the river. He erected a fortress at this point, and then prepared to punish the refractory. Twenty-three times he was successful in skirmishes against them, and captured seven of their sangars or breast-works; and the whole tract (the open parts) was taken possession of, with the exception of the Karakaṛ hills and Buner. Zain Khán's troops, however, harassed by constant marchings, and the necessity of always being upon the alert, and other severe duties, were much depressed, and therefore he asked for reinforcements."

The reinforcements under the Ḥakím, Abú-l-Fatḥ, Ḥasan Beg, Shaikh 'Umar, and others, were sent off; and the command was, that, if the previously despatched forces under Rájah Bír-baṛ, Fatḥ-Ullah, and other leaders, were still in the Dasht (the

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* Ḍág probably, mentioned at page 182, but wrongly spelt above, or Bihí Ḍág, mentioned at page 180. There is a small village called Ḍog, on the east side of the river of Panj-Korah, which may be the same place. Bír-Baṛ was endeavouring to join Zain Khán, who was then in Lower Suwát, but, as he had entered the hills by Dánish-Kol, the Rájah's force followed the same route as far as the village in question, when he had to retire, and take another route, as subsequently mentioned.

† At page 116.

‡ These events happened prior to those narrated at page 169.

§ This is turned into "Chapdurra" in the Indian Atlas map.

In Elliot's "History of India," Vol. VI., page 80, the editor, Mr. Dowson, gives a translated extract from Abú-l-Faẓl's "Akbar Náma'h," from a printed text apparently. He says:—"He (Kokaltásh) first subdued "Bajaur, in which *he found* 30,000 *houses* [*sic*] of the Yúsufzái tribe. . . . He then marched against "Swád (Swát), in which mountain region *there were* 40,000 *houses* [*sic*] of the same tribe. On reaching the "banks of the river, the *natives* made a strenuous resistance, and the advance guard was checked for a time; "but the braves of the Altamsh went to their support, and the sight of their gallantry so encouraged the rest, "that they fought bravely, and put the enemy to flight. Kokaltásh built a fort at Jagdara, in the midst of the "country, and then applied himself to the chastisement of the enemy. Twenty-three times he was "victorious, and *he destroyed seven armies.*" If sangars mean armies, but they do not, and Abú-l-Faẓl has sangars.

For an account of the Lánw-dah division of Suwád, *see* page 206.

Sama'h), they were to unite, and march to reinforce Zain Khán by the Malá-khand Pass, which was the nearest route.* The force under Bír-bar having failed to enter Bájawr by Dog, as before related, had not again attempted to enter the hills; and the Hakím effected a junction with it, and the combined troops moved towards the pass. When they reached the foot of it they found that Zain Khán had occupied the crest with a portion of his forces, and was present with them, in order to render assistance, if necessary, and facilitate the passage of the troops and stores; and there he remained the whole of the night and part of the following day, until all had passed over.

No sooner had Bír-bar joined Zain Khán than disagreement arose, for there had been emnity between them before. There was no friendly feeling either between Bír-bar and the Hakím Abú-l-Fath. At the very outset the former began to complain, and to say that he did not know what the upshot would be of climbing mountains, and going in company with Abú-l-Fath to the aid of Zain Khán.

The reinforcements having got through the pass, Zain Khán at once pushed on the Hakím with his division of troops to Chak-Dara'h. This displeased Bír-bar, who resolved to thwart Zain Khán in every possible way.

Next day, all the troops assembled around the fortress of Chak-Dara'h, and Zain Khán proposed to hold a council of war (at his quarters, apparently), to deliberate on their future proceedings, and all the leaders were requested to attend. Bír-bar refused to comply, and, as an excuse, said it was more seemly to assemble round the royal standard (in the camp) and there deliberate. Zain Khán, swallowing his wrath for the public good, and in order to appease, if possible, the proud and pampered Brahman favourite, repaired to the latter's tent, and the other leaders joined him there. On that occasion hard words passed between the Rájah and the Hakím, Abú-l-Fath,† and culminated in abuse, but Zain Khán, at last, succeeded in somewhat appeasing them. He then stated his views. He said the campaign in the mountains was nearly over, for that even "the rebels,"‡ congregated in the Karakar hills, and in Buner, were said to be "inclined to ask for pardon and submit," only their acts were not in accord with their words. His object in asking for reinforcements was to enable him to leave a sufficient force at Chak-Dara'h, and, with the remainder of the troops, to move in different directions to chastise and reduce the obstinate wherever they might be found, and thereby quell all opposition. He proposed that the fresh troops should undertake this latter duty, and that he with his own, who had endured a great deal of hard work, would hold Chak-Dara'h and such of the territory of Suwád as was in their possession. But, if they preferred the contrary, he would leave them to undertake the last-named duty, and carry out the former with his own force, and deal with those rebels assembled in the Karakar hills.

Neither the Rájah nor the Hakím would consent to either arrangement; in this, at least, they were of one accord. They replied that the command was to make raids upon the country and harry it, not to attempt to hold it; and that, in combination,

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* Or Mala'h-khand; it is spelt both ways. *See* page 239. On the summit of the pass there is a small open plain—and this Zain Khán occupied with his troops, as above mentioned—and in it are several kanda'hs or trenches in which a number of bodies have been buried. I have been informed that there are fissures in many parts of these kanda'hs, where hundreds of skulls may be seen, also swords, knives, etc. It would appear that a great battle had been fought here when the Yúsufzís first invaded the country, or prior to that time, for no great battle has since occurred there.

On the southern side of the pass there are no rivulets; and no water is procurable, save from two wells which have been dug near the village of Dargaey, at the foot of the pass. The Suwád valley lies high, consequently, the ascent on the northern side is not so long as on the southern, and the first is the easiest and broadest road. Spurs every here and there command it, especially on the southern side, but these might be crowned without much difficulty. *See* page 240.

It must be remembered that Zain Khán's operations did not extend beyond Lower Suwát, except skirting the hills of Bájawr to get into it.

† Hakím signifies "a sage," "a philosopher," or "a physician," but "Hákím" is meaningless. The Hakím, Abú-l-Fath—which was his title, not his name—like his rival, Bír-bar, was no soldier. He was called Masíh-ud-Dín, and was a native of the country of Gílán, now a province of Persia. When Gílán fell under the power of Sháh Thamá-sib, Safawí, in 974 H (1566-67 A.D.), his father was thrown into prison and tortured to death, and Masíh-ud-Dín, and his brothers, both, subsequently, distinguished men of Akbar's court, fled from the country, and came into India. The Hakím was Sadr and Amín of Bangálah in the twenty-fourth year of Akbar's reign, and was a poet of great merit, and a heretic. Indeed, he has the credit of leading Akbar from the orthodox path of Islám. He was severely reprimanded for his insubordinate conduct towards Zain Khán, which brought about the disaster related above, notwithstanding the high favour in which he stood with the Bádsháh. He died at Dharam-taur, on the march back from Kash-mír, in 997 H. (1589 A.D.), and was buried at Hasan-i-Abdál.

‡ "Fanatics," "rebels," "brigands," and "dacoits," of course, because they resisted invasion and defended their own. These are the names which have been applied to the same race of people, within the last few weeks only, by newspaper philosophers.

after having carried out this command, and punished the refractory sufficiently, they should march back again to the royal camp at Aṭak Banáras.

Zain Khán urged that it was not advisable to abandon what had been acquired after so much trouble; and that, even if it was determined to abandon it, they should not select the most difficult route to return by, which the others appear to have proposed, but should choose the road they had come by, the Malá-khand Pass, where, at least, there was footing for troops. All was of no avail: they persisted in opposing him, and therefore, dropping his authority lest they might do him some injury, he gave up the point.

They, however, were not willing to leave him to act alone, lest he might perform some feat which would raise him still higher in the Bádsháh's estimation, and bring confusion upon themselves at the same time. Zain Khán then endeavoured to make arrangements for carrying out what the others proposed and persisted in, in order to attack the "rebels" assembled in the Karakar Hills. In this too the Rájah and the Ḥakím were opposed, and they would neither consent to take charge of either the left wing or the right; each wanted to act as he thought best.

At last, on the 2nd of Ispandiár-muz (February), some sort of arrangements, such as they were, having been made, the troops began their march from Chak-Dara'h towards the mountain range of Karakar, separating Suwád from Buner.

But few details are given of the first part of the march; nor is it even mentioned that the Suwád river was crossed, which had, of course, to be done; nor whether this was effected at Chak-Dara'h or farther up. From the details, such as they are, the force must have marched by one of three roads: up the stream, and then have crossed over to Koṭa'h to avoid the Landakaey Pass;* or have crossed at Chak-Dara'h, passed Tárnah, and ascended the Landakaey mountain by the route leading over it; or have proceeded along the eastern bank of the river by the road, which, in the cold season, is available, at the foot of, and skirting, the Landakaey mountain, which juts out close upon the river, and which would be dangerous if the heights above were occupied by an enemy. The first route is the most probable, as it was in that part that the "rebels" had assembled.

The first march is said to have been to Kandák,† a distance of five *kos*, but that place is not at present known. According to the distance, whichever route was adopted, they must have reached a point near Koṭa'h, above mentioned, to the south of which the road leading into the defile turns to the east.

The next day, as the route was exceedingly difficult, the left division of the force was made a rear guard of, and the whole, having moved forward for a distance of half a *kos*, was halted, and appears to have encamped; for it is plainly stated, that "it was "deemed advisable that the van of the army should make a demonstration against "the rebels, plunder them, and return to camp again."

This part of the movements of the Mughal troops is by no means clear in the histories of this period; and, although Abú-l-Faẓl, in his history, enters into details respecting some of the incidents of this disastrous retreat, he does not do so with respect to this halt. It seems strange to enter a defile for only a mile or thereabouts and come to a stand, much less to encamp in it.‡ It would appear that they found the hills commanding the road occupied by the Yúsufzís and Mandars, and they had to be cleared before the march could be resumed, and that it occupied the day in effecting it. However, it is quite clear that the march was resumed next day, that the crest of the pass was reached, and that they there encountered the Afgháns posted to oppose them. According to the pro-Mughal writers, wherever the Bádsháh's troops could get at the Afgháns, they repulsed them; and that in a very short time they crossed the *kotal* or pass, acquired great plunder, and took thousands of prisoners. The obtaining plunder in such a place, where there were no villages—at least none are

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* For a description of the road and the Landakaey mountain see my "Account of Suwát," page 10, and page 197 of these Notes. In the map accompanying it this name is printed Sanddakaey—with S instead of L—and was discovered too late to be remedied, I being in England when the paper was published; hence some misprints, but in the text of the article it is correct. I have never written it "Landeh Kai," as quoted by MacGregor in his work, Vol. II., page 276. In Major Wilson's map it is "Sandakai." Major-General Walker's maps show no pass whatever, but the name appears under the strange form of Lionduki.

† In one or two copies of the Akbar Náma'h it is Kandárak and Kandák. The defile leading to the Karakar Kotal begins between Koṭa'h and Barí-koṭ, but nearer the latter place.

‡ Probably the halt was made at the foot of the pass on the Suwát side, where Ligárna'í now stands. It is six miles, or more, from the entrance of the defile on the Suwát side to the crest of the pass, and the road is commanded on both sides in several places, and a stream runs through it towards the river of Suwád.

mentioned—is scarcely credible. Some prisoners may have been made, but "thousands" is mere exaggeration.*

The rear division was chiefly composed of Kábulís, who no sooner heard of plunder than they left their division, and hastened forward to share in it, and numbers of the other troops followed their bad example.† These, and the rest of the troops in advance, had proceeded much farther than was intended; for when Zain Khán, who appears to have always continued with the rear, reached the ground appointed for the halt for that day, he found all were pushing on in the utmost disorder.

Rájah Bír-bar was the cause of this. He always took care to be the first to go on, and did so without in the least consulting the other leaders. On this occasion he had moved forward, and, without halting at the place appointed for the camp, pushed onwards. Some of the troops had already reached the ground, and had actually pitched their tents, when he arrived there. Thinking, from the Rájah's movements, that they had mistaken the place, and that the camping ground must be farther in advance, as all were going onwards, they struck their tents again, and were engaged in packing and loading them when Zain Khán arrived, and he was under the necessity of following with the stream.‡

The Afgháns, who were hanging on the flanks, noticing these proceedings, assailed the rear in all directions. Great confusion arose, which made the advance of the troops still more difficult than it had been before; for the road was so narrow that only two horsemen could move abreast, and the way was impeded by elephants, horses, and men, rolling one over the other. Ḥasan Khán, Baṭaní,§ kept the Afgháns at bay for some time, until he was wounded, and had to be carried out of the *mêlée*. On this, Zain Khán himself took post in the rear, and endeavoured to make a stand in order to enable the others to proceed. The remainder of that day, the whole of the night, and for great part of the next day, the attacks on the retiring rearguard were incessant. Zain Khán, with a matchlock, himself wounded no less than four of the Afghán leaders. Towards the close of the second day the Bádsháh's troops were generally successful in beating off their assailants, and such of the baggage and materials as were carried on mules and elephants, for the most part, reached the place where the disorganized troops had halted, but the loads carried on bullocks and camels fell into the hands of the "rebels."‖

The next day the march was resumed; and, having advanced for a distance of six kuroh, they cleared the Karakar defile,¶ and reached Khánpur, and there again encamped.

There is no place in this part of Buner so called at the present time,** but there may have been at the period in question. This place must have been much in the same position that Angapúr now stands in, or near by it, on the direct route from the Karakar Pass to the Malandaraey *Kotal*, which the Mughal forces took. Angapúr is about two miles S.S.E. of Túrsak, mentioned at page 248. Zain Khán again brought up the rear, and had to fight the whole way until he reached it.

He now proceeded to the Rájah's tent, in order to consult with him and the other

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* The Afgháns of Suwát will not allow that the Mughals ever succeeded in entering their valley, and affirm that they were overthrown in the Sháh-Koṭ Pass.

† What property the Afgháns could have had to excite their cupidity is by no means to be understood. At present there is a small village near the crest of the *Kotal*, and named Karakar after it. The *Kotal* itself, on the Suwát side, is nearly two miles of ascent.

‡ Bír-bar appears to have pushed on without leaving any troops to hold the crest of the pass until the rest of the force, or a portion of it, came up, and to have made for the foot of it on the Buner side and beyond. The descent on the Buner side is rather less than the ascent from the Suwád side, and is very steep and winding, and consists of a series or succession of terraces or gigantic steps, five or six in number, each terrace or step consisting of a small plateau or ledge. It is probable that Zain Khán contemplated halting on one of these, the crest being held by troops, until the whole force—followers, stores, and baggage—had cleared the pass; but Bír-bar, anxious only for his own safety, left the others to their fate.

§ The Baṭaní, also called Baiṭaní, Afgháns are descended from the sons of Shaikh Baiṭ, son of 'Abd-ur-Rashíd, Paṭán. Their name has been quite eclipsed by the descendants of their sister, Bíbí Maṭo—the Ghalzís, and Lúdís. Ḥasan Khán had been in the service of the Afghán king of Bengal, and afterwards took service with Akbar Bádsháh. He may therefore be called an Afghán of Hindústán.

‖ It appears that Zain Khán had to fight the whole way from the crest to the foot of the pass, near which this halt was made, to judge from the distance of the next day's march.

¶ This defile is what we are now told, on imperfect information, by those who never heard of this expedition, nor of this defeat, "is only used by footmen;" but Zain Khán appears to have known that the pass was practicable for a considerable army.

** There is a Khánpúr much farther east, near the Indus, but not the place here referred to. It is in the Sher Dara'h, and a few miles south of the Malandarey Pass, which they had not yet entered. The Khánpúr here referred to must have been in Buner, and in its western part.

leaders as to their future movements. As the remainder of the distance appeared to them not to be very great, and the nature of the country seemed less difficult and broken, they were all of opinion, as the danger seemed over, that they could easily get clear of the defiles they were then in, after which they could halt for some time, and make some new dispositions for the punishment and reduction of the "rebels."

Zain Khán informed them that the defiles in their front were sufficiently difficult, more so even than those they had just emerged from,* and that to attempt to proceed as they had been doing was merely to court destruction. He strongly advised that they should stay in the open position they were then in for a time. They had plenty of provisions and forage, water in abundance, and their camp not commanded from any hills; and that, after bringing their troops into some sort of reorganization, they should undertake further operations against the Yúsufzís. It is probable that he meant that they should pause before endeavouring to proceed through the pass between them and the Bádsháh's camp at Aṭak, as further offensive operations against the Yúsufzís was out of the question.

It was all of no avail: the arrogant favourite and the others obstinately adhered to their own opinions, and Zain Khán had again to give way. On the 6th of the month Ispandiár-muz, the march was again resumed in the direction of the Malandaraey *Kotal*,† leading out of Buner into the Sama'h. Acquainted with the nature of the route, Zain Khán again brought up the rear, while the Brahman favourite took care to be well in advance, such was his anxiety to get out of the hills he was destined never to leave.

The opposition on the part of the Afgháns was greater than before. The troops had only managed to get on for a short distance by the time the day was far advanced; and the crest of a defile immediately in their front they imagined to be the termination of the great defile, and on reaching it they came to a halt. When Zain Khán arrived with the rear-guard, they found that there was yet another defile to be passed before the actual crest of the *Kotal* could be reached. As the position they were then in was commanded from the heights around, an effort was made to get out of it. The arrangement was this: the van was to push on and gain the crest, occupy all the commanding points, and hold them and the crest. Then the main body, with the tents, baggage, and followers, was to follow and bivouac at the foot of it for the night, on account of the difficulty of the way, and push on with the first streak of morning light. This arrangement, had it been carried out, might have saved the force. As the Afgháns were then beginning to press upon the rear again, and ready to harass their retreat, Zain Khán faced about with the rear-guard to drive them off. On this, and seeing the rapid advance of the van to secure the crest of the pass and heights commanding it, as previously arranged, the main body imagined that all dangers and obstructions were at an end, and began to push on again without any order whatever, totally disarranged the order of the march, and again threw every thing into utter confusion.

The orders of the commanders could not have been properly explained for such mistakes to occur. All the shouting, halting, bringing back, and persuasion, and even violence, on the part of the leaders, was of no avail; and the Afgháns, who crowded the heights around, as numerous as ants or locusts, poured in volleys of arrows and stones among the now disorderly crowd, and sent great pieces of rock rolling down upon them. Completely panic-stricken, totally unaquainted with the way, and night coming on, they got entangled in the mazes of the hills. In their anxiety to get forward many fell into pits and holes, while some fell into ravines and over precipices and perished in the abysses beneath, while the route itself was completely blocked up, elephants, horses, and men being mixed up together in inextricable confusion and disorder, and impeding each other. Many lives were lost in the crush, and many brave men made a stand, and fell fighting valiantly. Rajáh Bír-bar, as on former occasions, was well in advance. Some small bodies of troops, which happened to be acquainted with the way, managed to push on and get out of the crush; and,

* The route taken in this disastrous affair can be easily traced on Major Wilson's map.

I notice some strange discrepancies between that map and another in the "Geographical Magazine" for August, 1875, based on a map by Surgeon-Major Bellew. According to the former, the route over the Karakar Pass from Suwád is by Koṭa'h, while by the latter it is by Barí-koṭ, several miles farther north. The latter, likewise, gives no indication whatever of the Landakaey Pass, and both have Lingární on the wrong side of the mountain range, on the Buner side instead of on the Suwád side. Neither map shows or refers to the Malandaraey Pass in any way, but it is shown in the Indian Atlas map.

† Mentioned and described at page 249.

near the close of the day, another body of troops succeeded in clearing the defile, and reached the halting place beyond, previously determined upon.

Zain Khán, who was still bringing up the rear, and keeping the Afgháns at bay, determined to throw himself upon the enemy and close his career on this disastrous occasion, and could not be induced to retire. At last, the Bahádur, Jánish,* seizing the reins of his horse, brought it round, and the horse and rider away out of the press whether he would or no. They reached a gorge where dead and disabled elephants, horses, baggage, tents, and men—soldiers and followers—were all heaped together in such a way that they had to dismount from their horses before they could get along; and, in this manner, Zain Khán and his party, with the utmost difficulty, reached the halting place as night was closing in.

This was a comparatively safe position, but they had scarcely reached it when some one raised a cry that the Afgháns were in hot pursuit. Some say that a man—an Afghán, according to some accounts—brought information to Bír-bar, always well in front, and first to fly, that the Afgháns meditated a night attack upon the position, and that, as the defile remaining to be passed was not more than three or four *kos*, they would be absolutely safe from attack if that was only cleared. Without consulting with Zain Khán, he set out with his immediate followers in order to reach a place of safety, and the rest of the disorganized forces followed his example. Be this version correct or not, the panic was complete, and the whole again rushed forward. It was every man for himself, and the only idea seemed to be that safety lay in pushing onwards. In the darkness of the night they missed the way, and entered defiles leading in other directions, while the Afgháns, who were again on their track, were weary of slaying, capturing, and securing prisoners and plunder. Next day, hundreds of those, who had missed the road in the darkness, were overtaken and slain at the hands of their pursuers, a great number were made captive, and the Afgháns were so glutted with spoil that they could not carry the whole away.

Abú-l-Fazl has the assurance to inform us that 500 men lost their lives on that occasion, and another writer says the loss was 1,000 killed, and that the maimed and wounded were innumerable. The most trustworthy writers, however, state that 8,000 men perished in that disastrous retreat, among whom were 500 men of note, including Ḥasan Khán, the Baṭaní.† The arrogant Brahman, Bír-bar, the first to fly on all occasions, and the chief cause of this disaster, together with others who had thwarted Zain Khán on all occasions, perished. Another of them, the Ḥakím, Abú-l-Fatḥ, however, succeeded, after much difficulty, in company with Zain Khán, in reaching the camp at Aṭak Banáras, in a sorry plight, with the shattered remnant of that army, on the 5th of Rabí'-ul-Awwal, 994 H. (13th February, 1586).‡

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* The Bahádur Jánish, the meaning of which former word, according to the "Ṭabakát-i-Náṣirí," is "a warrior" (*see* my Translation, page 968), was a good and efficient soldier, and was a Turk-mán by descent. He had been in the service of Akbar Bádsháh's brother, Mírzá Muḥammad Ḥakím, feudatory of Kábul. When he died he took service with the Bádsháh, his brother. Jánish died fifteen years subsequent to this catastrophe. A son of his, Shádí Beg, rose to high rank in Sháh-i-Jahán's reign, served in several campaigns, and was once governor of the province of Kábul. He served in Aurang-zeb's expedition against Ḳandahár, was at Bust along with Rustam Khán. After that affair he was raised to the rank of commander of 3,500, and received the title of Shujá'at Khán. He again took part in the Ḳandahár campaign under Dárá Shukoh, described at page 23, and was again at Bust with Rustam Khán. He died shortly after that campaign.

† The strength of the combined Mughal forces is not anywhere stated. Oriental writers, generally, only mention the number of the enemy. In this instance the strength could scarcely have been less than 20,000 men —Zain Khán's original force 10,000, and those with Bír-Bar and Abú-l-Fatḥ 5,000 each. But, in any case, it could not have been less than 15,000 or 16,000 men, of which more than one half perished, without accounting the number of prisoners captured. Great as this disaster was, it by no means comes up to that in the Landey Khána'h *Kotal*, related at page 40, when 40,000 were annihilated.

‡ In a "History of Afghanistan from the Earliest Times," by Colonel G. B. Malleson, C.S.I., previously referred to, and which "The Times" newspaper pronounces "a marvel of accuracy," the following is given as the version of this affair, from translations apparently, and from "other records of the period," whatever they may be :—

"The first army was directed by Akbar against the Yúsúfzais, then, as now, occupying the country beyond the Mahában mountain, the Búner and Chaghúrzai hills, and the country north of the former [but all these events happened much farther westwards, where Yúsufzís, then as now, dwell]. His army was commanded by his foster-brother, Zain Khán. It would appear that this general was at first successful. It is recorded by Abúlfazl [in Blochmann's translation of the Á'ín-i-Akbarí rather] that 'he moved into the district of Waijús north of Pesháwar' [Blochmann has 'Waijúr' for Bájawr or Wájawr, 'b' and 'w' being interchangeable; but the extracts he gives are not from Abú-l-Fazl: the notices of Akbar's nobles and commanders are taken, as he says, from the Ma'áṣir-i-Umará. See his Translation, note 1, page 308]. Several chiefs sued for pardon [for defending their own?]. After this he created a fort at Jakdárah [always a long vowel where it does not occur in the original, as in 'Yúsúfzai'], in the middle of the country [what country? Waijús perhaps?], and defeated the enemy in twenty-three fights. He had at last to ask for reinforcements, and Akbar sent to him Rájá Bír-Bar and Hákím [in Blochmann's 'Á'in-i-Akbarí,' the names are generally correctly given, Hákím is meaning-

Akbar Bádsháh was so much grieved at the loss of his favourite, and that his body had not been brought in to be burnt, that he took no food for two days and nights; and, for some days, he would not admit Zain Khán, and the Ḥakím, Abú-l-Fatḥ, to his presence, because they had not seen that Bír-bar's body was brought back.

On the third day, however, after their arrival they were of necessity admitted. The whole camp was thrown into confusion on the receipt of reports that the Yúsufzís and Mandars, and other Afgháns, their allies, were advancing in strong force upon Aṭak. The Sháh-zádah, Murád, was hurried across the Indus with a force to oppose their advance, and the prudent Rájah, Todar Mal, was sent along with him as his counsellor and guide. They took the precaution of crossing the Indus below Aṭak Banáras, and keeping the Landaey Sín or river of Kábul between themselves and the imaginary foe, but subsequently crossed it, and took up a position at Misrí Bánda'h, close to the ferry over the river, opposite the present Akoṛa'h, a good position for acting on the flank of an enemy marching towards Aṭak from the north-west or north. Zain Khán, and the Ḥakím, Abú-l-Fatḥ, received orders to join the Sháh-zádah's army, with the remnant of their shattered forces; and, shortly after, the Kunwár, Mán Singh, was recalled from Jam-rúd, with his troops, to strengthen it.

The subsequent movements of this army need not be related here. Suffice it to say that, soon after, strong forts were erected at Úhandh, and on the Koh or Hill of the Langar, and named Langar-Koṭ, to overawe the Mandars, which places have been referred to at pages 215, 216, 247, and 248.

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less] Abúl Fath, with some troops. It is clear from the above recital, and other records of the period, that, however successful Zain Khán might have been in his advance into the hills, the Yúsúfzais then showed so formidable a front [after being worsted in twenty-three fights?] that he was compelled to wait for reinforcements. The reinforcements were led by Rájá Bír Bar and Abúl Fath to a point which we may suppose to have been near Jakdárah [by no means]. Then there ensued, unhappily, a difference of opinion between the two chief generals [in a footnote it is said Bír Bar was 'a Brahman, a poet, and diplomatist']. Bír Bar was in favour of a combined attack upon the tribes, to be followed by a prompt retreat. Zain Khán was of opinion that the attack should not be made with the combined forces; that they should operate on two lines; that whilst one force held the position he occupied, the other should make a detour [to Waijús probably?] and attack the enemy on their flank, or in their rear [where 'the enemy' was posted the chronicler sayeth not]. But he was overruled, and it was decided to attack the hill men [where?], and, penetrating the mountains, to return by another road, by way of Karákar. Bír Bar led the advance, Hákím Abúl Fath the centre, and Zain Khán the rear. The pass they had to traverse [what pass?] was long and difficult. Nevertheless, by incredible exertions, Bír Bar reached the summit by sunset. But he had scarcely arrived there, when, from flanks and from the front, the Afgháns poured down arrows and stones upon his men, and with such effect that they fled in panic, briskly pursued by the enemy. With difficulty Bír Bar retreated to the foot of the pass, and effected there, with a portion of his force, a junction with the two other divisions, which, likewise attacked, had with difficulty repulsed the enemy [it will be noticed that the facts are directly contrary].

"That night and the following day the Yúsúfzais continued the attack, inflicting greater and greater loss on the imperialists [the invaders of independent territory]. As the second night fell the generals held a council of war. Zain Khán was in favour of treating [but what 'History' says so?]. Bír Bar would not hear of such a course [this must be ironical], but, dreading another night attack, he, without communicating with Zain Khán, drew off [that is, he ran away, leaving the rest to their fate], in the night through a defile, which he believed had been left unguarded. But the Yúsúfzais had set a snare for his destruction. Hardly had he reached the gorge at the head of the defile [what defile, and what gorge? It will be noticed that, without referring to them, the Karakar Kotal and Malandaraey Kotal, although their crests are twenty miles apart, and a great valley of some eighteen miles in breadth intervenes, have been made one], than the mountaineers set upon him, and almost destroyed his force. The slaughter was terrific. 'Nearly eight thousand men,' perhaps even more,' writes Badáoní, 'were killed. Bír Bar also was among the slain.'"

[The Budá'úní, that is, the Persian text of his work, says, "a terrible defeat ensued, and near upon 8,000 "men were killed or lost upon that occasion. Bír-Bar, who, for fear of his own life, had been the one to fly, "was slain, and became one among the dogs of hell, and received the reward of his evil deeds. Numbers of "nobles and distinguished men were killed, and the prisoners, who shall number them?"]

"Meanwhile Zain Khán and Abúl Fath had been furiously attacked. When day broke he [*sic*] began to retreat over the Bilandri [but where or what that is is not mentioned. Bír Bar was killed when flying from the last defile in the Malandaraey Kotal. There were no separate affairs: they were all together], still followed by the enemy. All that day he managed to keep his men together, amidst enormous difficulties; but when night fell the rumour that the Afgháns were upon them produced a panic, and they dispersed in disorder [this was the time that Bír-Bar was killed: his flight caused the panic]. Great was the slaughter [this is mere repetition, and an addition to the first], and it was with but few men only, and on foot, that Zain Khán and Abúl Fath reached the Emperor's camp at Atok."—Pp. 192–194.

I have deemed it well to quote this passage here—fiction as opposed to facts—in order to show how Oriental history is often written, and what errors are liable to occur from imperfect information. I think it will be admitted, that a casual reader of the passage in question, indeed even one acquainted with the Trans-Indus frontier, and with the best map before him, would be totally unable to understand, or to point out, where these operations and this disaster took place. *Not a single incident* in the whole affair happened north of, or near either the "Mahában mountain," or "the Chaghúrzai hills." There are no such hills really: the tract of country in which the Chagharzí Yúsufzís dwell, one or two writers have lately dubbed "the Chaghúrzai hills."

*Sixty-second Route. From Gilgiṭ to Ḳaryah-i-Bádsháh, or "The Bádsháh's Village," which is in Buner.*

"Having reached Baṭera'h,* also written Baṭerá, mentioned in the route from Gilgiṭ to Kúz or Lower Tahá-Ḳoṭ (page 190), which is the extreme north-western point of the Pakhla'í district, and crossed to the other side by means of a raft, you proceed seven kuroh in the direction of south-west, and reach the entrance of the Dara'h of Sháng.† This is of considerable size, and out of it a river issues which rises in the mountains bounding the Dara'h of Suwád on the east, about the parallel of Saiydúgán and Islám-púr, and the Dara'h of Buner on the north, and, flowing eastwards, unites with the Abáe-Sín.

"From this point, having proceeded into the dara'h for a distance of fifteen kuroh in the direction of west, inclining north-west, you reach the village of Sháng, which is of considerable size, and is peopled, like the dara'h itself, by the Chagharzís, one of the sub-tribes of the Yúsufzí Afgháns.‡ From the village of Sháng you go twenty kuroh in the direction of south-west, and reach Saníhalá or Saníhala'h, and Chágam,§ two villages belonging to the same Afghán people, and on the way thither you meet with excess of mountainous country, and of ascents and descents. You then have to go eight kuroh in the direction of south-west, and reach Shikolí,‖ which is a large village; and another seven kuroh, much in the same direction as before, brings you to Ghází Khání. From that place to the Ḳaryah-i-Bádsháh the road has been before described.

"From Shikolí to Ghází Khání the Makhzi¶ clan of the Ilyászí Yúsufzí tribe dwell; and, from the commencement of the Dara'h of Sháng, the tract passed through is accounted in Buner. From Shikolí to Kábul-Grám is a distance of twenty-five kuroh, which is well known.

"Between Baṭera'h and the Dara'h of Ḍángrak much gold and *lájward*—lapis lazuli—is obtained from the rivers, in such wise that people even go so far as to say, that most of the utensils of the inhabitants of that part are of gold."

From the village of Saigur, which is the dwelling-place of the Spín Káfirís, as far down as Makhaḍ, below Aṭak, the banks of the Abáe-Sín are so high, the river flowing through a very mountainous tract of country, that its waters cannot be made

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* This village is peopled by the section of the Chagharzí Malízí Yúsufzís called Júnah Khel, but it is not known as "Batára."

† This place is not called "Shung." In the map published in the "Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society," in 1878, to illustrate the "Mullah's" surveys and explorations from the "fort of Abazái," by Dír, through "Yassin," "Gilghit," and down the Indus by this very route, he had a place entered in it called "Sháng," on its west bank, at the mouth of a stream which he therein calls the "Ghorban N.," which is made to issue from the mountains bounding Suwát on the east, and which, for the first half of its course, flows a little to the south of east, and for the last half about due east, and then enters the Indus immediately north of "Sháng." "Chakesar," in that map, lies 11 miles to the S.S.E. of Sháng, between which two places a dotted line represents a road; and there is another from "Chakesar" to "Gunágar," about the same distance S.E. In his last map, that accompanying his "Swát" surveys, published with the Surveyor General's Report for 1878–79, all is changed. "The Ghurband N." *now* runs in a totally different direction—N. instead of E.S.E.; "Sháng" and "Gunágar" are not entered in it, and "Chakesar," which, on his former journey, was 11 miles from the nearest point of the Indus banks, has now moved to within 3½ miles of it. In the former map Tahá-Ḳoṭ was 15 miles from "Chakesar"; now it is but 9. Many other astounding changes, which appear to have taken place since his first surveys, will be found in the map of his last, so many indeed as to make one somewhat doubtful of their accuracy.

‡ They are Malízí Yúsufzís, but not "Málízai Yúsufzais."

§ Although "Sháng" has disappeared from his last map, the "Mullah" has both Saníhala'h and Chágam in it, under the names of "Sanela" and "Chagam."

The map accompanying Major J. Biddulph's book, "Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh," appears to be largely based on the "Mullah's" first map; and the author seems to describe the Indus valley from "Derbund," as he calls Dar-band, up to Búnjzey, from that map, for the tract in question has never yet been visited by a European.

‖ It is important to notice that, in his account of the Dara'h of Buner, the author of these surveys distinctly says that "*the water of the Buner Dara'h*"—which he keeps distinct from the Khwar-i-Daulatzí and its feeders, and the stream which comes from the direction of Adam Bánda'h, and which, having united with it, receives the name of Baranḍú—"*having flowed towards Shikolí, finally unites with the Abáe-Sín below Kábul-Grám.*" Thus it appears that the water of the northern portion of Buner, for Sháng is part of Buner, takes a different course to what has hitherto been supposed. *See* page 286, and also pages 215, 249, nd 268.

¶ Also mentioned at pages 249 and 268, but not called "Makhozai." In coming from Gilgiṭ, in order to reach Ḳaryah-i-Bádsháh in Buner, you turn up the Dara'h of Sháng, after passing Baṭera'h, and go on direct to Shikolí, the point here mentioned, instead of taking the roundabout way of going down to Kábul-Grám, and from thence up the dara'h mentioned in the Sixty-fourth Route (page 268) to Shikolí. Compare "the Mullah's" two maps with the "Dardistan" map in the "Geographical Magazine" for August 1875.

available for purposes of irrigation. From the Kohistán of the Yúsufzís, referred to in this route, down to Makhad, there is a class of people known by the general name of Gír,* who pass all their time, both day and night, in their boats. These people narrowly examine both banks of the river, and, whenever they find any earth fit for their purpose, they take it, wash it, and extract therefrom gold dust and lapis lazuli, and one *tola'h*† of the latter sells for from six to seven rúpís."

*Sixty-third Route. From Kúz or Lower Tahá-Koṭ, or Taha'h-Koṭ, to Kogá or Koga'h, in Chamla'h, a distance of forty kuroh west. This road also goes on to Pes'háwar.*

"The route from Kúz Taha'h-Koṭ to Kábul-Grám has been given in the account of the road from Gilgiṭ to the former place (page 190).

"Setting out from Kábul-Grám, and proceeding a distance of two kuroh in the direction of south-west, inclining south, you reach the small village of Biyár, peopled by Sayyids. Another kuroh in the same direction brings you to Bír, and, about the same distance farther on, to Kahmách. You then continue to go on for another kuroh and reach Didal; and from this place to Kábul-Grám the tract of country is inhabited by the Chagharzí branch of the Malízí Yúsufzís, which contains several smaller divisions.

"Leaving Didal, you go one kuroh and a half to Karná or Karna'h,‡ and then another two kuroh and a half more to Ḍúdbá, and about the same distance farther to Abú Bánḍa'h. The route from thence to Kogá has been elsewhere described (at page 285).

"From Manjha'h-Koṭ, which has already been referred to (at page 285) as being situated in this tract of country, to Aojza'í, which Eastern Afgháns, who turn the softer sound of "*jz*" into "*g*," call Aoga'í,§ on the opposite side (eastern bank) of the Abáe-Sín, is a distance of eighteen kuroh, and the road thither is well known. Setting out from Manjha'h-Koṭ and proceeding one kuroh towards the south, you reach Kárúr, and then go on to Maidán, a kuroh and a half distant. From thence you go to Bagíána'h,‖ a small village belonging to the Yúsufzís, and continue onwards for another kuroh and a half to Lád, crossing, by the way, the Abáe-Sín by means of a raft. Marair, elsewhere referred to, lies one kuroh south of Bagíána'h on the same side of the Abáe-Sín.

"Leaving Lád, you proceed five kuroh in the direction of east to Sher Ghar,¶ and another kuroh brings you to the village of Báwar Sháh.** From thence you go on to Aojza'í or Aoga'í, the road to which is elsewhere described (page 284).

"From Manjha'h-Koṭ to Lád the road runs in a southerly direction, but, from Lád to Báwar Sháh, the direction is east, ascending a mountain range of considerable elevation."

*Sixty-fourth Route. From Kúz or Lower Tahá-Koṭ to Karyah-i-Bádsháh,†† or "The Bádsháh's Village," in the territory of Buner, a distance of forty kuroh in the direction of west.*

"The road from Kúz or Lower Tahá-Koṭ to Kábul-Grám has been just described. Setting out from thence, you proceed for a distance of fifteen kuroh in the direction of

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* The participle of Persian or Tájzík *giriftan*, to take, catch, seize, etc.

† A *tola'h* is over seven pennyweights troy, and less than eight. Abú-l-Faẓl, in the Á'ín-i-Akbarí, in his description of the Sar-kár or Province of Kash-mír says, that, "near Kargánú there is a dara'h called "Soyam. From Kamráj this dara'h adjoins Káshghar, and on the west Pakhla'í. In that dara'h gold is "found. In places where water passes they spread out the skins of long-haired goats, and place stones on "their sides to prevent the water from carrying them away. After three days they remove the skins, and "spread them out in the sun; and when they become dry they shake them, and obtain from them particles "of gold to the extent, on the average, of (about) three *tola'hs*. Another dara'h adjoins (the one mentioned "above) which they call Gilgiṭ, and this likewise adjoins Káshghar (Ḳáshḳár), and there they also obtain "gold by washing. . . . . Gold is also obtained from the Padmatí, which flows out of the country of "Dár-Dú; and on the banks of the same river there is a stone-built idol-temple, dedicated to Durgá, and "called Sárdá." In some copies of the text it is Shárdá.

Dár-Dú, the country of the race known as Dárd, although so recently "discovered," was well known three and four centuries ago.

‡ "Kara" is incorrect, as likewise is "Júbba" for Ḍúḍbá.

§ *See* note †, page 284, and page 285.

‖ *See* Forty-fifth Route, page 190.

¶ This place is situated on the Hunár river, about two kuroh and a half S.S.W. of Aojza'í. It is walled, and is the frontier village, in this direction, of Muḥammad Akram Khán, the Tunawalí, chief of Anb.

** *See* page 285.

†† Sayyids are partial to such names for their villages. There is another called Kalaey-i-Bádsháh close to S'hewa'h of Kúnar. *See* pages 110 and 252.

west, in the bed (following the course) of a river rising in the mountains bounding Upper Suwád on the east, and reach Shikolí,* a large village belonging to the Ilyászí Yúsufzí Afgháns (referred to in the Sixty-second Route), situated on its banks. By the way you pass numerous villages, and meet with many ascents and descents, while lofty mountains rise up both on the right hand and on the left. The villages of this part are known as Mukhzí,† in the same manner that other *tappa'hs* or districts are called after an Afghán tribe or section of a tribe.

"Leaving the village of Shikolí, you proceed eight kuroh in the direction of west, and reach Karyah-i-Bádsháh or the "Village of the Bádsháh," which is peopled by Sayyids, the descendants of the much-venerated Sayyid, 'Alí, the Tirmizí, who is looked upon by the Afgháns of those parts as one of the greatest of their saints.

"West and south of the village are two small rivers, one of which comes from the north-west; from the Gadází Dara'h, and the other from the north-eastward, from Palhana'h Bánda'h. These two streams meet at a short distance north of the village, and, near their junction, the Mazár—Tomb and Shrine—of the Sayyid, 'Alí, is situated."‡

*Sixty-fifth Route. From Garhí-i-Sa'ádat Khán, the Chief Town of the Sar-kár or District of Pakhla'í, to Pes'háwar by way of Tor-bela'h.*

"On the west side of Garhí-i-Sa'ádat Khán § a large river flows, called the Kunhár or Khunár,‖ for it is written both ways, and also Nayan-Sukh,¶ which comes from the right hand, and, flowing towards the left, unites with the river known as the Nad or Kishan-Gangá, which, a short distance below Muzaffar-ábád, unites with the Bihat, Wihat, or Jhilam. A great deal of cultivated land is irrigated from the water of the Kunhár river. From Garhí-i-Sa'ádat Khán, four kuroh distant, in the direction of west, inclining south-west, is Phaglá,** a village of considerable size; and on the way thither is excess of ascents and descents, and great scarcity of water. From thence, distant two kuroh and a half in the direction of south-west, is Lubar-Kot,†† another

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* This is the same place as is reached in going the direct road from Gilgit to Karyah-i-Bádsháh by the Sháng Dara'h described in the Sixty-second Route, which see, and also pages 215, 249, 266, and 286.

In his first map, "the Mullah" has a river running south-east from the east side of the mountain range bounding the Dara'h of Suwád on the east, which unites with the Indus immediately below what he styles "Kúz Kábalgrám," and this he calls the "Makhozai N." This is pretty correct. Immediately above this river, farther north, he has two other rivers, coming from the same mountain range, and running in a similar direction towards the Indus. The southern one he calls the "Puran N.," and the northern one, the "Ghorban N.," which enters the Indus at a place called "Shang." Thus, including the latter, he has *three rivers* above or north of the Baranḍú of Buner, all tributaries of the Indus.

In the map accompanying his "Swát explorations," all is changed. The "Makhozai N.," the "Puran N.," and the "Ghorban N.," have disappeared; and what was the "Ghorban N.," joining the Indus immediately above a place called "Shang" (which he mistook for the name of a place instead of the Sháng Dara'h, just mentioned in the Sixty-second Route), and in his first map situated 17 miles *north* of his "Kúz Kábalgrám," is now, in his latest map, the "Itai Dara," and its river unites with the Indus two miles *south* of "Kábalgrám," at the point where the "Makhozai N.," formerly did, according to his first map.

According to the latter map, the Suwát river, immediately west of Manglawar (his "Manglor"), was 31 miles from the Indus: now it is just 21 miles.

What he first called the "Makhozai N." was the river of the Sháng Dara'h, described in my Sixty-second Route; and the river which appears in his new "Itai Dara" is the same stream which runs through the Sháng Dara'h, because he has both Saníhala'h and Chágam in it, under the names of "Sanela" and "Chagam," as given in my account of it.

But why such utter variance between the two maps, which must be apparent to the most superficial observer, for, in both, dotted lines are given showing his route, and places said to have been actually visited by him? Such terrible discrepancies incline one to be very sceptical as to a great deal of his "explorations;" for who shall say what a third exploration might produce?

† *See* page 266.

‡ *See* pages 248 and 249.

§ Now Garhí-i-Habíb-Ullah. It appears in our maps as "Gurhi Hubbeboolah," and "Hubeebooluh," and in Colonel C. M. MacGregor's work as "Habíbúla" and "Habíbúlá." As it is derived from the two Arabic words "Habíb," beloved, and "Allah," the Almighty, God, it is evident that neither is correct. Habíb-Ullah was the name of Sa'ádat Khán's son. *See* page 279.

‖ This river cannot be written or called "Kúnhár," correctly, because the "u" is not long. The Kunhár comes from the Kohistán of Pakhla'í, from the *kol-i-áb* or lake Lolú-Sara—*sara* signifies a lake in Sanskrit—in the extreme northern point of the Kág-hán, not "Kágán," Dara'h. Except in time of flood, it is generally knee-deep. Abbot says, "it is nowhere fordable;" in the hot season he probably meant.

¶ *See* page 279.

** This place appears in the largest scale map of the Hazárah district as now constituted, under the vitiated form of "Pughluh," but in the Indian Atlas map it is "Phugra." Both places are in our own territory too.

†† "Luburkot" in the large map, but "Lubburkote" of the Indian Atlas map.

large village; and on the way thither you meet with much cultivation. Two kuroh and a half from that place, in the same direction as before, is Mán-Sihrah* or Mán-Serah, a village of considerable size on the frontier of the territory of Sa'ádat Khán, the Suwátí. From thence, two kuroh farther on, in the direction of south-west, is Sahalíá, also written Shahalíá,† a large village under the sway of Gul Sher Khán, the Tunawalí; and, close to the village, is a river called the Ichhar,‡ which comes from the left hand, and, flowing to the right, subsequently unites with the Siran river.

"A little to the west of Sahalíá is the large village of Jallú; and the river flows close past it on the right hand. From thence you have to go on for the distance of another two kuroh in the direction of south-west to Balhag,§ through a populous and well-cultivated tract of country. You then proceed another kuroh west, and reach Nanotrí,‖ and then go on half a kuroh to Tháthí.¶ You then proceed for another two kuroh, in much the same direction as before, to Chhoṭián Chamaṭián,** two large villages lying contiguous to each other; and the way thither lies through a tract containing numerous ascents and descents, and scarcity of water. Another kuroh in the direction of south-west, inclining west, from the last-named villages, brings you to the large village of Kangar,†† and the Siran river shows itself on the right hand.

"From thence you proceed two kuroh in the same direction as before, and reach the considerable village of Mángalí,‡‡ on the afore-mentioned river, and then go on another half a kuroh south-west to Phúhár,§§ situated on the other (left) or east side of the Siran river. This river comes from the right hand, and, flowing towards the left, unites with the Jilsí river under Koṭ 'Isá Khán. The chiefs of these parts have caused canals to be cut from the Siran in all directions, and brought water into their lands; and, except in time of flood, it is about knee-deep.

"Leaving Phúhár, you proceed five kuroh in the direction of west, inclining south-west, to Gan-dab, but, more correctly, Ganh-daf,‖‖ which is a village of large size inhabited by Sayyids. On the way thither there is scarcity of water, and profusion of ascents and descents. From Gan-dab or Ganh-daf you go on to Ṭawwí,¶¶ a small village belonging to the Abází*** clan of the Utmánzí Mandars,††† and the route leads along the bed of the Gandab or Ganhdaf River.‡‡‡ It is very rough, with many ascents and descents.

"The authority of Gul Sher Khán, chief of the tribe of Tunawal, ceases at the village of Gan-dab or Ganh-daf. The Gan-dab or Ganh-daf river passes north of Ṭawwí, and unites with the Abáe-Sín, or Sind-Ságar, which great river flows about a quarter kuroh farther to the west. From Ṭawwí you go two kuroh south-west and reach Tor-bela'h, which is a village of considerable size inhabited by the Abází clan of Afgháns above referred to, and is the place of residence of Buland Khán, the Sardár or chief of the Abází.

The Abáe-Sín lies on the west side, and below the village; and here is an established ferry known as the Guẓar of Tor-bela'h, and several ferry-boats are at all times ready for use. Here, likewise, the cesses on traders and travellers are collected.

As the traders of Kábul, Kash-mír, and Pakhla'í, for the most part cross the Abáe-

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* It is now a considerable town, containing upwards of 3,000 inhabitants.

† "Shoheliya" of the large map.

‡ Not "Itchar."

§ "Balhug" of the maps.

‖ This word is plainly written as above rendered in the best copy of the MSS., and in two others it is doubtful, being written apparently Nabobrí and Nabotrí or Banotrí. The place is not to be found in either of our maps, unless "Naroon" of the large scale map is meant for it.

¶ "Thuthee" of the Indian Atlas map.

** These appear in the large map referred to, under the single name, but much vitiated, of "Chumuttee," and in the Indian Atlas map as "Churmutteean."

†† "Kungoor" of the large map.

‡‡ This place is not to be found in our maps: perhaps it has gone to decay. We have the "Mangul" river, however, which unites with the Siran a little to the north of Tháthí. It is a different place from that mentioned at page 280.

§§ This place appears in the large map under the name of "Poohar," but, in the Indian Atlas map, it is "Powar."

‖‖ "Gandaf" of the large map, but "Gandam" of the Indian Atlas map. In a "History of Hazárah" by a native, it is also called "Gan-daf."

¶¶ "Tuvee" in the first-mentioned map, "Towie" in the latter.

*** Abá Khel Utmánzís, probably.

††† The Utmánzí here referred to are not "a tribe of Hazára," nor are they Yúsufzís, whatever the "Utmánzais" may be.

‡‡‡ *See* page 291.

Sín at this point, the Khán, above referred to, receives a small sum of money yearly from the treasury of Tímúr Sháh, Sadozí, the Bádsháh of Kábul, through the revenue collector of the Sar-kár or district of Aṭak, by way of a *jágír* or allowance for protecting them. The Khán also collects a small cess from them."

From Tor-bela'h another route leads to Bír. You leave the former place and proceed three kuroh in the direction of north-east, inclining north, to Ṣawábí, and then two kuroh and a half, in the same direction as before, to Kalínjar,* also written

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* "Kulinjur," and "Kulinger," respectively, of the two maps before referred to.

I have previously mentioned that a considerable number of Afgháns dwell east of the Abáe-Sín or Indus; and it will be well perhaps to notice them briefly here, as some doubts appear to exist as to there being any purely Afghán people at all located in that part. I recollect, many years ago, that an officer in civil employ in the Panj-áb, on one occasion, when a vacancy occurred in the Hazárah district, to which the tracts occupied by these Afghán people are subordinate, applied to be transferred thither from a district bordering on the Sutlaj, as he was studying the Afghán language, and wished to perfect himself in it. The reply he received from the then Chief Commissioner was, that the applicant was quite mistaken in supposing that the Afghán language was spoken in any part of the Hazárah district; and his application was refused.

The portions of tribes I have referred to are: I. Ghurghushts, including the other Parnís, as well as the Jzadúns, the Taríns, and Farmulís or Parmulís; II. Karlárnís, including the Dilazáks, Khogiánís, and Khaṭaks; III. Yúsufzís; and IV. Mandaṛs.

The Parnís, who are by no means "an inferior race of Patháns," as a Settlement Officer styles them, not including the Jzadún branch, consist of about 6,000 or 7,000 families. Their chief place is Najíb-Ullah Ghaṛ, a small town situated on a hill, an acclivity of the mountains; and they are located along the banks of the Harú or Harau river, previously mentioned at pages 30, 31, 218, and also at page 284. Najíb-Ullah is compounded of two Arabic words, and has a meaning, but "*Najíbúlá*," as it appears in official papers, is meaningless.

The Taríns (if they are not Tárarns, which I rather fancy they are) are Saṛabarns; and are descended from Tarín, son of Saṛabarn, one of the sons of Ḳais-i-'Abd-ur-Rashíd, Paṭán, and of pure Afghán descent, and from this same Tarín the Durránís are descended. The Tárarns, on the other hand, belong to the Ghurghusht division of the Afgháns, being descended from a Sayyid, Ṭáhir, turned into Tárarn by the Afgháns, who was adopted by Kákaṛ, intermarried with the Afgháns, and his descendants are accounted as such. *See* also page 75.

The Taríns first became partners with the Gújars, the ancient inhabitants of these parts, and subsequently supplanted them. At present the case is reversed, and the Gújars have, for the most part, supplanted the Taríns.

In 1201 H. (1786–87 A.D.), in the reign of Tímúr Sháh, Sadozí, Durrání, the chief of these Taríns east of the Indus was Himmat Khán (*see* page 277). He was succeeded by his son, Najíb-Ullah Khán, and the latter, subsequent to the time these surveys were made, by his son, Muḥammad Khán.

In the fifth year of the reign of Sháh-i-Jahán Bádsháh, in 1041 H. (1631–32 A.D.), Sher Khán of the Tarín tribe of Afgháns, who had been nominated chief, or headman, of the Dara'h of Khajzak—in which is the Khajzak Pass, the "Khojak" of our maps—by Sháh 'Abbás, Ṣafawí, left his native country, and took service in India. When Sháh 'Abbás died, and 'Alí Mardán Khán, son of Ganj 'Alí Khán, became governor of the province of Ḳandahár, to which the Khajzak Dara'h was subordinate, Sher Khán would not submit to his authority. While Sher Khán was absent, on a certain occasion, on a foray into Síwí and Gand-ábah, 'Alí Mardán Khán seized the opportunity, came upon Sher Khán's fort of Pushang (not "Peshin"), took it, and carried away his family prisoners to Ḳandahár, and plundered the whole of his property and effects. Sher Khán, subsequently, encountered 'Alí Mardán Khán in the field; and, although the latter was badly wounded in the fight by a bullet, Sher Khán was overthrown, and fled to Ḍogí and Chotiálí (*see* note †, page 24). Finding he could not continue to dwell in Afghánistán on account of 'Alí Mardán Khán, he made overtures to Aḥmad Beg Khán, governor of the Multán province. His offers were accepted by Sháh-i-Jahán Bádsháh; and, on the 2nd of Ramaẓán, in that same year, Sher Khán, the Tarín, was presented at Court, raised to the dignity of commander of 2,000 horse, nominal, and 1,000 horse, actual,—that is, with permission to keep up a contingent of 1,000 horse,—a dress of honour, 20,000 rúpís in cash for his expenses, and a *jágír* of fief in the Panj-áb. This, in all probability, was the time when these particular Taríns first came into the parts in question, and there settled; and the *jágír* granted to Sher Khán is perhaps part of what they now occupy.

The Mashwárnís, turned into "Mishwannees" in the maps, and by different writers, are of Sayyid descent, Mashwárnaey, their progenitor, being one of the four sons of the Sayyid, Muḥammad-i-Gísú Daráz, referred to in note ‡, page 218. Mashwárnaey married a grand-daughter, or a daughter, some say, of Kákaṛ, and was adopted by Dánaey, the father of Kákaṛ; and, in consequence, his descendants are accounted among the great division of the Afghán nation called Ghurghusht. The whole of the Mashwární tribe contains nine subdivisions, but the greater portion of them are not located in the Hazárah district, but in Western Afghánistán. These are again subdivided into several sections. The portion here referred to, as dwelling immediately east of the Indus, consists of about 4,000 families, who dwell in several villages in and on the northern skirts of Ghand-Ghaṛ, contained in that part of the Chhachh Hazárah district which Abú-l-Faẓl calls Hazárah of the Gújars, presently to be described, but which the Afgháns call Sama'h, and is also known as Ghand-Ghaṛ. Their chief place is Srí-Koṭ, a very old Hindú place. These constitute the whole of the Ghurghusht people dwelling in what we style Hazárah, with the exception of the Jzadún Parnís (an account of whom has been already given at page 217), and possibly of the Ṭáhir Khel Afgháns who hold the lands on the other side of Ghand-Ghaṛ, in what was known as the Ghaṛí *'iláḳa'h*, on the side nearest the Indus, regarding whose proper tribe I am in some doubt. They have been in possession of the tract referred to for a very long time.

In his "Central Asia," Part I., Vol. 3, page 158, I notice that Colonel C. M. MacGregor makes the "Tarkhelí," as he styles them, "*Ghubrí Swátís*," but, at page 186, he says "they are said to be of the same "race as the Útmánzai of Yúsufzai."

In Elliot's India, Vol. I., page 48, "the *Gangarias* of the Indus, one of the most turbulent tribes of the "Hazara country," are mentioned, but I fail to trace them. It is evident that the people dwelling in and around the Ghand-Ghaṛ are referred to under this name.

I was very much puzzled as to what people could possibly be referred to in the "Settlement Reports" of this district, under the strange name of "*the Tarkheli tribe*," but at length found that this was the name assigned

Kalinjar; and another three kuroh and a half brings you to Bír, a large village on the banks of the Siran river, described elsewhere. On the way thither you cross a high mountain range; and by this same route you can go on to the Garhí of Sa'ádat Khán, before referred to."

Tor-bela'h gives name also to the little district in which it is situated. It consists of eight *mauza'*, or villages with their lands, on the east bank of the Abáe-Sín or Indus, and three on the west bank, namely, Khubbal, Kiyá, and Sathána'h, which, in maps and public documents, is incorrectly written "Suttana," "Sitana," etc.

The lands belonging to Tor-bela'h on the west bank of the Indus are held by Afgháns, who have never yet paid revenue to any government; but the Afgháns dwelling on the Tor-bela'h side used to pay a revenue or tax to the Sikh government in the shape of what is termed *kankút*, under the computation of three fifths of the produce of the land to the cultivators, and two fifths to the Khálsa'h government.

Much gold is obtained here by washing the sands of the Abáe-Sín or river Indus. There are several mills turned by water power near the point where the Siran and its tributaries unite with the Abáe-Sín, on each of which seven rúpís and a half used to be levied by the Sikh government, and six rúpís from each gang of gold-washers. In the year of the great flood of the Abáe-Sín, in the month of June, 1841, the gold-washers made a good thing of it, and paid a tax of thirty-six rúpís instead of six, or six times the amount, for each gang. There was scarcely a promising spot on the banks of the river that was not occupied by these gold-washers; and, according to the statements of the Harí-púr brokers, gold dust to the value of three *lákhs* of rúpís (30,000*l.*) was disposed of in the Harí-púr bázár alone. The Indus and its tributaries, as well as the rivers immediately to the west, have yielded gold from very early times.*

On the occasion of the great flood alluded to above, a Sikh force, encamped near the banks of the Indus, lost all their artillery, stores, camels, etc., the whole of which were swept away. Had it occurred in the night instead of in the daytime, the troops

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to the Ṭáhir Khel. This is a good specimen of how names of people and places are rendered unintelligible, and the utter confusion caused by rash and crude statements respecting the descent of people of whom the writers often know little or nothing, such, for example as asserting that the "*Gákars*," located on the banks of the "*Jhélám*," are "Kákar Afgháns." The writer here refers to the Gakhars on the Jhilam, which *he* spells *Gákar* to suit his theory, but *they* spell it as I have done. Another turns them into "Indo-Scythians."

The Dilazáks still remaining in these parts, already mentioned in several places, are scattered about in various places, both east and west of the Indus, but chiefly on the east, and with these we have at present to do. The tract of country held by them, when we annexed the Panj-áb, was called the Dilazák *paṭṭí*, and contained no less than twenty-one *mouza'* (villages with their lands). Ṣáliḥ Saráe, or Saráe-i-Ṣáliḥ—The Saráe of Ṣáliḥ,—a very ancient place, situated near the banks of the Dor river, was their chief town, and contained about 3,000 inhabitants. The headman is still a Dilazák, and that people form a good proportion of its inhabitants. The number of Dilazák Afgháns inhabiting the *paṭṭí* amounted to between 4,000 and 5,000 families. *See* note *, page 35.

The Mughal Nú-yín, who invaded and reduced Kash-mír in Mangú Ḳá'án's reign, was called Sálí, also known as Sárí, *l* and *r* being exchangeable. He committed great ravages in that country. Soon after, Rájah Rám Díw died, and his brother, Lakshman Díw, succeeded by command of Mangú Ḳá'án. He is called Mang-kú in the Rájah Tarangíní. The Nú-yín, Sálí, commanded for a considerable time the Mughal forces which held the Upper Sind-Ságar Do-ábah, and, subsequently, as far east as the Bíáh, when it flowed in its old bed. It was he, I have reason to believe, who gave name to this place, which name, in course of time, has been turned into the more familiar Arabic Ṣáliḥ,—"good," "fit," "sedate," etc. *See* my "Translation of the "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," pages 844 and 862.

The Khogíání Karlárnís, previously referred to at pages 31 and 91, consist of about 2,000 or 3,000 families, and dwell in the tract of country called Chhachh Hazárah, elsewhere described.

I notice that Colonel C. M. MacGregor, in his "Central Asia," Part I., says, under the heading of "*Ghorghúst*" (the Ghurghushts are referred to), that "scarcely anything is known of any of these tribes, "though Mahamad Hyát has a meagre account of the branches of the Ghorghúsht." In one place, however, he makes "*Panjpao Dúránís*" of these Khogíání Karlární Ghurghushts, mistaking them, evidently, for Khogání, or, as they are often styled, Khagwání Durránís; but, in Part II. of the same work, page 536, he changes the name into "*Khúgíní*." Neither name is correct, and the Khogíánís of the Hazárah district are a section of a distinct tribe.

The Khaṭaks east of the Indus are quite independent of the main portion of the tribe on the west bank, and have been separated from them for some centuries past. They are located in the hill tracts south of Aṭak-Banáras, and Makhad is their chief town.

The Farmulís or Parmulís have been already mentioned, at pages 32 and 85.

The Yúsufzís, to the number of 10,000 or 12,000 families, dwell in the Kohistán to the north of the district of Hazárah. When these surveys were made, their Sardár was Muẓaffar Khán, who paid allegiance to Timúr Sháh, Sadozí, Durrání, Bádsháh of Kábul.

The Afghán history, entitled Nasab-Náma'h, says, that in the reign of Sháh-i-Zamán, Ḥasan-i-Abdál was held in fief by Muẓaffar Khán, the Yúsufzí, who was then chief of Muẓaffar-ábád, on the road to Kash-mír. He, however, did not give name to that place, as it was so called long before his time.

The Mandars dwell in Tor-bela'h, on the Indus, and, like the Yúsufzís, are referred to in their different localities.

* *See* my "Notes on Káfiristán," pages 14 and 15.

would also have been engulphed. The forts of Dar-band, Anb, Tor-bela'h, Ghari, Wahí, and some others of less importance, were entirely destroyed, and nothing but the stones of which they had been built, and the rocks on which they had stood, remained to show where they had once been.

To return to the route.

"To the north of the village of Tor-bela'h is a great mountain range, running in the direction of north-east and south-west for a distance of fifteen kuroh in length, and in breadth, from south-east to north-west, eight kuroh. This mountainous tract is inhabited by Afgháns of the Abází clan, before referred to, Ghurghushts, including Parnís, and the Taríns. The river Siran, which, near Koṭ 'Isá Khán, unites with the river of Dharam-ṭaur, also written Daram-ṭaur, and the Jalsí river, comes down to the north of the village of Tor-bela'h, and joins the Abáe-Sín. Except in time of flood, the Siran is generally not more than knee-deep, or, at farthest, waist-deep.

"Having crossed the Abáe-Sín at the Guzar or Ferry of Tor-bela'h, you proceed one kuroh west to Khubbal,* which is a village of some size, inhabited by Utmánzí Mandars, and the river flows near by, on the left hand. From thence you go eight kuroh in the direction of south-west to Ṭopa'í, following the course of the great river, and passing, by the way, near some small villages, on the left hand, including Bárah,† and Pehúr,‡ a curious rocky promontory, which, in the hot season, when the river is in flood, is surrounded on three sides by water.

"Ṭopa'í is a village of some size, and is inhabited by Mandars of the Utmánzí division, and lies rather more than a kuroh from the banks of the Abáe-Sín. Leaving that village, you proceed two kuroh in the direction of west to Marghol, also known as Marghoz. You then have to go on for another two kuroh in the same direction as before, but inclining south-west, to Jzeda'h, which Eastern Afgháns, who substitute 'j' and 'z' for 'jz,' call Jeda'h and Zeda'h. The Abáe-Sín lies two kuroh§ distant, on the left hand, and a lofty mountain range shows itself away in the distance, on the right. About two kuroh to the north of Jzeda'h is the large village of Panj-Pír, or 'The Five Saints,' previously referred to. Half way on the road thither, on the right hand, is a small river, which issues from the Dara'h of Manera'í, and is expended in the irrigation of the lands lower down.‖

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* This is the correct mode of writing and pronouncing the name of this place, as the people write and pronounce it, but Colonel C. M. MacGregor writes it *Kabal*, and Mr. Bellew, *Kabl*, neither being much like the original.

The Sardár, Harí Singh, was defeated and left for dead in his attempt to capture Nára'h, a strong place belonging to the people known as Kar Ál, and, as a native of the district of Hazárah writes it, Karal Ál (*see* also page 292), situated at the north-eastern point of the Ghand-Ghar range, in 1824. The Afgháns of this part, who aided them on that occasion, fought with great determination, and hurled down great stones from the walls upon the Sikhs, one of which missiles struck down Harí Singh, and sent him rolling into the ravine below, where he lay a long time senseless and undiscovered. In this affair the Sikhs lost 400 men, while the loss of the defenders was very trifling.

Ran-jít Singh moved in person to avenge this disaster, which he effected, and subsequently reached Tor-bela'h, on his way into the Afghán territory west of the Indus, which we call "Yoosoofzai," because it is peopled by Mandars and Khataks, and the people call "the Sama'h." Having to halt for the day, Ran-jít Singh mounted an elephant, and went to examine the river, the Abáe-Sín. On reaching the banks, the Afgháns of Khubbal, on the opposite side, opened fire upon him. He was very wroth, and observed that he would see to the matter next day. Early next morning the Sikh troops struck tents, marched to the river, and crossed it without the aid of a single boat or boatman. They then made a show of moving to Pehúr, while columns, previously told off for the purpose, pushed on against Khubbal and Kiyá. They succeeded in destroying both places, but the people had previously betaken themselves to the mountains with all their effects. Ran-jít Singh then continued his march by Pehúr, and entered the Sama'h. Compare Captain J. D. Cunningham's "History of the Sikhs," page 185.

† This place, formerly known as Bárah of Tunawal, was the scene of the overthrow of Shaikh 'Umar, Khair-ud-Dín, Núr-ud-Dín, and Jalál-ud-Dín, the sons of the notorious Pír-i-Roshán, *alias* Pír-i-Tárik, referred to at page 46, by Hamzah Khán, Chief of the Akozí Yúsufzís. The two first fled across the Abáe-Sín, towards Tor-bela'h, and were put to death by the Dilazák Afgháns; and the Muhammadzís subsequently put the third to death likewise. The fourth, Jalál-ud-Dín, or Jalálah, who was then a mere boy, had been badly wounded, and tossed into the river. As his time was not yet come, he escaped from the water, but fell into the hands of the Ámánzí Mandars. They did not slay him, on account of his tender age, and, by command of Akbar Bádsháh, he was by them set at liberty, to cause vast miseries subsequently. He is the person referred to at page 45. The females and children of the heretics were captured; the widow of Pír-i-Roshán was given to the embraces of a minstrel; and the arch-heretic's coffin, containing his bones, which his sons carried about along with them, was also taken, and broken open. Some of his bones were burnt, and some cast into the Abáe-Sín.

‡ Some enthusiasts, without taking into consideration the physical changes of over 2,000 years, when such vast ones have occurred since these surveys were written, and the description of Aornos by the Greek writers, suppose Pehúr to be its site, among very many others.

§ Jzeda'h is now about three miles from the Indus.

‖ This is now known as the Badraey Khwar, and unites with the Abáe-Sín or Indus a little to the west of Ohandh. It is styled "the Badra-ikhwar" in Colonel MacGregor's book.

"From Jzeda'h you go on to Kund, distant a kuroh and a half in the same direction as before, and then another three kuroh, in the direction of west, to the small village of Láhor.

"Leaving Láhor, you have to proceed for a distance of two kuroh, in the direction of west, to the large village of Jalsa'í, and on the way thither there is little or no cultivation to be met with. From the village of Khubbal up to this point the people are Mandar Afgháns; and from thence you have to proceed another three kuroh farther west, and reach a second Jalsa'í,* a large village belonging to the Khaṭak Afgháns, whose territory begins here. The village of Bázár† (mentioned at page 34) is seen in the distance, on the left-hand side, distant three kuroh in the direction of south-west, inclining south. Another long stage of eight kuroh brings you to another large village belonging to the Khaṭaks, called 'Alí Muḥammad, situated on the northern bank of the Landaey Sín, or river of Kábul. By the way are numerous ascents and descents, and the road winds considerably. A lofty mountain range shows itself in the distance, on the right hand, with low hills near by, in the same direction, forming the Sar-i-Maira'h, or 'Crest of the Desert,' *maira'h* in Pus'hto signifying a 'desert.' The villages of Jahángírah, Mughalkí,‡ and others, belonging to the same Afghán tribe, lie near by, on the left hand.

"From the village of 'Alí Muḥammad two roads diverge. In taking the left-hand one (to Pes'háwar), you cross the Landaey, or river of Kábul, to the town of Akoṛah (mentioned at page 34), while the right-hand route is as follows.

"Setting out from the village of 'Alí Muḥammad, you proceed one kuroh west, and reach the fort of Akoṛah, a brick-built fortification, founded by one of the Sulṭáns of ancient times to guard the passage, and now in the possession of Yúsuf Khán, the Khaṭak chief of that section of the tribe dwelling north of the Landaey Sín or river of Kábul. To the north of the fort is a small range of hills of considerable elevation overlooking it, running east and west, almost parallel to the river; and, on the south, the walls of the fort have been carried to the banks of the Landaey Sín, or river of Kábul.

"From the fort of Akoṛah you go half a kuroh west to Miṣrí Bánda'h, another large village belonging to the Khaṭaks; and from thence another two kuroh and a half, in the same direction as before, to Z'ṛah-Me-na'h,§ also a Khaṭak village. Leaving it, another two kuroh and a half, in much the same direction as before, brings you to the large village of Pír-i-Siwák, previously mentioned (at page 246), situated on the banks of the Landaey Sín, or river of Kábul. East of the village, distant about a quarter of a kuroh, is an isolated hill, which rises abruptly from the plain to a considerable height. This hill is called Pír-i-Siwák, after some holy man among the Musalmáns, who dwelt, and is probably buried, there, and after him the village is named.‖ To the north-west of the village, and distant a little over a kuroh, is the river known as the Kálá or Kála'h Pární, described in the Fifty-fourth Route. It rises in the mountain range lying distant on the right hand (north), forming the southern boundary of the Dara'h of Suwát, and, running to the left, unites with the Landaey Sín, north-west of the village. On both sides of the Kála'h Pární there is much broken ground, containing many ascents and descents; and the Mandar tribe of Afgháns infest the routes. The Kalaey, or Village of Sháh-báz Khán, mentioned in the First Route (page 34), shows itself on the right hand, near the river bank, on the opposite side of the Landaey Sín.

"From Pír-i-Siwák you proceed three kuroh west, inclining south-west, to Noh-S'hahra'h-i-Muḥammadzí, or Noh-S'hahra'h of the Muḥammadzís, and Noh-S'hahra'h of 'Ash-Naghar, to distinguish it from the Tájzík village, known as Noh-S'hahra'h-i-Khálisa'h, on the opposite bank. The first-mentioned place, which is of considerable size, is one of the large villages of the 'Ash-Naghar district.

"At this point two roads branch off. The right-hand route goes to the north-west,

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* This place is called "Jabbai" in our maps.

† "Buzar" of the Indian Atlas map. It is merely the simple every-day word for a market.

‡ This is the "Moghulhai" of the Indian Atlas map, and the "Mogal Khel" of Colonel C. M. MacGregor's "Central Asia," Vol. II.

§ Not "Zurumaina" as in our maps. The correct words have a meaning in Pus'hto.

‖ This is a very old site. The name is written Pír Sihwák by the Khaṭaks generally, but the above appears to be the original name, signifying the Pír or Holy man with the Tooth-brush, so called from having a *siwák* or *miswák* stuck in his turban. The tooth-brush here referred to is a small piece of the wood of a particular tree used for the purpose, about the length of a black-lead pencil, but flat, not rounded. This is chewed, or bitten, at one end, to the extent of a quarter of an inch or thereabouts, in order to reduce it to fibre, and this fibrous part bent over forms the brush, which is used by Musalmáns when performing their ablutions. Recluses often carry them stuck in their turbans.

to 'Ash-Naghar, and the left-hand one is as follows. Having crossed the Landaey Sín, or river of Kábul, by means of a boat, you reach Noh-S'hahra'h-i-Khálisa'h, inhabited by Tájzíks; and from this place the route to Pes'háwar has been previously described (at page 34).

"Travellers between Kash-mír and Kábul take this route, but, from Khubbal to Noh-S'hahra'h of the Muḥammadzís, the road is dangerous, and contains many ascents and descents."

*Sixty-sixth Route. From Ráwal-Pindí to the Dera'h-i-Gul Sher Khán, which is the seat of government of the territory of Tunawal, a distance of thirty-five kuroh north. By this route you can proceed into the Kohistán of the Yúsufzí Afgháns, and to Káshkár, and to the Tibbat-há-i-Khúrd, or Little Tibbats.*

"There are two roads from Ráwal-Pindí to the Dera'h of Gul Sher Khán. The following is the right-hand one."

The road from Ráwal-Pindí to Surríyá* is so well known that it need scarcely be mentioned here.

"From that place you proceed two kuroh in the direction of north-west to Darwesh, a village of considerable size, belonging to the Gakhar tribe, but under the sway of Najíb-Ullah Khán, the Tarín Afghán. On the way thither you pass by much cultivation. The village of Surelá, which is also a large place belonging to the same tribe, and distant two kuroh south of Darwesh, shows itself at some distance on the left hand. Two kuroh north of Darwesh is Jágal, another large village of the before-mentioned tribe, and under the sway of the same chief, and west of it is a small river, called the Jalsí.† From Jágal you go on another three kuroh in the direction of north to Khalá-bat,‡ another considerable village of the Gakhars, but under the sway of the same Tarín chief. Leaving it, and proceeding two kuroh more in the direction of north, inclining north-west, you reach Koṭ 'Ísá Khán, which is an ancient fort,§ built of unburnt bricks. South of it the Jalsí and Dharam-ṭaur rivers‖ unite, and on the north side the Siran river flows; and on the west side of the fort, and beneath it, that river unites with the Jalsí, and then the united streams flow on towards Tor-bela'h. From Jágal to the above-mentioned Koṭ you follow the course of the Jalsí river; and, west of the fort, the whole of the three rivers flow in one channel towards the Abáe-Sín. The road then branches off, and is like the dry bed of a river, contains many ups and downs, and excess of *jangal*, and is known as the Bhír-Galí. It is about one kuroh in length; and from the extremity of it (in this direction), one kuroh north-west, is the little village of Ṣawábí,¶ situated on an acclivity, and inhabited by Sayyids, and west of it is a considerable stream, which flows towards the south-west, and unites with the Siran river.

"From Ṣawábí you go on for a distance of two kuroh and a half in the direction of north, inclining north-east, to Kalínjar, also called Kalinjar,** a village of considerable size, situated under the mountains, on the north side. West of the village is a river, dependent on rain, which comes down from the mountains east of the village, and, passing it on the north and west, unites with the Siran river. Leaving Kalínjar, or Kalinjar, you proceed two kuroh and a half north-west, and descend to the bed of a little river (which you cross), and a short distance to the north of it is Gan-dab, or Ganh-daf,†† a large village inhabited by Sayyids. East of the village, and adjoining the river before mentioned as depending on rain, is a spring, and a little water flows from that spring into the afore-mentioned river bed. The river of Gan-dab, or Ganh-daf, comes from the mountains on the east, and, flowing on the south and west of the village, goes on to Tor-bela'h.‡‡

"Setting out from Gan-dab or Ganh-daf, and proceeding half a kuroh west, you reach an acclivity of the mountains, which you cross, and the Gan-dab or Ganh-daf

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* "Siryuh" of the large scale map, and "Siria" of the Indian Atlas map.

† The "Sokha N." of the maps.

‡ "Kalabat" of one map, and "Khulabut" of the other.

§ Now known as Koṭ Bhárú.

‖ The Dharam-ṭaur river refers to the Doṛ.

¶ But not called "Swábí," as in official papers. The name is derived from an 'Arabic word, which any Hindústání Dictionary will show the correct pronunciation of. West of the Indus it would be pronounced Ṣawába'í.

** Only called "Kalinja" by persons who cannot pronounce their "*rs*" correctly. It is "Kulinger" in the Indian Atlas map. *See* "Translation of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," note 4, page 1074.

†† "Gunduf," of the large map, but "Gandum" in the Indian Atlas map. *See* also page 289.

‡‡ The Siran, Mángal, and Doṛ rivers, and some minor tributaries, unite with the Abáe-Sín near Tor-bela'h.

river lies on your left hand. From thence, having gone on half a kuroh in the direction of north-west in the bed of the river, you reach a small collection of water like a lake, the water from which flows towards the left hand, and unites with the Gan-dab or Ganh-daf river. Continuing onwards from that point (the little lake), and still following the dry bed of a river, dependent on rain, for one kuroh in the direction of west, you reach, half a kuroh farther north, Khair-Koṭ,* which is a large-size village; and the before-mentioned river flows towards the left hand, and unites with the Abáe-Sín (or Indus).

"From Khair-Koṭ you go on a kuroh and a half to the north, and reach Anorá or Anora'h,† which lies on the right hand, at the foot of the mountain range, while the Abáe-Sín lies near by on the left-hand side. Another kuroh north from Anorá brings you to Lálú-Galí, which is the name of a village at the foot of the mountains, and the great river before mentioned lies close by on the left hand. Half a kuroh farther and you reach the Dera'h‡-i-Gul Sher Khán, a large town, the seat of government, and place of residence of Gul Sher Khán, the Chief of Tunawal. This chief entertains a force of about 10,000 or 12,000 horse and foot, and rules over this part. He pays allegiance to the Bádsháh of Kábul; and the most valuable commodities of Pakhla'í, Kash-mír, and Pes'háwar, are disposed of in this place. At a short distance west of the town is a fort of unburnt brick, but of very great strength; and a little farther to the west of it the Abáe-Sín flows.

"On the road from Khair-Koṭ to this place the mountains approach close on the right hand."

It will be well to give a brief account of Tunawal here.

"Tunawal is the name of a small territory lying on the east bank of the Abáe-Sín, about twenty kuroh in length, and about the same in breadth, through which the Siran river flows from north to south, but inclining a little to the south-west. It is a very mountainous tract of country, and its inhabitants belong to different tribes, a number of whom are Afgháns; and the Pus'hto language is spoken among them all. The chieftainship lies with the Tunawalís, who account themselves to be of Mughal descent; but, at present, they are scarcely distinguishable in their appearance from the Afgháns and various other peoples of this part. Latterly, according to some accounts, they have laid claim to be descended from the tribe of Birlás—Amír Tímúr's own tribe.

"The Tunawalís number about 20,000 families, and consist of two septs or divisions, named respectively Pul Ál, and Hando or Ando Ál, the words being written both ways. The former hold the parts east of the Siran, or south-east portion of Tunawal, and the latter those on the west or north-west part. The latter tracts belong to Pá'índah Khán, and were held by his ancestors before him. Their chief places and seat of authority are Bír, Púhár, and Dera'h."§

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* "Khurkot" of the large map.

† "Unoruh" of one map and "Anorah" of the other. *See* page 291.

‡ "Deyrah" of one map and "Deruh" of the other. It is precisely the same word as in the Dera'h of Ghází Khán and Dera'h of Ismá'íl Khán.

§ A zamín-dár, a land-owner and petty chief, named Ṣúbah Khán, of the Pul Ál or Pul tribe, founded Bír, which soon became a flourishing place. He dwelt with his family at Phúhár, a cool spot on the Siran River; and, while Bír was being built and peopled, he used to ride daily to Bír and return to Phúhár in the evening. These events occurred at the time of the breaking up of the Mughal empire of Dihlí, when so many adventurers and upstarts set up on their own account.

He left fourteen sons, one of whom was Gul Sher Khán, presently to be mentioned. It may also be noticed that "Khán," afterwards adopted by the Afgháns, is a purely Turkish title. No sooner had the father died than the brothers began to disagree. Two of them, who held Dera'h in their father's lifetime, expelled their brothers, Fatḥ Sher Khán and Gul Sher Khán, from Phúhár, and they had to seek shelter with the Mandar Afgháns of Tor-bela'h. Of the two brothers before mentioned, one, named Muḥammad Khán, took possession of Phúhár, and was chosen ruler by the five clans or subdivisions forming the Pul Ál or tribe. He turned out a great tyrant; and the people got rid of him and recalled Fatḥ Sher Khán and Gul Sher Khán, and made the latter their chief. He proved to be a good ruler, and at his death his brother, Fatḥ Sher Khán, was chosen as his successor.

The other part of Tunawal, held by the Hando Ál, or Hando tribe, or Ando Ál, was in the possession of five zamín-dárs, the head men of their *ál* or tribe, one of whom, Haibat Khán, the Hando or Ando Ál, the great-grandfather of the celebrated Pá'índah Khán, who dwelt at Kalaey, considered himself superior to the rest, and began to claim equality with Gul Sher Khán, Chief of the Pul Ál. The latter, to convince him of the difference between them, entered his *paṭṭa'h* or district, devastated it, and reduced Kalaey to ashes. Haibat Khán fled; but, after a time, being helpless as to what else to do, he had to submit to Gul Sher Khán's yoke, on which the latter permitted him to return and to restore Kalaey.

Haibat Khán had two sons, named, respectively, Nawwáb and Háshim 'Alí; and, when their father made up his differences with Gul Sher Khán, a family alliance was formed, or what was intended as an alliance, but, like these alliances often do, it culminated in inveterate hostility. The daughter of Gul Sher Khán was betrothed to Haibat Khán's son, Háshim 'Alí, and a daughter of Haibat Khán to Gul Sher Khán's son, Aḥmad. These events happened about the time these surveys were made.

Túnawal, or Tunawal, as the Ákhúnd, Darwezah, and the people of the district itself, write the word and pronounce it—but not *Tanáwal*, as in some official documents, because there is no long *á* in the word—was overrun by the Afgháns in the latter part of Akbar Bádsháh's reign.

The Ákhúnd, Darwezah, says in his Tazkirat, and he was a contemporary writer, that, from the time of Malik Aḥmad and Khán Kajú up to his own time, the most

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When Forster visited these parts, when on his travels, Gul Sher Khán was still living. Under date of 6th July, 1783, he says, "On the 6th at Inayat Saráe or N'amat Saráe, a fortified village, situated in the western "limit of Tanawal, the territory of Gul Shere Khán, a Muhammadan of the Afghan tribe. Beer is the residence "of Gul Shere." He mistook, it appears, a Tunawalí for an Afghán.

Major J. Biddulph, in his work, "Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh," makes even a greater mistake, for at page 37 he informs us that "the population of Pukli is now entirely Afghán."

On the death of Gul Sher Khán, his son Aḥmad succeeded him. At this time Nawwáb and Háshim 'Alí, Haibat Khán's sons, began to acquire power, which fact became a source of jealousy and anxiety to Aḥmad Khán, and he feared lest the territory held by the Pul Ál of Tunawal might, in the end, fall into the possession of the Hando Ál faction, represented by Nawwáb and Háshim 'Alí, and they should become supreme over Tunawal which his family had held sway over for three generations past. Soon after, to increase Aḥmad Khán's uneasiness, the clans or sections of the Hando Ál chose Háshim 'Alí as their chief or head.

He and his brother, Nawwáb, to be safe from Aḥmad Khán, took refuge in the Mahá-Baṇ mountain range, and then sent him a message demanding possession of the villages of Dar-band and Gharí, places difficult of access, which were, of old, strongholds of the Hando Ál, but had been seized upon by Gul Sher Khán. On this, Aḥmad Khán managed to entice Háshim 'Alí, his brother-in-law, to bring his wife, Aḥmad's sister, along with him, and come and stay with him, promising that the two places referred to should be restored as pin money to his sister. Háshim 'Alí, much against the wishes and persuasions of Nawwáb, his brother, taking his wife with him, set out on a visit to Aḥmad Khán. The upshot was that Háshim 'Alí was assassinated by four men employed by Aḥmad Khán for the purpose. After much entreaty he allowed his sister to depart with the corpse of her husband. The funeral over, and the mourning ceremonies carried out, Nawwáb Khán married his brother's widow; and, by the strength of his own arm, soon obtained possession of Dar-band and Gharí; and, while he prospered in all his undertakings, Aḥmad Khán failed in all his.

At this period, while the power of Nawwáb Khán, who, it will be found, was a most unscrupulous person, daily increased, Akbar 'Alí Khán, a cousin of Aḥmad Khán's, went to Kash-mír to wait upon 'Aṭá Muḥammad Khán, Bárakzí, Durráni, Governor of Kash-mír and its dependencies, to which province Tunawal was nominally subordinate, in order to seek justice against Aḥmad Khán, who had refused to restore to him his father's heritage to which he was heir. 'Aṭá Muḥammad Khán, on becoming acquainted with the facts, detached a force under an officer named Kash-mírí Khán, to put Akbar 'Alí in possession. Aḥmad Khán hearing of this, at a loss what to do, now agreed to bestow a daughter in marriage upon the Sayyid, A'ẓam Sháh, brother of the Sayyid, Akbar Sháh, mentioned in note ‡, page 253, of Sathána'h, a demand of whose hand he had previously rejected; and sent all his household property and valuable effects, to the value of a lakh of rúpís, to the Sayyid, A'ẓam Sháh, his new son-in-law, to take charge of, intending, in case he should be stripped of his territory and authority by the Durránís, to take up his residence at Sathána'h, on the other side of the Abáe-Sín.

When the Durráni force appeared, Aḥmad Khán fled across the river towards the Mahá-Baṇ mountain range, and took up his residence among the Afgháns at the village of Pharús-hah—the "Parosa" and "Paroosa" of the maps—for, had he gone to Sathána'h, the Sayyids would have put him to death for the sake of his property.

Akbar 'Alí Khán was put in possession of Phúhár and afterwards of Bír by the Durránís, and Dera'h, Aḥmad Khán's place of residence, was burnt. After this the Kash-mír force retired, but the Durránís had scarcely passed Muẓaffar-ábád before Aḥmad Khán left his retreat in the Mahá-Baṇ mountain, with his adherents, and took up his quarters at Lálú-Galí (mentioned at page 275), and the clans of the Pul Ál at once joined him. The Sayyid, A'ẓam Sháh was much disappointed: he wished to get him into his power, and secure his property for himself. He now resolved to make an attempt to do so, lest Aḥmad Khán might escape him altogether. With this intent, the Sayyid, A'ẓam Sháh, consulted with his brother, the Sayyid, Akbar Sháh, and they agreed to invite Aḥmad Khán to Sathána'h to a *jirga'h*, or council, promising to help him to recover his authority.

Aḥmad Khán, placing reliance on the good faith of his son-in-law, crossed the Abáe-Sín in a boat, and attended the *jirga'h*. Towards the close of the debate, the movements of the Sayyid brothers rendered him suspicious; and he noticed them stealthily preparing to attack him. He got up, pretending he wanted to obey a call of nature, and withdrew a few paces leisurely, and then fled, making towards the river. The Sayyids pursued him. The boat in which he had crossed was some distance from the shore, the men in charge had purposely, it would seem, kept her at a little distance from it. Aḥmad Khán rushed into the water, followed by the Sayyids as far as was within their depths, during which time they inflicted eleven wounds on the head, arms, and back of Aḥmad Khán.

His time, however, was not come: he did not fall, but took to swimming, and was taken into the boat by the boatmen, and landed on the other side. His property remained in the hands of the Sayyids, and they never restored it.

Aḥmad Khán recovered from his wounds, and took up his residence at Dera'h, but he was subsequently assassinated by an uncle, Sar-Buland Khán by name, son of Ṣubá Khán, Aḥmad Khán's grandfather, in the *masjid* at Koṭyál, while in the very act of saying his prayers. Sar-Buland Khán then assumed authority over the Pul Ál portion of the Tunawal territory, and fixed his residence at Shunkrí—the "Shúnglí" and "Shingurce" of the maps and gazetteers—situated in a glen among the mountains, about fourteen miles south-west from Dharam-ṭaur.

Nawwáb Khán, the Hando or Ando Ál, had, during these events, been gaining power by degrees, but he was greatly impeded in his ambitious designs by Muḥammad Khán, son of Najíb-Ullah Khán, the chief of the Tarín Afgháns of this part (who have now been nearly supplanted by the Gújars), of Kal-dharí, one of the petty independent chiefs of the Hazárah territory, who, subsequently, for a long period, successfully resisted the Sikhs, and defeated them upon several occasions. But the insolence of Nawwáb Khán was as great as his unscrupulousness, and, having displayed it once too often, he perished in consequence, as I shall relate farther on.

powerful chief among the Yúsufzís and Mandaṛs was 'Alí-Aṣghar, and the most successful in his enterprises. No chief among them had reduced the Kohistán of Túnawal, but he accomplished it, with the aid of other headmen of the subdivisions of the two tribes, such as Malik Hindál, the Akozí; Malik Bábá, Malízí; Matah Khán, and Mullá Ibráhím, Ilyászí; Malik Tarkí, Mandaṛ; and others. 'Alí Aṣghar completely reduced that tract, and expelled its former inhabitants. From that time portions of Afghán tribes have been settled on the Indus, in parts formerly included in Túnawal.

"By the left-hand route from Ráwal-Pindí to this town, you proceed twelve kuroh towards the north-west, and reach the Harú river; and by the way are lofty defiles and towering mountains, and several villages named Khaṭar* or Kháṭar, the largest of which they call 'Uṣmán-Khaṭar. From the Harú river you proceed three kuroh north-east to Najíb-Ullah Ghaṛ, the name of a large village, and a strong fort, on the slope of a mountain. This is the place of residence of Najíb-Ullah Khán,† son of Himmat Khán, the Afghán chief of the tribe of Tarín; and three kuroh east of it is the village of Darwesh, already mentioned in the previous route, both routes uniting here. Najíb-Ullah Ghaṛ is named after him."

*Sixty-seventh Route. From Ghaṛí-i-Sa'ádat Khán to Taha'h-Koṭ or Tahá-Koṭ, which lies on the extreme northern boundary of the Pakhla'í territory, a distance of forty kuroh to the north-west. This Route also leads into the two Tibbats, and into Káshkár, Badakhshán, and Yár-kand.*

Before giving the details of this route it will be well to give a brief account of Pakhal or Pakhala'í, now known as Pakhla'í.

"It lies east of Tunawal, and is about fifty kuroh in length, by some forty in breadth. It is inhabited by a race of people who are styled Suwádís, Suwátís, or, more correctly, Suwáthís. They now speak the Pus'hto language, but they are neither of the Afghán race, nor are they of Afghán descent, and came originally from Bájawṛ, and Suwád, Suwát, or Suwáth."

When the Khas'hí sept of Afgháns acquired predominance in Bájawṛ, Suwád, and Buner, and parts adjacent, and Bábar Bádsháh overcame Ḥaidar 'Alí, the Gibarí Sulṭán of Bájawṛ, and occupied his stronghold, and Sulṭán Awes, son of Sulṭán Pakhal, the last Sulṭán of Suwád, also of the Gibarí tribe, had to abandon his kingdom, and take shelter in the Dara'h of Nihák, Níáka'h, or Ní'ák,‡ farther north, the people of the territories in question, consisting of tribes of the Tájzík race, also known as Dikkáns and Dihgáns, were either wholly expelled from them, or, with few exceptions, abandoned their old seats to find new homes where they might dwell in safety from Afghán invaders from the westward. As the tracts immediately west of the Indus and north of Buner, extending from the eastern boundary of the Káshkár or Chitrál state to Taha'h-Koṭ or Tahá-Koṭ, belonged to, and were still inhabited by, people of their own race, who had not been interfered with (and have not, to this day, to any considerable extent), they were, of necessity, forced to cross the Indus to find a new country, those of their own race not having room for them to dwell with them.

"They began to cross the great river in the direction of Taha'h-Koṭ, presently to be referred to, and, following the example of the Afghán invaders of their own country, they overcame the tribes of Khakhah and Banbhah, whose chiefs had been the ancient rulers of these parts east of the Abáe-Sín, forced them back, and took possession of the territory of Pakhal for themselves.§ Having, for the most part, come from Suwád, they were styled Suwádís or Suwáthís by their immediate neighbours; but they consisted chiefly of the tribes referred to at pages 117 and 237."‖

The advent of a great part of the Dilazák Afgháns—first expelled by the Khas'his

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* Khaṭar or Kháṭar is the name of a non-Afghán tribe now dwelling farther south, about Níl-Áb, below Aṭak-Banáras. They were formerly more numerous than they are at present, and extended farther north.

† Najíb-Ullah Khán of Chhachh Hazárah acknowledged fealty to the Durráni sovereigns, and furnished a contingent to the Sháh-i-Zamán's army when that monarch entered the Panj-áb and occupied Láhor in 1211 H. (1796-97, A.D.), and for a time kept the encroaching Sikhs in check.

‡ *See* page 231.

§ The Jahángíríán Sulṭáns, in ancient times, possessed an empire extending from Nangrahár to the Jhilam; but, at the time when the Khas'his overran Suwát, their sway did not extend beyond the Indus on the east, except over Taha'h-Koṭ, and some smaller tracts near it. Pakhal is evidently named after the Gibarí Sulṭán of that name.

‖ *See* my "Translation of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," note 1, pages 1043-44.

from the whole of their territory north of the river of Kábul, and subsequently overthrown by the Ghwarís or Ghwaríah Khel, and expelled from the whole of their remaining territories west of the Indus and south of the river of Kábul, extending from the Khaibar defile to Khair-ábád, opposite Aṭak-Banáras—prevented these Tájzík tribes from extending east and south; while other non-Afghán tribes of the Sind-Ságar Do-Ábah, and from west of the Indus, but farther south, were themselves being thrust forward by other Afghán tribes, such as the Áfrídís, Khaṭaks, and some others, who were likewise moving towards the east and north.

The Tájzík tribes referred to are the Gibarí, Mutráwí, and Mumíálí, which contain several ramifications, such as the Dúd Ál, Jahángírí, Beg Ál, etc.; and among which may also be included all those people, previously referred to, extending from Ḳáshḳár or Chitrál into Taha'h-Koṭ or Tahá-Koṭ, including those of the Kohistán of Suwád previously mentioned.* It must be remembered that the tribes of Bájawr and Suwád, and, in all likelihood, many of those people mentioned in these pages under the name of Kohistánís, were orthodox Musalmáns some centuries before the appearance of the Afgháns in their territories. It is also probable that these latter were merely called Kohistánís by the Afgháns themselves, to distinguish them from the race of people mentioned in these pages under the name of Spín Káfirís, or White-clad Unbelievers; and it is evident, from the termination "Ál" affixed to the names of the Pul Ál and Hando or Ando Ál of Tunawul, that they were of the same stock. They, however, claim to be of Mughal descent. The Ḳárlúghs or Ḳárlúks, mentioned farther on, were Turks, but not Mughals, it must be remembered—nor were they "Indo-Scythians," as some people incorrectly style them—and some of these same Turks still hold a number of villages in what we call the Hazárah district of the Panj-áb.†

The latest inroad of Suwáthís into these parts, in any numbers, appears to have taken place early in the seventeenth century, when a Sayyid, Jalál by name, a descendant of the Sayyid, 'Alí, the Tirmizí, the Pír Bábá, referred to at page 268, came into them from beyond the Indus, accompanied by a considerable body of his disciples and their families and belongings.

The Gibarís, who, in their native country, were the ruling race, spoke a dialect different from the other tribes. The Khas'hí historian, in his work previously quoted, also mentions that this race of people, with whom the Afgháns first came in contact, only spoke two languages or dialects, the Gibarí and the Darí,‡ the former being spoken by the tribe of that name, and the latter by the other two tribes of Mutráwí and Mumíálí.

At the present time, the upper or northern parts of the Pakhal or Pakhla'í district here referred to, including the Kág-hán Dara'h, are inhabited by the Gibarís, and the lower or southern parts by the others. Some districts of Pakhal or Pakhla'í have come under British rule, and some are still independent.

These people, however, are scarcely recognizable under the vitiated names of "Ghubrí," "Momialí," and "Mobrawí," as they appear in gazetteers and official documents.

To return to the author's account of them.

"These people, with the help of any others who would aid them, and without being led by, or subject to the control of, a single chief, possessed themselves of this tract.§ In consequence of this, no chief or malik, from that time, had any claim to rule over

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* *See* page 237.

† The people of India and the Panj-áb call all people from the westward, who are not Afgháns, Mughals, and make no distinction between them and purely Turkish people; and all Afgháns are, in the same way, called Paṭháns by them.

At the time of the annexation of the Panj-áb theTurks held twenty-one *mouza'*—villages with their lands. The Hazárah territory, at the period referred to, was known at times as Chaurásí Hazárah, because it contained *chaurásí*—eighty-four—*mouza'*, of which *paṭṭí* Turkí contained twenty-one; *paṭṭí* Dilazák, twenty-one; *paṭṭí* Tarín and Gújarí, twenty-one; and the *khálisa'h paṭṭí*, twenty-one.

Sháh Mír, afterwards Sulṭán Shams-ud-Dín, who ruled over Kash-mír and its dependencies from 742 H. to 746 H. (1341-42 to 1345-46 A.D.)—some say from 743 H. to 747 H.,—and who introduced the Muḥammadan religion into Kash-mír, was a Gibarí from Suwát. According to some accounts, however, he is said to have traced his descent from Arjun, the third son of Páṇḍu. First he became Wazír to Rájah Raṇ-jíw, who is erroneously styled Raṇ-jan and Rínjá by some native authors; and subsequently, after the decease of Údan Díw, who is also styled Údiṇ and Údhí Díw, who married Kotah Ratan, also called Kotah Zain, widow of the former Rájah, Sháh Mír usurped the power, assumed the title of Sulṭán Shams-ud-Dín, and compelled the twice-widowed Kotah Ratan or Kotah Zain to marry him.

‡ Also called, at times, and by some writers, the Dihḳán or Dihgán language, which, doubtless, contained many dialects. The Darí Ál still dwell in the Kohistán of Suwát, in a dara'h called after them.

§ The writer appears to refer to the Sayyid, Jalál, and his followers here.

them. Having possessed themselves of the Pakhal or the Pakhla'í territory, they divided it equally among themselves and their confederates according to the number of their families.

"Some years ago, they chose Sa'ádat Khán, one of their own people, a person greatly respected among them, who was wealthy, and had a goodly following, to conduct their affairs at the court of the sovereign under whose sway they lived, and to whom they paid allegiance. Sa'ádat Khán dwells at present [when the author wrote] at the Ghaṛí, or small fort, which he himself founded, around which a town has sprung up, and is called, after him, the Ghaṛí of Sa'ádat Khán.

"His territory is a dependency of the *ṣúbah* or province of Kash-mír, in which he holds a small *jágír* or fief.*

"Sa'ádat Khán is much respected by his neighbours, as well as by his own people, and, like the latter, the chiefs of Tunawal or Túnawal, and the chiefs of the Jzadún Afgháns, refer their quarrels and disputes to him to settle."

This worthy chief was succeeded, at his death, by his son, Najíb-Ullah Khán, who lived in concord with his brother, Ḥabíb-Ullah Ḳhán.† To continue.

"Pakhla'í pays *nazaráná'h* (offerings presented when chiefs pay their visits of ceremony to a prince, governor, or other high official) to the representative of the Durrání sovereign; and, in time of war, it has to furnish a small contingent of troops.

"The land in Pakhla'í is chiefly *lalmí*, or dependent on rain for irrigation, and has but little *rúdi*, or land artificially irrigated; and the assessment is one tenth of the produce. Out of every valley within it, streams of greater or less extent issue, some of which unite with the Abáe-Sín, while others join the Wihat, Bihat, or Jhilam river."

Pakhla'í, as constituted since the annexation of the Panj-áb, in 1849, is very different from the Sar-kár of Pakhla'í here referred to. At the period these surveys were made, and up to the time of annexation, it consisted of three districts or divisions, namely, Mán-Sihrah, forming the southern and south-east portion; Chhinkárí,‡ constituting its north-east portion, subdivided into two lesser divisions, Kandhí and Maidán; and Bhír-kand, its central part. There were likewise three dependent dara'hs in the Kohistán to the north, namely Kág-hán,§ which is narrow, but of considerable length, through which the Kunhár, Nayan-Sukh, or Nain-Sukh‖ river flows; Phokar-mang,¶ through which the Siran river runs; and Agroṛ, through which the Hunár river flows. A smaller stream, the Ichhar, flows through the lower part of Pakhla'í.

Abú-l-Faẓl, in his Á'ín-i-Akbarí, says, that "Pakla'í" [he often rejects the "kh" and substitutes "k"], "the names of places in which are not defined" [the columns for them in his work are left blank], "is 35 kuroh in length and 25 in breadth [according to the standard kuroh of Akbar Bádsháh's reign]. "It is bounded east by Kash-mír, "west by Aṭak-Banáras, north by Kaṭor, and south by the tract of country in which "the Gakhar tribe dwells. The Ṣáhib-i-Ḳirán, Amír Tímúr-i-Gúrgán, left a number of "his soldiery therein [when he retired from Hind], to hold possession of it, and their

* Azád Khán, youngest son of the Ḥájí, Karím-Dád Khán, Bámízí, Durráni, one of Aḥmad Sháh's great nobles, and governor of Kash-mír in Tímúr Sháh's reign, who, on the death of his father, seized upon the government of Kash-mír, and defied all authority, was son-in-law of this same Sa'ádat Khán, the Pakhal Chief. He defeated two armies sent against him, and, at last, the Sardár, Madad Khán, had to be sent to quell him. The Sardár's force, of 30,000 horse, mustered near the fort of Pakhla'í, which Sa'ádat Khán, Suwáthí, had founded. It lies four kuroh from Muẓaffar-ábád, and is the Ghaṛí-i-Sa'ádat Khán of these routes.

Azád Khán's rebellion took place just before Forster, then on his travels, reached these parts. He makes a mistake in saying that Azád Khán "succeeded his father." He adds that he was "a great tyrant," and wonders "that he is not punished or restrained by the government." The reason is obvious: the rebel had not, as yet, been reduced by the Sardár, Madad Khán.

† In after years, in 1824 or 1825, when Mahán Singh was governor of the Hazárah district, he farmed out the territory of the Dara'hs of Kahtár, Phokar-mang, Agroṛ, Takrai, and Nandi-hár, to this same Ḥabíb-Ullah Khán for the sum of 30,000 rúpís a year. Ḥabíb-Ullah only paid 19,000, leaving a balance of 11,000, on which Mahán Singh seized Ṣúbah Khán, Ḥabíb-Ullah's brother, as security for the payment, and also Zamán, son of Pá'índah Khán, Ḥabíb-Ullah's uncle, and marched them off to Har-kishan Ghaṛ. Pá'índah Khán paid half of this balance to obtain his son's release, but Ṣúbah Khán remained in durance. The following year, the balance still not being forthcoming, Amín Khán, who, about the time of the annexation of the Panj-áb, was the chief and successor of Ḥabíb-Ullah Khán, took the place of Ṣúbah Khán, his father's brother, as security for the money.

‡ Not "Shinkari."

§ The people of Kág-hán are chiefly of the Gibarí tribe, many times referred to in these pages. *See also* pages 117 and 128.

The Kunhár, or, as it is also written, the Kuhnár, river comes down from the Dara'h of Kág-hán, and passes Bálá-Koṭ, between which place and Maṭi Koṭ, the Waḥabí, the Sayyid, Aḥmad, was killed in battle (but he was not "surprised") with the Sikh forces under the Kunwar, Sher Singh, son of Raṇ-jít Singh, in May, 1831.

‖ A compound word from the Sanskrit, signifying the eyes' delighter, tranquilizer, etc., also ease, content.

¶ This, it will be observed, is the same termination as in Chhár-mang of Bájawṛ.

" descendants still dwell in the Pakla'í territory. Snow constantly falls, and sometimes " heavily. The rivers watering the Pakla'í district are the Kishan-Gangá, the Bihat, " or Wihat, or Jhilam, and the Sindh. The language spoken in this country bears no " similiarity to the Kash-mírí, nor to that of Hindústán, nor Zábulistán. Its chiefs " used to pay obedience to Kash-mír."*

Jahán-gír Bádsháh refers to Pakhla'í in his Wáḳi'át, when giving an account of his journey into Kash-mír. After reaching Ruhtás, he says :—

"As the road was difficult, I directed that my mother, the Maryam of the Time,† and the other ladies of the *ḥaram*, should remain for a few days, and then follow by easy stages. I then proceeded to Sulṭán-púr, and from thence moved four kos and a half to Yahyá, at which point the Hazárah-i-Ḳárlúgh‡ is entered. I then proceeded to Noh-shahrah, a distance of three kos and three quarters, and entered Dham-ṭaur (district). . . . . I next went on to Salhar, and from thence to Mángalí.§ . . . . Sulṭán Ḥusain, the zamíndár [chief] of Pakhla'í, came to present himself, for here you enter the Pakhla'í district. . . . . From this place we went into Siwád-gaṛ‖ (distant ten kos and a half from Noh-shahrah) and there encamped. . . . We then proceeded near upon three kos and a half, and came in sight of Pakhla'í, where we again encamped. . . . .

"The Sar-kár or province of Pakhla'í is 35 kos long, and 25 broad. It has the mountains of Kash-mír on the east, Aṭak-Banáras on the west, the mountain range of Kaṭor on the north [north-west], and the country of the Gakhars on the south [south-east]. When Amír Tímúr, Ṣáḥib-i-Ḳirán, had conquered Hindústán, and was on his way back into Túrán Zamín, he left this people [that is, the Ḳárlúgh Turks], who were in his army, here, and assigned them this territory as their *yúrat*, or dwelling-place. They themselves say that they are of the race of Ḳárlúgh,¶ but do not know, for certain, what names their chief men then bore, or who they were. At present, they are Láhorís [the Bádsháh must mean by this, natives of the Ṣúbah of Láhor], and speak the language of the Jaṭs. I am likewise of the same opinion respecting the descent of the people of Dham-ṭaur."**

There can be no doubt from these two statements, which Bábar Bádsháh also confirms, that one of the *míngs* of Amír Tímúr's army was composed of Ḳarlughs or Ḳárlúghs, and that they, or a large portion of them, were left behind by him to settle in and hold the territory which we incorrectly call Hazárah. As I have said before, Hazárah meant a body of soldiers, a thousand in number, from the Tájzík word *hazár*, a thousand, and is not a proper name, but merely the translation of the Turkish word *míng*, by the Tájzík people, into their own language.†† This word, like many others, we have applied to the country, instead of styling it, as the inhabitants probably did, and foreigners in particular, the *yúrat* or the country *of* the Ḳárlúgh. *míng, hazárah*, or regiment; and it was always called the Ḳárlúgh or Ḳárlúḳ Hazárah to distinguish it from the Chhachh Hazárah mentioned at page 292.

The boundaries of the Ḳárlúgh or Ḳárlúḳ territory were described by a native writer, just before the annexation of the Panj-áb, in the following manner. "It extends " on the west as far as Srí-Koṭ, the territory dependent on which extends as far west " as the banks of the Abáe-Sín or Sind-Ságar. Its eastern boundary extends as far as " the villages and dependent lands of Noh-Shahra'h, Chanba'h, and Bagṛah,‡‡ which

* The historians of Kash-mír mention that Pakhla'í, Dharam-ṭaur, and Dár-Dú—Dárdistán or country of the Dárds, not the newly "discovered" Dardistan,—were three of twelve *maḥalls*, which were not included in the regular assessment like those of the Kash-mír valley, and that Tibbat and Hrad were separate territories, but dependent.

† The Maryam, that is the Mary, of the Time or Age, refers to the Bádsháh's mother, and not to one of his "*begams*." *See* Elliot's "Historians of India," page 367.

‡ In Elliot's "Historians of India," edited by Mr. J. Dowson, which contains some extracts taken from a single copy apparently, of the Wáḳi'át, this passage occurs, at page 366, Vol. VI., and is made *Hazára Fárigh* for Hazárah-i-Ḳárlúgh.

§ When Forster was on his travels he visited this place on his way from Muzaffar-ábád. He says: "On " the 30th to Manghellee, six cosses, a small town, the residence of Shadee Khan, the chief of Jadún, then to " Kotillee, a fort in the possession of Maimúm Khán, a brother and vassal of the chief of Tunawal."

‖ Neither Yahyá, Salhar, or Siwád-gaṛ is to be found at present in our maps, but the other places are well known. The first name is somewhat doubtful, and varies in different copies of the Waḳi'át.

¶ *Sic* in the MSS. copies of the Wáḳi'-át, which I have made extracts from, but, in Elliot (page 370), it is "Farsis."

** The Jzadún Afgháns, as yet, had not acquired possession.

†† In a note to the extract previously referred to, page 368, Mr. Dowson tells us that "Hazára is not so " called from the *famous Mughal tribe*, as there are none of them in it," which is certainly correct, but he does not tell us what it is called "Hazára" for. It would require endless research to find the "*famous " Mughal tribe of Hazára.*"

‡‡ "Chumbuh," and "Bugruh," of the large scale map.

" are villages on the boundary of the Jzadún territory, and adjoins the *tappa'h* of " Rujú'iya'h.* On the south it reaches as far as Khán-púr of the Gakhars, and to " Darelah, Khad, Pinchú, and Kálí Tarár. The northern boundary extends to Koh " Danhah of Tunawal, and the villages of 'Ulwí, Tír, and Pind-i-Háshim Khán, after " which comes the Tunawal territory."

The Ḳárlúghs, Ḳárlúks, Ḳarlughs, or Ḳarluks, as their name is variously written, and each correct, the *ḳ* in the middle of the word being interchangeable with guttural *gh*, are a well known Turk tribe, an account of whom I have given in my "Translation " of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," on the descent of the Turks, Tattárs, and Mughals (*see* the note at pages 877 and 878), whose name of Ḳár-lúgh or Ḳár-lúk signifies "the father of snow," or "pertaining to snow." I think I can also account for these Ḳárlúghs having been left behind by Amír Tímúr.

We constantly read of Malik Saif-ud-Dín, Ḥasan, the Ḳárlúgh, in the accounts of the Mughal invasions of the territories on the Indus, between the years 618 H. (1221–22 A.D.) and 658 H. (1260 A.D.)—in which latter year the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí, the sole authority for the events of this period from the pen of a contemporary writer, ceases—and also of his son, Malik Náṣir-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, the Ḳárlúgh. The territories of the father consisted of Ghaznín, Ḳarmán, and Baníán. Kújah or Gújah is often mentioned in connection with the latter, and with Nandanah, as though adjoining or not far from each other; and Baníán is always mentioned in connection with the two former territories, but nowhere is the situation of Baníán specifically indicated, and I have been hitherto unable, after considerable research, to fix it satisfactorily. It was evidently situated between Ḳarmán—the 'Kurma'h (*vul.* Kurram) district of the present—or late—Afghánistán, and the Jhilam, and not far from the banks of the Abáe-Sín or Indus.

When the author of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí first came into Hind from the neighbourhood of Hirát, he came by Ghaznín to or into Baníán (by the usual route, *see* pages 541 and 612 of my "Translation"), and from thence, by boat, went down the river Indus to Úchchah.

When Sulṭán Shams-ud-Dín, I-yal-timish, was taken ill, and had to return to Dihlí in 633 H. (1235–36 A.D.), where he soon after died, he was marching towards "the river Sind and Baníán" from the Chin-hat† Do-Ábah.

When Malik Saif-ud-Dín, Ḥasan, the Ḳárlúgh, had to abandon Ghaznín and Ḳarmán, he retired to Baníán; and when obliged, temporarily, to abandon that likewise, he retired towards Multán and Sindh through the Sindh-Ságar Do-ábah, and obtained possession of the former stronghold. Subsequently, his son, Malik Náṣir-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, who (in 636 H.,—1237–38 A.D.), had taken shelter in the Dihlí territory, rejoined his father, who was able to hold Baníán; and, after his father was killed in a battle before Multán in 646–47 H. (1248–49 A.D.) with Malik Balban-i-Kashlú Khán, the feudatory of the province, Náṣir-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, became a vassal of the Mughals, and was allowed to retain a portion of his father's territories, including the *khitta'h* of Baníán.

Náṣir-ud-Dín, Maḥmúd Sháh, Sulṭán of Dihlí, as soon as he came to the throne, in 644 H. (1246–47 A.D.), set out for "the banks of the river Sindh and Baníán, and " the destruction of the infidels of Chín [the Mughals], and moved by successive " marches. On Sunday, the 1st of Zí-Ḳa'dah—the eleventh month—in that year, he " crossed the Ráwí, and then moved to the Súḍhará, and encamped at the town of that " name [two kuroh and a half north-west of the present Wazír-ábád]. He then despatched " the Ulugh Khán-i-A'ẓam, the Amír-i-Ḥájib, at the head of the bulk of the army, to " ravage the Júd hills and around Nandanah. . . . . He ravaged the Júd hills, " and Jílam [Jhilam], and the Khokhars [not the Gakhars], and other contumacious " infidels, and pushed on as far as the banks of the river Sindh, ravaged and plundered " those parts, and returned again from thence on account of the difficulties of obtaining " subsistence and necessaries for his troops," occasioned, apparently, by the previous invasions of the Mughals. As he went no farther than the banks of the Sindh, and Baníán was the part to be assailed, it would appear from this passage to be situated on the east, and not on the west bank of the Indus as I was inclined to think.

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* In the large scale map, this *tappa'h* is called "Rajooia," but the town is styled "Rujoeeuh," while it is this that gives name to the *tappa'h* or district. It is the "Rajúiá" of Colonel C. M. MacGregor's "Central Asia."

† The tract lying between the Chin-áb and the Bihat, Wihat, or Jhilam, is called the Chin-hat Do-Ábah, which name is formed from the first syllable of Chin-áb and last syllable of Bi-hat or Wi-hat. The names of some of the other *do-ábahs* of the Panj-áb are formed in much the same manner.

From the somewhat meagre indications here given, Baníán appears to have been situated in or near the tract of territory comprised within, or bordering on, what the early Musalmán writers called the Koh-i-Júd, the northern part of the Sindh-Ságar Do-ábah, the Baníán *khittah*, or what was dependent on it, extending, probably, as far north as Pakhla'í and its three dependent dara'hs, already mentioned, and in which, consequently, the Ḳárlúgh Turks, as vassals of the Mughal rulers, would have been the dominant race. In this tract, moreover, there are ruins of several considerable towns or cities; and some formerly large and important places, which have declined, and have now become mere villages, still retain their former names, and among them, situated nine miles south-east of Khán-púr of the Gakhars, is a Baníán,* and, five miles and a half south-west of the modern Harí-púr, is a Paníán. As in MSS. the points of the letters ب and پ are constantly liable to be written the one for the other, or the three points run into one by quick or careless writers, and *b* being often changeable with *p* in Persian or Tájzík, I am inclined to think, and to this opinion I have for some time inclined, that one of these places, the latter most probably, is no other than the identical Baníán or Paníán of the Ḳárlúgh Turks, and which gave name to the *khittah* or territory.†

If this be so, the reason why Amír Tímúr's Ḳárlúgh *míng* or *hazárah* was directed or allowed to take up its *yúrat* therein, to dwell with or strengthen their kinsmen already dwelling there, is sufficiently accounted for. It is not probable that there were any Afgháns permanently settled east of the Indus at this period, so far north, at least, as this, or, if any, a portion of the Dilazáks only,‡ but I think they could scarcely have crossed the Indus so early as this, although they were forced to do so soon after. Several of the non-Afghán tribes of this part, such, for example, as the Awán-Kárs, have been thrust onwards from the west, across the Indus (some of the Awán-Kárs still dwell in the Dara'h of Shalúzán§), at different times, by Afghán tribes from the farther west, who themselves were thrust onward by some other wave of people,—the Mughals, Tattárs, and Turks—who now inhabit the extensive tract of territory west of Ghaznín and Kábul, which we miscall Hazárah, after the same fashion that we miscall the other, east of the Indus, but which, correctly, should be called Ghúr.

As the Afgháns increased east of the Indus, the Ḳárlúghs declined, for, when the Dilazáks had been for the most part removed from the country by command of Jahán-gír Bádsháh, other Afgháns began to take their place, and, subsequently, the northern parts of this territory were invaded by Suwátís or Suwáthís. Such changes have been going on for centuries past.

In 1201 H. (1786–87 A.D.), when Tímúr Sháh, Durráni, came from Kábul into the provinces east of the Indus, the remaining Turk chiefs, and headmen, namely, Malúl Khán and Muḥammad Khán, who were the heirs to the Turkí *pattí* and to Mánakráe, complained to that monarch that they had been ousted from their hereditary rights by rivals, and the Ghurghust Afgháns, who had appropriated the latter place and its dependencies. The Ghurghusts were speedily ousted from Mánakráe, which was restored to the two Turkish chiefs, as well as the villages of the Turkí *pattí*. At the annexation of the Panj-áb, a mere handful of these Turkish people—I do not include Tunawalís among them—remained, located in the sub-district of Mánakráe,‖ a little to the east and south of the modern Harí-púr, and a few in Agroṛ.

I need scarcely remark what an advantage it would have been, and will be, to our surveyors and settlement officers, if they had been, and should be in future, furnished with correct and authentic historical and ethnographical data (eschewing Herodotus and the Πάκτυες, the "Aparytæ" and the "Sattagyddæ," and mere theories liable to change with every political breath of wind, and changed as often as the theorist takes up the pen) when about to explore and survey a country, or settle a district, but, for such a purpose, the histories of India and of Afghánistán have yet to be written. If "time" permit, I may yet make an attempt to write the former: the latter I am writing.

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* Lat. 73° 5′ 30″, long. 33° 43′ 15″.

† *See* my "Translation of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," pages 374, note 5, 534, note 1, page 541, and note 7, pages 623, 677, and note 6, 678, 727, 730, 750, 782, 792, 814, 815, 859, 877, 1004, 1119, 1129, and 1153.

‡ There were Lúdís at Multán, it is said, as early as the invasions of Sulṭán Maḥmúd of Ghaznín, but this does not prove that there were any of the Lúdí tribe settled permanently therein. The Multán territory extended at that period to the Indus, or to the foot of the hills beyond, in which, in the Koh-i-Sulímán, the Lúdís dwelt.

§ *See* page 81.

‖ The "Mapuhrae" and "Manukrai" of the maps.

To return to Pakhla'í and its routes after this digression. Muḥammad Afẓal Khán, the Khaṭak chief, grandson of the famous Khush-ḥál Khán, says, in his History, that, "before the Sháh-zádah Mu'aẓẓam, entitled Sháh-i-'Álam, Bahádur Sháh, became "Ṣúba'h-dár of Kábul and its dependencies, during the absence of his father "(Aurang-zeb-i-'Álam-gír) in the Dakhan, the *parganah* of Pakhla'í, the chief place in "which is Pot-hár, and which ought to have yielded nine *lakhs* of revenue, had, "previous to the year 1113 H. (1701–2 A.D.), been overrun and desolated by bodies "of Afgháns of Suwát, and Gibarís from beyond the Indus," the inroad referred to at page 277, "but Iṣálat Khán, the Gakhar, who was then Fowj-dár of Pakhla'í, had "continued to retain firm possession of it while he held that office, and it had conse- "quently begun to assume somewhat of its former prosperity. He was, unfortunately, "about this time summoned in all haste, and directed by the Sháh-zádah to assume "the Fowj-dárí of Bannú, then in a very disturbed state; and he left to proceed to "Bannú to take up his new appointment, without waiting for a successor to take "charge of Pakhla'í."

According to the histories of Hindústán of the period in question, however, in 1116 H. (1704 A.D.) Raḥím-dád Khán, who appears to have succeeded Iṣálat Khán, was removed from Pakhla'í and Dharam-taur, and Ya'ḳúb Khán was nominated. Whether either of them actually went thither is rather doubtful, for at this period the Dihlí empire was in convulsion, and hastening rapidly to decay. Muḥammad Afẓal Khán further states that, "from 1113 H. (1701–2 A.D.) up to the year 1123 H. (1711–12 "A.D.), Pakhla'í remained without a Fowj-dár, and what was left from previous "devastations was again plundered by the same people, and it has thus remained in "the hands of the Suwátí Afgháns and Gibarís up to this time." He here refers to the last inroad, apparently, under the Sayyid, Jalál Sháh, mentioned at page 278, which see. The invasion of Nádir Sháh, the Ḳarḳalú Afshár Turk-mán, followed soon after (in 1151 H.—1738 A.D.), from which time, up to the period that Aḥmad Sháh, Durráni, ten years after, acquired predominance over these parts (in 1161 H.—1748 A.D.), the petty chiefs were left to do just as they felt inclined, and many had become quite independent.

After the decease of that monarch further convulsions arose, especially after the death of his son and successor, Tímúr Sháh, in Shawwál, 1207 H. (May, 1793 A.D.), and accession of the latter's son, Sháh-i-Zamán; and this civil strife continued without intermission until the Sadozí dynasty finally succumbed to the rebel Bárakzís. As the Afgháns thus wasted their strength, the Sikhs acquired power, until they became predominant over the whole of the Panj-áb, and parts immediately west of the Indus.

I now return to the description of the route.

"Setting out from the Ghaṛí of Sa'ádat Khán, the chief place in the Pakhla'í territory, you proceed a short distance to the west, and cross the river Kunhár or Nayan-Sukh, above its junction with the Kishan-Gangá, the water being on ordinary occasions just knee-deep, and proceed six kuroh west to Píṛí Bánḍa'h,* a village of considerable size on the Siran river, which comes from the mountain tracts on the right hand, and passes north of this village. On the way you pass through a lofty defile. From Píṛí Bánḍa'h you go one kuroh west to Bapphá,† which is also a good-size village on the same river. From thence you proceed another kuroh to the west and reach Trang-ṛai,‡ which lies on the right hand, on the other side of the before-mentioned river. Another kuroh in the same direction as before brings you to Malik-púr,§ on the banks of the river, which place, in former times, was the seat of government in this territory. At present it is but partially inhabited. Leaving it, you proceed four kuroh in the same direction as before to Khákí, which is a town of some size, on the banks of the Siran river. This you have to cross,‖ and, having done so, a lofty defile lies before you called the Ḍhakí-i-Arborá, and also the Ḍhakí-i-Susul¶ or Súsul. The ascent of this defile is about two

* This appears in our maps under the name of "*Peer ke bandee*," and "Peer da Banduh."

† This name is changed into "*Buffur*" and "Buffuh" in the maps, and "Bafa" in Settlement Reports, neither of the three forms being correct.

‡ Turned into "*Turungune*" in the maps.

§ It is probable that this is the place which Turtí, the Mughal leader, plundered after the capture of Nandanah mentioned in the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí. *See* my Translation, page 534, and note 1.

‖ Not according to our maps, unless a branch only is referred to, as is probably meant here, or, that in coming from Malik-púr you cross the Siran, and move along the south bank, where the country is more open and level.

¶ Since the British annexed the Panj-áb, roads have been made in all directions, and among them is one good one through this very Ḍhakí or Pass.

kuroh, and its descent much about the same distance. The crest of the mountains over which it leads marks the boundary of Sa'ádat Khán's territory on one side, and, on the other, the Dara'h of Agroṛ, which dara'h itself is a ramification of the Pakhla'í territory. It is in the possession of 'Ináyat-Ullah Khán, the Suwátí, son of Sa'd-ud-Dín.*

"Having crossed the mountains by the Aṛborá Ḍhakí or defile and cleared it, another kuroh farther, in the direction of west, brings you to Aojza'í, which eastern Afgháns, who use *g* for *jz*, call Aoga'í,† a large village, situated on a hill, the place of residence of 'Ináyat-Ullah Khán above-mentioned. The Hunár river‡ flows past the village on the west and northern sides, and, just below the village, the Sarúr stream, from the east, unites with it. The Hunár river comes from the north, and flowing towards the left hand as you proceed, in the direction of south-west, finally unites with the Abáe-Sín below the village of Hautar, and above Dar-band.

"Leaving Aojza'í, and proceeding in the direction of north for a distance of two kuroh and a half, ascending the acclivity of the mountains, you reach Tikṛai. From thence you have to proceed for another five kuroh, in the direction of north-east, still ascending the acclivity of the mountain range, and reach Dahár, which is a large village under the sway of the Rájah of Taha'h-Koṭ, as he is styled, who belongs to the race of people known as Suwátís.§ According to some statements, he is wholly independent, but, according to others, he acknowledges allegiance to 'Ináyat-Ullah Khán, the Wálí of Agroṛ. His allegiance probably depends much on circumstances, and the power of the other to enforce it.‖

"From Dahár you proceed eight kuroh in the direction of north to Bar or Upper Taha'h-Koṭ or Tahá-Koṭ,¶ a village of considerable size belonging to the race of people styled Kohistání,** and by the way you have to cross over the mountain range by a lofty defile. These mountains are clothed with vast forests of pine, and other forest trees and shrubs, and dense *jangals* of the jujube. The air is very keen, and to such degree that, even in summer, you cannot dispense with a fire and a *postín* (wool or fur pelisse). From every part of the mountains around streams of water gush out, which, having united, pass to the south of this village, and take a westerly course, and subsequently unite with the Abáe-Sín (or Indus).

"From Bar or Upper Taha'h-Koṭ, you proceed for the distance of ten kuroh west, inclining north-west, and reach Kúz or Lower Taha'h-Koṭ, which is also a village of considerable size. By the way you pass through a well-cultivated and populous tract of country, and the route lies along the course of the bed of the river before mentioned as flowing south of Bar Taha'h-Koṭ. This river passes Kúz or Lower Taha'h-Koṭ also on the south side, and unites with the Abáe-Sín. The great river flows to the west of and below Kúz Taha'h-Koṭ, where the mountains rise abruptly from the river side. It rushes by with great velocity, violence, and noise. There is an established ferry near this village, and the passage is effected by means of a raft, for a boat would not live. You cross to the other side in order to enter Buner."

*Sixty-eighth Route. From Ghaṛí-i-Sa'ádat Khán to Kogá, or Koga'h, one of the chief villages in the Dara'h of Chamla'h, belonging to the Mandaṛ tribe of Afgháns, a distance of fifty kuroh west towards the Abáe-Sín (or Indus). This Route likewise leads into Buner, 'Ash-Naghar, Pes'háwar, Bájawṛ, and Kábul.*

"The route from the Ghaṛí-i-Sa'ádat Khán to Aojza'í, or Aoga'í, the seat of government of the Dara'h of Agroṛ, has been already described. Leaving the last-

* Previous to the invasion of the Suwáthís, before referred to, Agroṛ was held by the Turks. *See* page 282.

'Aṭá Muḥammad Khán, the present chief of Agroṛ, who gave us great trouble during the first years of the annexation of the Panj-áb, and until within the last few years, is the grandson of 'Ináyat-Ullah Khán, and his father's name was Ghafúr Khán.

† The sections of western tribes dwelling in these parts call it Aojza'í, as above, but "Ogee," "Oogee," "Oghi," and the like, are quite impossible names out of the original word. *See* pages 267, 284, and 290.

‡ Here is another specimen of the vitiation of names. One calls it the "Únár," and another the "Oonar," leaving out the "h" altogether, while in the maps it is "Onar," and even "Oohnar," with "h" in the wrong place.

§ *See* page 278.

‖ At the present time the Agroṛ chief, 'Ináyat-Ullah Khán's grandson, is connected with the Taha'h-Koṭ family by marriage, and, indeed, in the same way, with most of the chief families of the parts around.

¶ It is spelt and pronounced as above, and not "Tákot."

** *See* pages 186, 234, and 235.

named place, and proceeding five kuroh in the direction of west, you reach Challí, a village of considerable size, belonging to the Suwátís. In going thither you proceed along the bed of the Hunár river, and, by the way, pass through a populous and well-cultivated tract of country. From Challí, you go another four kuroh in the direction of west, inclining south-west, ascending the mountain range to the small village of Kárún, situated on the brow of the mountains, at which point the jurisdiction of 'Ináyat-Ullah Khán, the Suwátí, Wálí of Agror, ceases. From thence, descending the range on the other side for another two kuroh in the direction of west, you come to the small village of Báwar Sháh, belonging to the Yúsufzí Afgháns of the Ḥasanzí section of the 'Ísází division* of that tribe, sprung from 'Ísá, one of Yúsuf's five sons. At this point two roads diverge, and the left-hand one is as follows.

"Setting out from the above-mentioned Báwár Sháh, and proceeding for a distance of five kuroh in the direction of west, still descending from the mountain range, you reach another Báwar Sháh.† This is a large village, belonging to the same clan of the 'Ísází Yúsufzís; and the pass through which the route from Kárún to this place lies is known as the Báwar Sháh Ghás'haey, and it is very difficult.‡ You then proceed a short distance farther west from the last-mentioned Báwar Sháh, and reach the banks of the Abáe-Sín, where there is an established ferry, known as the Guẓar of Maṛair,§ and you cross the great river by means of a raft. On both sides of the river are mountain ranges towering to the skies.

"Having crossed the Abáe-Sín and reached the west bank, you go on for a short distance west, and arrive at the large village of Maṛair, situated on a spur or bluff, belonging to the Ḥasanzí 'Ísází Yúsufzís, before referred to.

"At this point, likewise, two roads diverge. By the left-hand route you proceed by a very mountainous road, exceedingly rough, and containing numerous ascents and descents, for a distance of two kuroh west, inclining south-west, and reach Manjhá-Kot,‖ which large village, perched on a mountain height, belongs to the Madaḥ Khel section of the 'Ísází Yúsufzís. The Abáe-Sín lies on the left hand as you proceed, and shows itself at a distance, flowing in a mighty hollow between two ranges of mountains; and south of this village is a small river which comes from the west. Having ascended from thence for the distance of one kuroh and a half, you reach Shíní Bánḍa'h,¶ a small village belonging to the same tribe of Afgháns, and built upon a crag. Leaving this village, after proceeding half a kuroh west, you reach the crest of the mountain range, and here there are several Musalmán graves. From this elevated position the Abáe-Sín appears away in the east, like unto a thin shining line, and in a vast depression of the mountains, while in the west Kogá and other villages of Chamla'h show themselves at a great distance.

"In coming from Maṛair to this place every step you take is up the mountains; and, having reached the crest of the range,** you descend from thence on the other side for the distance of half a kuroh west, and reach Abú Bánḍa'h,†† a small village, situated on an acclivity of the mountains, belonging to the previously mentioned Afghán tribe of Yúsufzí, of the Chagharzí branch of the Malízís.‡‡

"Setting out from this village, and descending for the distance of half a kuroh, still keeping west, you reach a small river, which issues from the mountains on the right hand, and, flowing towards the left, unites with the river of the Chamla'h Dara'h.§§ The road is exceedingly rough and difficult. After this, you have to proceed along the bed of this river for a distance of one kuroh and a half in the

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* The 'Ísází division of the Yúsufzís, although not so numerous as others, are well known, and the name is as much used as that of others in their own locality.

† *See* pages 267 and 290.

‡ This route crosses what we call the Black Mountain range.

§ The name of this well known place is as above, and not "Muryer," as it appears in official reports.

‖ The name of this well known place has also been vitiated into "Manjakot," "Maja Kot," "Moonjakot," "Múnjakót," "Múnjá Kot," and the like, in the maps, gazetteers, and official records, not one being correct. In our maps it is placed too near the banks of the Indus. It belongs to the Madaḥ Khel section of the 'Ísází Yúsufzís, who are descended from Ya'ḳúb, one of the three sons of 'Ísá, son of Yúsuf. The other two sons were Aká and Ḥasan, the progenitors of the Akázís and Ḥasanzís. A few Dilazáks dwell among the Madaḥ Khel to this day. *See* page 267.

¶ In one or two places written "Síní" and "Stlí" Bánḍá, the point of the ; being separated and made ; of in the first instance, and in the other case the three points of ∴ being left out and made .. of.

** Sometimes called the Dúma'h range.

†† *See* page 267.

‡‡ Not connected with the Molízís of Panj-Korah, who are totally distinct. *See* note ‖, page 192.

§§ This river is not noticed in the Indian Atlas map, No. 41, nor in others. The "Mullah's" first map is all blank here. This river might be styled the river of the Chagharzís. The last map of the "Mullah's" travels contains a dotted indication of this river, which is tolerably correct.

direction of west, and then for another half a kuroh south, when you come to a short defile on the right-hand side. This having ascended, you reach Adam Bánḍa'h, a little hamlet perched on a crag, and inhabited by the same Yúsufzís. There is another road from Abú Bánḍa'h to this place, on the left hand, which leads through dense *jangal*.

"South of Adam Bánḍa'h, beneath the mountains, there is a considerable river, known as the Daulatzí Khwar, which comes from the westward, and, to the east of this point, having united with the river afore-mentioned, receives the name of Barandú,* which, four kuroh lower down than Marair,† falls into the Abáe-Sín, the latter part of its course being in a rocky bed, with very high cliffs on either side.

"Setting out from Adam Bánḍa'h, and having descended for the distance of half a kuroh in the direction of west, the road being very difficult, you reach the Daulatzí river, or Daulatzí Khwar,‡ as it is also called. Continuing onwards for another half a kuroh in the same direction you come to a dara'h which lies on the left hand, known as the Daulatzí Dara'h, forming part of Buner, and so called from the name of the sub-tribe of the Malízí Yúsufzís§ who inhabit it. Out of it flows a volume of water sufficient to turn from ten to twelve water-mills, which unite with the afore-mentioned river, and which, lower down, unites with the stream issuing from the Dara'h of Chamla'h. Proceeding another half a kuroh in the direction of west, and south-west, from this point, you reach the entrance to another Dara'h, known as Nagara'í, and this also is the name of a village belonging to a section of the Amánzí 'Uṣmánzís of the Mandar tribe.‖ From this dara'h, likewise, about a similar volume of water issues, and unites with the river of the Chamla'h Dara'h.¶ After reaching the point where the Nagara'í Dara'h commences, you proceed another kuroh in the direction of north, and reach Kaha'í, a small village situated on the west bank of the Chamla'h river, also belonging to the Mandar tribe of Afgháns.

"From Marair to this place, as before noticed, the 'Ísází and Daulatzí divisions of the Yúsufzí tribe** dwell; and the mountain tract to the south of them again is inhabited by the Jzadúns or Gadúns, a tribe of the Ghurghusht division of the Afghán nation, an account of whom has been already given.†† Their country is very rough and difficult, with scarcely any level spots in it; and the climate is severe, the air being very sharp and keen even in the height of summer.

"To continue the route. Setting out from Kaha'í, and proceeding in the direction of north, for a short distance, you reach Ḍahánḍa'h,‡‡ also written Ḍahándá, a small hamlet consisting of a few houses only, belonging to the Mandars, situated on a mountain crag, and the before-mentioned river (of the Chamla'h Dara'h) flows near by on the right hand. From this point you proceed for a distance of two kuroh in the direction of south-west, and reach Bás Ḍera'í,§§ which they also call Buḍ-Sera'í. It is a large village, situated on the crest of the mountains, and belongs to the Mandar tribe of Afgháns, who have enclosed it with a stone wall. The river before named flows near by it on the right hand.

"From the village of Adam Bánḍa'h, as far as Kaha'í and Ḍahánḍa'h or Ḍahándá, you wend your way in and along the beds, of the rivers before referred to, while close by, on either hand, are mountains towering to the skies.‖‖ From this place (Adam

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* Neither "Barandoh," "Bárándoh," nor "Barhando." *See* page 291. The Barandú river, consequently, neither "rises in the south slopes of the Dosara mountains," nor "in the east slopes of Illam," nor "in the "north slopes of Sínawar," although some of its affluents do; and it is only after the junction of the stream from the side of Adam Bánḍa'h with the Daulatzí river, into which the other affluents, already named in the Fifty-fifth and Fifty-eighth Routes, fall, that it obtains the name of Barandú.

† *See* page 285.

‡ *See* the account of the Buner Dara'h at page 214.

§ Descended from Daulat, son of Malaey, son of Yúsuf.

‖ There is no section or sub-tribe of the Yúsufzís called "Amázái Úsmánzaí," as stated in Colonel C. M. MacGregor's "Central Asia," Part I., Vol. I., page 94, but there is of the Amánzí 'Uṣmánzí of the Mandar tribe, as stated above. One has been mistaken for the other.

¶ The Indian Atlas map, No. 14, is very much out here, as in many other places hereabouts.

** As before stated, the Daulatzís spring from Daulat, son of Malaey, son of Yúsuf, and the 'Ísázís from 'Ísá, son of Yúsuf.

†† *See* page 217.

‡‡ This place appears as "Dundar" and "Dandar" in the maps previously referred to.

§§ This appears in the map as "Bootserai."

‖‖ To judge from the map, however, these rivers flow in open valleys, or, at least, open to a considerable extent. It is but fair to state that, in the Military Survey map by Lieutenant (now Major-General) J. T. Walker, Bombay Engineers, the positions of most places in Buner, Chamla'h, and other parts Trans-Indus and beyond our frontier, are marked as doubtful, but are not so indicated in the Indian Atlas map which is taken from it.

Bánḍa'h); the village of Nagara'í lies thirteen kuroh to the south, as is well known; and the mountainous tract held by the Jzadún Afgháns shows itself in the east. In their territory there is a great mountain* from which slabs of stone are procured, and taken into Hindústán and Í-rán as presents and curiosities. The stone is white in colour, and is known as Sang-i-Ḳáshḳár, or Ḳáshḳár stone; and the like of it, for sharpening daggers, knives, and swords, is nowhere else to be found.

"To continue the route. Setting out from Bas-Ḍera'í or Buḍ-Sera'í, you descend the mountains towards the west, and reach a considerable river previously referred to, which comes from the left hand, out of the Dara'h of Chamla'h, and is known as the Chamla'h river, or river of the Chamla'h Dara'h, and, sometimes, the Chamla'h Khwaṛ. It flows towards the right, and, near Kaha'í, unites with the river of Daulatzí, otherwise the Baranḍú. You then cross this river, the banks of which so far are very high, particularly on the left-hand side, and, after going onwards for one kuroh and a half in the direction of south-west, reach the small village of Kuriyyá,† on the left-hand side, close to the line of route. From thence you proceed, still keeping along in the bed of the river, for a distance of two kuroh in the direction of west, inclining south-west, to Náwa'h-ga'í, another small village on the right hand as you go along, with the river of the Chamla'h Dara'h, as before, flowing near on the left hand. Another kuroh and a half, in the direction of south-west, brings you to the village of Surhah,‡ which lies near the line of route on the left hand, the road still continuing along the bed of the river. From thence you go on rather more than half a kuroh farther west, and reach Agáṛa'í, a village lying at some distance on the left-hand side of the road. Leaving this place, you continue onwards for another kuroh and a half, still following the bed of the river, and reach Kogá or Koga'h,§ a village of considerable size, the chief place, and seat of authority, of the Dara'h of Chamla'h,‖ belonging to the Mandaṛ tribe of Afgháns. South and west of it, at a little distance, are lofty mountain ranges; and to the north likewise, at a short distance, there is another high range. The territory to the north of this latter range they call Buner.

"The whole way from Maṛair to Kuriyyá the country is very mountainous, and the road very crooked and winding, but, after issuing forth from Kuriyyá, the ranges of hills recede on either hand, and the country becomes more open. Such a tract the Afághinah of this part call by the name of Sama'h."

### *Sixty-ninth Route. From Dharam-ṭaur or Daram-ṭaur to Koga'h of Chamla'h, a distance of fifty kuroh west.*

"Before describing the route it will be well to give a brief account of Dharam-ṭaur, or Daram-ṭaur, as it is also written.¶ It is a small dara'h enclosed between mountain ranges, and likewise the name of a large village situated on a hill, belonging to, and in the possession of, the Jzadún Afgháns, or Gadún, as they are called by the eastern Afgháns,** being descended from Jzadún, one of Parnaey's sons.†† The valley is about ten or twelve kuroh in length, and about the same in breadth in its widest parts, and has mountains on all sides of it. West of the village, two small rivers, coming from the north-east and north respectively, meet, one of which, the Ḍoṛ,

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* What is known as Mount Mahá-Baṇ—which compound word (but not "Máhábán") is Sanskrit, and means a great forest. The range, from this meaning, would be, more correctly, styled "The Range of the "Great Forest," or "The Great Forest Range."

† Neither "Kuriah," "Kúriá," "Kúra," nor "Kooria."

‡ Not "Súrha," with long *ú*, nor "Soorah," nor "Surához," as it appears in maps and official papers.

§ *See* pages 253, 254, and 256.

‖ Described previously at page 216.

¶ The first *r* in these words is sometimes left out, but this tract is never called "Dhamtaor," "Dhamtáwar," "Damtáwar," "Dumtaur," or "Dhumtour," by its inhabitants, or other people of these parts.

** They call themselves Jzadúns, but Eastern Afgháns, who change the letter *s'h* into *k'h*, and *jz* into *g*, style them Gadúns.

†† I was not a little surprised to read, at page 603, Vol. I., Part I., of Colonel C. M. MacGregor's "Central Asia," that "the Jadúns who occupy the *Arash* plain are *not Afgháns*,"—but on whose authority this statement is made does not appear—because, at page 16 of Vol. II., he says that they are "*a tribe of Patháns*," and "supposed to be a branch of the Kákar tribe" (which is a mistake: they are Parnís. *See* page 218. A little farther on he adds that "those of Hazára are settled on the banks of the Dorh (Ḍoṛ?) as far as the "*Urash* plain."

Mr. Bellew, on the other hand, makes these Afgháns out to be "a foreign tribe ('Report on Yusufzais,' p. 171)," and assures us that they are "a branch of the Kakar or Gakkar tribe." The Kákaṛ Afgháns and the Panj-áb Gakhars are one and the same tribe perhaps? Lately they have been turned into "Dadicæ," while Captain Wace, in a "Settlement Report," tells us that they belong to a "splendid Hindú line." All confound the Gakhars with Khokhars, and Khokhars with Kákaṛ Afgháns, and apparently know not the difference between them.

flows south of the village, and the other, the Dargun, on the north side. The former comes from the direction of the Wairan Galí, also called the Bairan Galí, *b* and *w* being interchangeable in Hindí words, and the latter from the Kohistán of Mángalí. After their junction the united streams are known as the river of Dharam-ṭaur, which, flowing towards the west, after joining the Siran river near Koṭ 'Ísá Khán, unites with the Abáe-Sín (or Indus) under Torbela'h."

The lands or three *tappa'hs* dependent on Dharam-ṭaur or Daram-ṭaur, or Dharam-ṭaur Rujú'iya'h, as it is also called, Nawáṇ-Shahr, also called Nawá Giráwn, and Mángal, in the open part of the dara'h, are known as the Zamín-i-Rash or Arash—the "Rush" of the map. This name is probably derived from the Tájzík word *rash*, signifying full of ups and downs, hills and ravines, or possibly from the Arabic *rashsh*, which means, gently trickling, as water, or flowing gently; for this Zamín-i-Rash, or—if the latter be the correct derivation—Zamín-i-Rashsh, is very marshy.

The Jzadúns of this Kohistán or mountain tract of country, number about 12,000 families, but, according to some accounts, they are supposed to amount to near upon 15,000, and dwell in thirty-eight villages. They consist of three clans or divisions, the Sálárzí, Manṣúrzí, and Hasází. These again contain several ramifications, whose names it is not necessary to mention here.

When this portion of the Jzadún Afgháns first came into this part from beyond the Abáe-Sín,* and dispossessed the occupants, who were people of Turkish descent and Dilazák Afgháns chiefly, they were not under the authority of any particular chief of their own. In any matter of consequence or emergency, the three clans would choose one from among their grey-beards, temporarily, to conduct their affairs, and decide disputes. Subsequently, they elected a person of the Hasází clan of Dharam-ṭaur to this office, and it continued in his family down to the time of the Sikhs obtaining a footing in these parts. At this period, Bar-khurdár Khán, of Dharam-ṭaur, was chosen Khán of all the *tappa'hs* or districts belonging to the tribe east of the Abáe-Sín. He was succeeded by his son, 'Ináyat Khán; and the turban of khán-ship still continues in his family. They acknowledged fealty to the Durráni sovereigns.

"The tribute paid by the Jzadúns of this part to the Durráni rulers was nominal only, and consisted of a horse, a falcon or two, and a small sum in ready money.

"Setting out from the village of Dharam-ṭaur, you proceed for a distance of four kuroh in the direction of north, along the bed of the Dargun river, and reach Náwá-Giráwn,† also known as Jogan, situated on the banks of that river, and inhabited by

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* For the antecedents of the Jzadúns, *see* pages 217 and 224.

† This is the place also called Nawáṇ Shahr at present, the "Nuwanshuhur" of the maps. The village of Mángal or Mángalí, the "Manghul" of the Indian Atlas map, and "Mangul" of the other, is five miles to the north of Nawáṇ Giráwn, and the same distance south, inclining south-east, from Mán-Sihrah.

When Akbar Bádsháh was returning from Kash-mír in the latter part of the year 996 H. (1588–89 A.D.), having crossed the Nayan-Sukhh or Kunhár river, "his next camp was pitched at Ganí or Kaní, in Pakhla'í. "From thence he went to the residence of Sulṭán Ḥusain, the chief of Pakhla'í, The next day he marched "to Dhádál or Dádhál (the Dhoodyal of the maps); and the next stage was to Kadá or Gadá [which I cannot "identify]; and at this place Sháh Rukh, the chief of Dharam-ṭaur, presented himself, and made obeisance. "Here the Ḥakím, Abú-l-Fatḥ, the Gílání (referred to at page 265), died, and was taken to Ḥasan-i-Abdál to "be buried. The next day the Bádsháh had to go by a narrow and watery road to Dhangarí, and then a "quarter less four *kos* to Khaurá, and Mánikrá (Mánikráe), the country inhabited by the Dilazáks. Another "four *kos* and the camp was pitched near Sher-khán, and subsequently at Pír Sabá and Ḥasan-i-Abdál."

When the same Bádsháh was returning from Kash-mír, in 1001 H. (1592–93 A.D.), in coming from Bárhamúlah, and his next camp was pitched beyond Pakhla'í, it came on to snow and rain to such degree, and continued to do so all night so violently, that it was impossible to send on the Bádsháh's tents for himself and attendants. Akbar Bádsháh got on horseback, and set out himself to look for a suitable place for the next encampment, but could find none; and the rain continued to pour with such violence, that he and his small party were obliged to take shelter in the little town of Mángalí, which belongs to Pakhla'í. After the rain cleared off, he again set out on his journey; and, by the way, at the request of the Mírzá, the son of the late Sháh Rukh, the chief of Dharam-ṭaur, a Turk from his name, he went to see the town of Munawur, which was part of his possession. After this the Bádsháh pushed on to Ruhtás. Munawur is still a considerable place, containing upwards of 2,000 inhabitants, consisting of Turks, incorrectly called "Mogals" in official documents, Suwáthís, Gújars, and others.

Mángal was the scene of a severe struggle in 1821 between the Sardár, Harí Singh, who was on his way from Kash-mír, having been ordered to join his master, Ran-jít Singh, as speedily as possible, he being then on the way to attack Mankerah. The Jzadúns, Muḥammad Khán, Tarín, the Tunawalís, and others, collected close to Mángal, in a strong position, narrow and difficult, which they secured and strengthened with *sangars* or breastworks. Harí Singh had 8,000 infantry with him, and he wished to get along without delay. The tribes demanded "their dues from him on pashmínah, shawls, and the countless wealth which he was bringing along "with him from Kash-mír." Harí Singh tried diplomacy, but, finding that of no avail, he attacked, and stormed their position, and set Mángal on fire. Some 2,000 persons perished in the fight, including those burnt within the place, and others who threw themselves from the walls.

After this affair Harí Singh imposed a fine or cess of eight rúpís upon every house in the parts inhabited by the tribes who had thus gathered against him, and sent out his people to collect it. They succeeded in col-

Jzadúns. From thence you go on to Mír-púr, distant three kuroh to the west, which village also belongs to the same people, and is situated on the same river. Leaving it, you proceed seven kuroh north and reach Rachan, a village of some size, in the possession of Gul Sher Khán, the Tunawalí. The road leads over a very hilly and difficult tract, and the Tunawalís and Jzadúns infest the roads and plunder travellers. From the last-named place you proceed for a distance of three kuroh in the direction of north-west to Gadda'h, and, by the way, have to cross a lofty mountain range. You then continue onwards in the direction of south-west for three kuroh to Jaral,* and from thence another three kuroh west, inclining south-west, to Súhah.† Another two kuroh in the direction of west brings you to Bír,‡ which is a town of considerable size, situated on the Siran river, which flows on the west side of it. Crossing the river, and proceeding three kuroh west, inclining north-west, you reach Kaháran,§ then continuing onwards for another five kuroh in the direction of west you arrive at Khairí. Leaving this village, you proceed four kuroh in the direction of west, inclining north-west, to Gan-dab or Ganh-daf, a large village peopled by Sáyyids, and previously referred to (at page 274). From this place to the Dera'h-i-Gul Sher Khán, the route has also been described.

"Setting out from the latter place, you proceed by the large village of Kirpalián,‖ situated on the left-hand side of the road, three kuroh in the direction of north to the Dar-band, or Dar-band,¶ an ancient town, inhabited by the Tunawalí tribe, and situated on the east bank of the Abáe-Sín.** Immediately east of it is a

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lecting between five and six rúpís from each. Some time subsequently, the Afgháns and others assembled, and closely invested a fort which the Sikhs had founded close to Nawán Giráwn. Harí Singh sent a force to relieve it, under Mahán Singh, who also attacked and took Nawán-Giráwn itself, in which the Afgháns were assembled, and inflicted great loss upon them and their allies.

* "Jurral" of one map, and "Jural" of the other.

† "So-ah" and "Soar" of the maps.

‡ "Bheer" of one map, and "Beer" of the other. Púhár was the seat of government in the time of the first Tunawalí chiefs, and, subsequently, Bír became so. During the Sikh rule Sherwán was the seat of authority. It is styled "Shurwan" in the large scale map, but is correct in the other.

§ "Kharum" of the large map, but called "Kurm" in the other.

‖ This place appears as "Kirplee," "Karbli," and "Karpilyan," in the maps, and in official documents.

¶ "Derbund" of the maps.

** I referred to the insolence of Nawwáb Khán, the Tunawalí, as costing him his life, in note §, page 275. The circumstance is as follows:—

On one occasion he had to set out from Kalaey, his place of residence, to meet and escort, as a vassal of the Durrání kingdom, the mother of the great Bárakzí Sardárs, A'zím Khán (full brother of Fath Khán), and his brother, 'Aṭá Muḥammad Khán, the former of whom was the governor of Kash-mír, from which province she was returning, and on her way to Kábul, after visiting her son.

Nawwáb Khán paid her all outward respect at first, but, when the time arrived for her to resume her journey, he, instigated, it is said, by some blockhead, preferred a request, through a second party, to the old lady, saying, that her humble servant had been informed that the fastening of the drawers of the august Malika'h was of great value, and trusted that she would make him a present of it. The old lady, as may be imagined, was shocked at this deadly insult, and all sorts of stratagems and excuses were adopted to elude the insolent demand. Nawwáb Khán, however, was urgent; and she, knowing that she was, in a measure, in his power in that difficult tract of country, and that he had it in his power to starve her followers and carriage animals, had to comply with his demand, and give up the ornament in question. By this means she succeeded in getting clear of the hills.

She demanded a terrible revenge at the hands of her sons; but, at this particular time, the Sardár, then in Kash-mír, could not get at Nawwáb Khán conveniently, on account of the state of the Durrání kingdom at that period, and so nothing was attempted then. This delay, probably, tended to put the insolent Tunawalí off his guard. Some time after, in 1818, the Sardár, A'zím Khán, on his way back from Kash-mír to Kábul, soon after his elder brother, Fath Khán, had been put to death by Prince Kámrán, proposed to pass through Pakhla'í, and proceed by way of Kalaey, Nawwáb Khán's place of residence, to Dar-band, and cross the Abáe-Sín at the Dar-band ferry. The Sardár was well aware that if he manifested the least symptom of hostility, Nawwáb Khán would take to the hills, where he would not be able to get at him. A'zím Khán, therefore, had recourse to a Sayyid, Waḥíd Sháh by name, of Nau-Kot, in the Pakhla'í territory, who had great influence with him; and the Sayyid induced Nawwáb Khán not only to visit the Sardár's camp himself, but also to take his son, Pá'índah Khán, along with him. He was well received at first; but, when the Sardár, next day, crossed the Abáe-Sín near Anb, and marched down the west bank of the river towards Khubbal, on his way into the Sama'h, *en route* to Pes'háwar, a detachment of his body-guard was left behind to bring on Nawwáb Khán and his son; and they conducted them to Pehúr (*see* page 272), where the Sardár's camp was pitched. *See* Captain E. Conolly's account of this in the "Bengal Asiatic Journal" for 1840, in which he has fallen into error.

Nawwáb Khán now gave himself up for lost, but he adoped a stratagem whereby his son, Pá'índah, escaped. I have not space for all the details here, which I must leave for my history of the Afgháns. A'zím Khán, on becoming aware of the son's escape, determined that the father should not get off; and he had him enclosed in a raw hide, and thrown into the Landaey-Sín or river of Kábul, near which he happened to be encamped at the time.

Pá'índah Khán made a considerable figure in the history of these parts for many years, and energetically resisted the Sikhs. He died of a broken heart (after breaking many hearts himself), stripped of all his territory, except the small tract around Anb, on the western bank of the Indus, in September, 1840. His son, Jahán-dád Khán, succeeded him, and recovered some of the territory his father had held, through the favour of

lofty mountain range; and, on the opposite side of the Abáe-Sín, there is a fortress of unburnt bricks, belonging also to the Tunawalís, and known as Párlí Ghaṛí. From Dar-band you go one kuroh north-west, up the river, to Hautaṛ, a small village belonging to the same tribe, near the banks of the Abáe-Sín. The Hunár river,* which issues from the Kohistán of Agroṛ, which is the name of one of the difficult mountain tracts belonging to Pakhla'í, from the direction of north-east, unites with the Abáe-Sín south of this village. On ordinary occasions it is about knee-deep.

"At Hautaṛ two roads diverge. The right-hand route, which follows the course of the Hunár river, goes on to Aojza'í, also called Aoga'í,† a distance of thirteen kuroh, by a route well known, and lying through a tract of country populous and well cultivated, and containing many villages. Setting out from Hautaṛ, you go two kuroh in the direction of north-west to Bhattí, another ancient village, belonging to the Tunawalís, on the banks of the Abáe-Sín. On the other or west side of the river, on the east side of the mountain territory belonging to the Jzadún tribe of Afgháns, is a village called the Kalaey or 'Village' of Akbar Sháh, but it is peopled by Sayyids who are dependent on Tunawal. From Bhattí you go on for a distance of six kuroh to the north, to Gumbaz-i-Pukhtah,‡ signifying, The Brick or Stone-built Dome, or Cupola, which is surrounded by a brick wall. Within this dome is the grave and shrine of one who sleeps his last repose, and round it are also several graves.

"From this spot, proceeding two kuroh farther north, you reach Koṭ Báwar Sháh, a large village of the Ḥasanzí 'Ísází Yúsufzís, at the foot of the mountains on the banks of the Abáe-Sín. The route from this place to Koga'h has been described in the Sixty-eighth Route (page 284).

"On the way from the Dera'h of Gul Sher Khán to Koṭ Báwar Sháh, a lofty range of mountains rises on the right hand, and the Abáe-Sín flows close by on the left. From Bhattí as far as the grave-yard of Gumbaz-i-Pukhtah, the river approaches close to the mountains, and flows at their feet, in such wise that you have to keep along the slope of the mountains in order to reach the latter place. The united rivers of the Daulatzí, 'Ísází, and Chamla'h Dara'hs—the Baranḍú—fall into the Abáe-Sín opposite this shrine and grave-yard."§

*Seventieth Route. From the Fort of Aṭak-Banáras to Maṛaiṛ on the west bank of the Abáe-Sín, a distance of fifty kuroh in the direction of north.*

"The route between Ḥazrau‖ and Aṭak has been already described (at page 31). From thence you go a quarter kuroh to Malik, also a large village belonging to some of the Ghurghust division of the Afghán people.¶ You then proceed three kuroh in the direction of north-east to Naḳḳárchí,** a village belonging to the Sarkaṛní Afgháns, situated on the banks of the Abáe-Sín. A great mountain range rises on the right hand, known as Ghand-Ghaṛ.†† Leaving Naḳḳárchí, you proceed a little over two kuroh, still keeping north-east, to Jammú,‡‡ a village belonging to the Yúsufzís, also situated on the banks of the Abáe-Sín. Two kuroh and a half more brings you to Ghází, another village on the river's banks. From this place you go on another five kuroh and a half to Muhiṭ or Múhiṭ, a village§§ of considerable size, belonging to the same Afghán tribe, and from it, a little over four kuroh more, to Tor-bela'h, previously described. The same great range of mountains rises on the right hand of the route, and the Abáe-Sín flows near by on the left.

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the late Guláb Singh, of Kash-mír, and the British Government. The present chief, Muḥammad Akram Khán, is his son; and, through the further favour of the Government, he now enjoys the territory formerly held by his Hando Ál or Ando Ál ancestors, has received the title of Nawwáb, and is a C.S.I.

* *See* note ‡, page 284.

† *See* note †, page 284, and page 267.

‡ This place is not noticed in any of our maps.

§ This place is not noticed by the "Mullah," although he is said to have followed the river bank from Gilgiṭ and Suwát, as far down as Dar-band, neither is it given in the two Survey maps previously referred to. Several other places in this route, which must have lain in the Mullah's way, are likewise not mentioned in his maps.

‖ Also written Ḥezrauṇ, the final *n* being nasal.

This route can be reversed, thus making it a route from Maṛaiṛ to Aṭak-Banáras.

¶ *See* note *, page 270.

** "Nagarchi" of one map, and "Nugarchiyan" of the other. At the time these surveys were made the chief holding Máler Koṭla'h, in the Sirhind district east of the Sutlaj, was a Sarkární Afghán, named 'Alá-Ullah Khán, who had held it for a long time previously.

†† "Gandgar" is not correct.

‡‡ "Jumoo" in one map, "Jummoon" in the other.

§§ "Mohut" of the maps.

"From Tor-bela'h two roads diverge. The right-hand route goes to Ṭawwí,* distant four kuroh in the direction of north, which, having reached, you then proceed up stream in the same direction as before. A little north of Ṭawwí, on the right hand, is a small river, which comes from Gan-dab; or Ganh-daf,† and runs to the left and unites with the Abáe-Sín. After going on for a distance of two kuroh north, slightly inclining to the north-west, you reach the small village of Khair-Koṭ,‡ lying at the foot of the mountains rising near by on the right hand as you proceed on your way, and the Abáe-Sín flows close by on the left. From Khair-Koṭ you go on a kuroh and a half north to Anorá or Anora'h,§ close by the route on the right hand, and then half a kuroh farther, in the same direction, to the small village of Lalú-Galí, on the mountain side, also near the road on the right hand.‖ Another half a kuroh north, inclining a little to the north-east, and you reach the Dera'h of Gul Sher Khán,¶ previously noticed in other routes. The lofty mountain range towers, as previously, on the right, and the Abáe-Sín flows near by on the left hand. The route from the Dera'h of Gul Sher Khán to the Koṭ of Báwar Sháh, and to Maṛair and Koga'h, has been already described (at page 285).

"The left-hand route northwards from Tor-bela'h is as follows. Crossing the Abáe-Sín at the ferry under Tor-bela'h, by boat to Khubbal, you proceed from thence two kuroh north, inclining north-west, to Thána'h, a large village belonging to the Tunawalís. Continuing onward for a distance of five kuroh in the same direction, you reach the Ghaṛí of Ẓámin Sháh, a large village with a fort of unburnt brick; and from thence go on for another half kuroh and arrive at Ashrák,** a large village situated on a hill or eminence, a spur from the mountains, also belonging to the Tunawalís, and protected by a stone-built fort called the Koṭla'h. Having reached this place, you go on to Párlí Ghaṛí, previously referred to in the Sixty-ninth Route (page 290), a distance of three kuroh in the direction of north, which place is likewise under the jurisdiction of the chief of Tunawal. From thence you proceed, following the course of the river, for a distance of ten kuroh northwards, and reach the point where the united rivers issuing from the westward, from the Chamla'h and Buner Dara'hs, which, after this junction, are known by the name of Baranḍú, as before recorded, fall into the Abáe-Sín. Having reached that point you proceed four kuroh farther north to Maṛair, the road being exceedingly difficult.

"The lofty mountain range, in which the Jżadún Afgháns dwell, lies on the left hand (the west), while the Abáe-Sín flows near by on the right. Some persons proceed to Adam Bánḍa'h and Koga'h (*see* the Sixty-eighth Route) by following the course of the Baranḍú river to Kaha'í (*see* page 286), but this route is exceedingly difficult.

"Above the Dar-band boats cannot ply: they could not live in the surges and currents, and travellers have to be conveyed from one bank of the Abáe-Sín to the other by means of rafts. Dar-band signifies a narrow and difficult pass through mountains, a narrow passage, a barrier, as well as a ferry over a river; and, as the Abáe-Sín above this point pierces its way for the greater part of its course through a maze of mountains, and below the Dar-band or Barrier the mountains begin to recede in some degree, the name of Dar-band may be accounted for.††

"It should not be overlooked that the great river Abáe-Sín is the natural boundary

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* "Towie" of one map, but "Tuvee" in the other.

† *See* pages 269 and 274.

‡ In one map correct, "Khairkot;" in the other "Khurkot."

§ "Unoruh" of the map. *See* page 275.

‖ It has considerably increased, and is now a large village.

¶ Simply "Deyrah" in one map, but "Deruh" in the other.

** This place is shown in our maps, under the names of "Ashura," "Achoora," and "Usheera," and in official papers as "Ashra," four different forms, and all incorrect.

†† At a place called Phaláh-Bhaní, near the Dar-band, the Abáe-Sín is so narrow that a person can easily throw a stone across the river. On one occasion, the Sikh Sardár, Harí Singh (afterwards killed in the battle with the Afgháns near Jam-rúd), who held the government of the Hazárah district, had received the wakíls or agents of Pá'índah Khán, who were negotiating with the Sardár, and they had asked for terms, and had returned to Pá'índah Khán's presence to get the terms ratified. On seeing the wakíls again appear, accompanied by people bringing a number of kids and vessels of rice, he naturally concluded that the terms had been ratified, and that they were coming to feast him. On this, Harí Singh, and a number of other Sikh officers and soldiers, came down close to the river-side, in order "to taste," as the Sardár remarked, "cool water." While there, and totally off their guard, Pá'índah Khán suddenly opened fire upon the party from all the small guns and other available pieces in his possession. The Sardár and his party had to betake themselves to the rocks, which, fortunately, were near by; and, as it happened, no one sustained injury from this act of treachery. They had to remain where they were, however, until after sunset, when they made their way back to their own camp again.

between Fáristán and the Panj-áb; and that, lower down, towards the south, on both banks of it, the Balúch people for the most part dwell, while some Afghán tribes dwell higher up. Ḥazrau, or Ḥezraun, Haro, Darwesh, and Tor-bela'h, and some other tracts of territory, are known as Chhachh or Chhachh Hazárah, because, in the imagination of its inhabitants, this territory is peopled by a thousand tribes and septs. Pakhla'í, Dharam-ṭaur, Tunawal, and some other parts, they consider to be in the Kohistán.

"The Chhachh Hazárah, so called to distinguish it from the Hazárah-i-Ḳárlúgh or Ḳárlúḳ, or country of the Hazárah of the Ḳárlúghs or Ḳárlúḳs,* is inhabited by portions of several Afghán tribes. It is twenty-five kuroh in length from north-east to south-west, and from six to seven kuroh in breadth from north-west to south-east. It has mountain tracts on either side of it; and as the Haro river, which rises in the Kohistán of Malách,† a dependency of Muẓaffar-ábád, and the country of the tribe known as the Kar Ál and Kaṛar Ál, but which appears to be, more correctly, Ghar Ál, flows through the midst of the Chhachh Hazárah, it is, consequently, likewise called the Haro district. The Pus'hto language is spoken by its inhabitants. The villages of Haro and Darwesh are the places where the government overseers or intendants are located. The chieftainship among the Afghán tribes here dwelling lies with the choice and accord of each tribe.

"The rainy season in the tracts described in these routes, on and near the Abáe-Sín, is the winter, and, in some parts, snow also falls. The land is chiefly dependent on rain for irrigation, and wells are exceedingly few. It produces much wheat, barley, rice, cotton, and lentils. The Afghán people pay a tenth of the produce by way of *'ushr* or tithe to the authorities, but other races have to pay a fixed amount of the produce by way of revenue."

*Seventy-first Route. From Kash-mír to Laddákh, a distance of twenty-five stages.*

"This route joins that which leads to Yár-ḳand, which will be presently described. Kárwáns perform this journey generally in the space of one month.

"Setting out from Srí-Nagar,‡ the capital of Kash-mír, in two *manzils* or stages you reach the large village called Gund Sar-Sang,§ and by the way pass through well cultivated districts, and a very mountainous tract of country. The Achol-Nág and other lakes lie on the right-hand side of the route, at a great distance away. From Gund Sar-Sang you proceed another two stages to Gangan-Gír, also written Gagan-Gír, which is the name of a great mountain range, capped with perpetual snow, the extreme summit of which is the limit of, and boundary between, the countries of Kash-mír and Tibbat. On the way from the *manzil* of Gund Sar-Sang to this one, you pass by many habitations and much cultivation.

"Another three *manzils* from thence brings you to Dirás, which is a village of considerable size included in the territory of Great Tibbat,¶ which is under the sway of Chashwá-Nami-gal,** Rájah of Laddákh. There is a paucity of inhabitants, and

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* *See* page 281.

† Malách, but not "Milach," is the name of a considerable village belonging to the Kar-Ál or Ghar-Ál tribe, on the route between Ráwal Pindí and Muẓaffar-ábád. East of the village is the lofty mountain in which the Haro rises.

‡ Signifying, in Sanskrit, "The Auspicious City."

§ The "*Gond*" of Major-General Walker's map, and "*Goond*" of the Indian Atlas map.

¶ *See* note ¶, page 294.

** Thus in the copies of the text, but the name is somewhat doubtful. *See* page 294.

The Mírzá, Muḥammad Ḥaidar, the Doghlátí Mughal, the author of the Táríkh-i-Rashídí, invaded Kash-mír, and took possession of Srí-Nagar by this very route. Muḥammad Ḥaidar was directed to proceed in advance from Yár-ḳand, by way of Khutan, and Sulṭán Sa'íd Khán was to follow by the same route. Muḥammad Ḥaidar entered Áltúnjí Tibbat—Áltún, in Turkí, means gold—which is a Dolpah, or Steppe. He subsequently reached the Núbrah territory, which is accounted a part of Tibbat, in the second month of 939 H. (September, 1532, A.D.). Most of the petty chiefs submitted, but one, Borkiá by name, who was the greatest among them, and whose fort of Hondár was the principal one in the country, refused to submit to the invaders. On their moving against it, and preparing to assault it the following day, he evacuated it in the night, and the Mughals obtained possession of it. Muḥammad Ḥaidar then entered the territory of Már-yol, the chief place in which he calls Shiyah or Shíah, in which were two Ḥákims, and both submitted. As the sun had entered Libra—the autumnal equinox, or September—and the cold there was greater than in any other part of Tibbat at that time of the year, Muḥammad Ḥaidar held counsel with his officers as to what was advisable to be done with respect to their selecting a place for their *kish-lák* or winter quarters, where food and forage would be obtainable. No place suitable other than Kash-mír could be thought of or found, and it was resolved to enter it, and make it their winter quarters.

Having been reinforced by the Khán, and his force made up to 4,000 men (Abú-l-Faẓl, with his usual

scarcity of cultivation on the way thither, the country exceedingly mountainous, and many of the peaks covered with perpetual snow.

"Another four *manzils* or stages from Dirás brings you to Pas-kún, also written Past-kún, which is under the authority of another Rájah, but who pays allegiance to the Rájah of Laddákh. On the way thither you pass through a tolerably well inhabited tract, but experience much cold. You then have to go another two short *manzils* to Mulbú, a place under the authority of the Rájah of Laddákh.

"Twelve *manzils* more, along the banks of the southernmost branch of the Abáe-Sín, bring you to Laddákh, the capital of the country, and residence of the Rájah. On the road thither you pass many inhabited places, and a considerable extent of cultivation, and have to cross many small rivers, tributaries of the main one, each of which is spanned by a small wooden bridge."

Laddákh, being sufficiently well known, need not be described here.

*Seventy-second Route. From Láhor to Yár-kand, a distance of nearly six hundred kuroh, and consisting of two routes.*

"The left-hand route is by way of Jammú, and the right-hand route by Núr-púr, and is as follows.

"Setting out from Núr-púr [the route to which place from Láhor, being so well known, need not be given here], you proceed a distance of eight kuroh in the direction of north-east to Málwán, a small village in the little district of Pálam, which is under the rule of the Rájah of Chanbah,* and by the way are numerous ascents and descents. The *manzils*, or stages, it may be mentioned, average eight kuroh each. You then go on another *manzil* of eight kuroh to Samút, and then another to Nunár. The next *manzil* is to Bua'h. At this point the territory of Ráe Singh, Chanpál, terminates."

From thence the next *manzil* brings you Kud, the name of a desolate halting place, from which you proceed another *manzil* of the same length, and reach the Ulwás. In the idiom of the language spoken by the people of this part, a halting place situated at the foot of a mountain range, but which halting place is without inhabitants, is called Ulwás. Eight kuroh from this latter halting place you reach a second Ulwás, and midway between these halting places is a lofty mountain range, covered with perpetual snow, which you have to cross. The next *manzil* is Bastí;† then, in succession, Puyor, Chel-hat, Shíw-púr, Bar-mor, Ar-sar, and Chilú-hat, the *manzils* being about the same distances from each other.

Throughout the tract of country passed through from Kud to this point, the inhabitants are Hindús, and every zamín-dár, or petty chief, is ruler in his own locality, and over his own territory. The severity of the cold, the excess of snow, and the difficulty of the way, can scarcely be described.

Setting out from Chilú-hat, you proceed for a distance of five kuroh to Kaftí, and from this point, northwards, the vast extent of territory, which consists of mazes of mountains, is known as the Great Tibbat.‡ From Kaftí you go on for a distance of three kuroh to the small village of Chilang, in which there is a great idol temple belonging to the Hindús, the idol in which they call Chilang Debí. Hindú devotees visit this place, and come so far to pay their devotions to this idol. Another *manzil* of eight kuroh brings you to another Ulwás, or desolate halting place, and another *manzil* of just the same distance to another, and between them you have to cross a great mountain range covered with perpetual snow.

Traders and travellers are obliged to transfer their goods and heavy effects to the backs of men of this mountain tract of country for transit over this mountain range,

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exaggeration, says he had 10,000), and the Báltís having submitted, and having added their forces to his own, Muḥammad Ḥaidar set out by Dirás and the Zojí Lah or Pass. The Kash-míris, having obtained information of his movements, had occupied in force the Lár *tangí* or defile, leading to Srí-Nagar, but a force of 400 veterans from the Mírzá's force fell upon them at dawn, and put them to flight. Passing one night on the road, next day, Muḥammad Ḥaidar entered the valley of Kash-mír. His subsequent proceedings in Kash-mír need not be entered into here, as they belong to Kash-mír history, beyond mentioning that about twenty years after, in 959 H. (1552 A.D.), he was killed in a sally from Srí-Nagar.

It will be seen from this expedition that the invasion of Kash-mír from the north, with an enemy in possession of Káshghar, Yár-kand, and Khutan, is by no means such an impracticable matter, after all, as some of "the masters of the subject" and the tacticians would lead us to suppose, especially if the invaders came from a northern climate, and could withstand the rigours of the climate of Tibbat.

* *See* the meaning assigned to Chanbah at page 297.

† *See* note ‡, page 294.

‡ *See* note ¶, page 294, and the meaning assigned to Tibbat in note §, page 153.

while the traders and travellers themselves cross mounted on Tibbatí horses, which are very nimble and clever, being used to climbing. Both foreigners as well as natives are well wrapped up in felt, so as to entirely cover the whole body, the face, ears, hands, and feet; indeed, nothing is left uncovered but the eyes. As some persons lose their sight from the excessive glare, caused by the sunlight shining on the snow, pure sugar-candy (miṣrí-i-kháliṣ) is taken, and, in such cases, applied as a remedy, and in a short time it effects a cure, and the sight is restored. The writer of these surveys and his party saw, at Núr-púr, several persons who had not taken due precaution to guard themselves from the snow and frost, and the consequence was that their fingers and toes had dropped off, and the parts so affected appeared like healed wounds after amputation.

"Having descended from the crest of the great range* to the second Ulwás, before referred to, you reach the banks of the Sat-Ludr†—the upper part of the Chin-áb—a large river, which comes from the right hand and flows towards the left. According to the opinion of some persons, it runs on towards Kishtwár, and receives the name of Chandar and Chandar-Bhágá, after its junction with the Bhagá a few miles north-west of Kishtwár. It is spanned by a wooden bridge, and, according to some accounts, it has also a rope bridge two kuroh farther west, the wooden one being liable to be carried away when the Bhágá becomes flooded in summer.

"Setting out from the banks of the Sat-Ludr, you proceed to the *manzil* of Sálind, distant eight kuroh, and then a similar distance to the next halting place, known as Were-Tal. From thence you go four kuroh to a place called Gharát, and a stage of four more brings you to Bastí.‡ Then comes a *manzil* of eight kuroh to Bar-Síw, after which another two, of a similar distance, to two Ulwás, or desolate halting places, between which another great range of snowy mountains has to be crossed. From thence the next *manzil* is Lan-gút, then another of a similar distance to Lúng-Láchar,§ and after that two Ulwás of eight kuroh each, between which *manzils* another great range of snowy mountains intervenes, which has likewise to be crossed. From the second Ulwás, another eight kuroh distant, is Kang-chhú-hat, from which you go on to Muhrí, a similar distance, and then eight kuroh more to Báhbul-Mudda'h, or Bábul-Mudda'h, which is situated at the foot of a mountain range.

"The next *manzil*, to Bastí,‖ is ten kuroh distant, and on the way thither a lofty defile has to be traversed, which is very difficult to accomplish. Having reached Bastí, another long *manzil* of ten kuroh brings you to Kuḍ, and another of the same distance to Bág. From the *manzil* of Bar-Síw to this place the country you pass through is uninhabited, and the difficulties to be overcome in this mountainous tract are so vast, and the excess of snow is so great, as cannot be explained.

"From the *manzil* of Bág you proceed another eight kuroh, and reach the little village of Ṭhas-rí, and after going another ten kuroh you reach Laddákh. This is a large place, the capital of the Great Tibbats, and place of residence of the Rájah Chashwá-Nami-gal¶ [possibly, Jaishwá-Nami-gal]. The commodities of Hind, Sindh, Chín, Yár-ḳand, and Badakhshán are brought to this town for sale, and the dues

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* Vigne, in his "Travels," refers to this range under the name of "Panga Mountains," and the pass to be crossed as the "Zuruk Pass."

† This is the name generally applied to the upper part of the Sutlaj, but the original is as above.

‡ Wastí, or Bastí, *b* and *w* being interchangeable, signifies, in Sanskrit, "an abode," "an inhabited place," "a village;" and here, doubtless, are some habitations dignified with the name of "Bastí," or "The Village." Had it been desolate, this *manzil* would have been styled "Ulwás."

§ The Thung Ling of Vigne, probably.

‖ *See* note above.

¶ These rulers, the family title of whom is Nam-gal, or Nami-gal, are of ancient lineage, and are said to be descended in a direct line from the old rulers of Tibbat, and are noticed in history by that title as early as the close of the fifteenth century. This dynasty was overturned by the Dograhs in recent times. Muḥammad Haidar always calls the Chiefs of Tibbat and Báltí by the title of Joe, or Júe, the plural of which he makes Joeán or Júeán.

The Jesuit Father, Hypolito Desideri, proceeded through Tibbat in 1714, from Kash-mír. He says,—"Great Tibet begins at the top of a frightful mountain named Kantel, all covered with snow; one side of it "belongs to Kâshmîr, the other to Tibet. They left Kâshmîr, that is, Srí-Nagar, on the 17th May, 1715, and "were forty days in travelling to Leh, also called Ladak, where the King of Great Tibet resides; which "journey they performed on foot. On the 30th, they passed the mountains, that is, entered Tibet. . . . . "The road lay through the mountains, which are a true image of horror. They are heaped one upon another, "and so close together, that they are scarce separated by the torrents, which dash against the rocks with a "noise enough to daunt the most hardy travellers. . . . . They arrived on the 25th June at Leh, or "Ladak, which is a fortress where the Ghiampo, or King, resides, who is absolute, and named Nima Nanjal "[Nyimah Nami-gal, son of Dílík Nami-gal, the grandfather, probably, of the Rájah above referred to]. He "has under him a tributary king [the Rájah of Zán-skár, probably]. He (the Jesuit Father) came to learn "there was a *third* Tibet, a journey of about six or seven months."

levied thereon yield a considerable revenue. East of the city a stone-built fort has been erected, and within the walls the afore-mentioned Rájah resides.

"The distance from Núr-púr to Laddákh is thirty-eight *manzils;* from Laddákh to Jammú, twenty-eight; from Laddákh to Kash-mír, twenty-two; and from Yár-kand, thirty-eight, presently to be described. The *manzils* between Núr-púr and Laddákh, and that place and Yár-kand, are comparatively short, but those between Laddákh and Jammú and Kash-mír somewhat long."

Before resuming the account of the route, it may not be amiss to say something with regard to what the modern Muhammadan writers say respecting "the Great Tibbat," and give the Mírzá, Muhammad Haidar, the Doghlátí Mughal's account of it.

The Musalmán writers of India, for the most part, nearly always make the great mistake of calling the most western and northern part of the great tract of country to the north of Kash-mír by the name of "the Little Tibbat," and Laddákh, and districts adjoining it, "the Great Tibbat," and sometimes "the Great Tibbats," whereas the vast region known as Tibbat extends some twenty-five degrees farther to the south-east.

English writers also mistake the names of the western parts of this great region, and style the territory bounded on the south by the Shá-yuk or Shá-yugh, near its junction with the other branch of the Abáe-Sín or Indus, and of which Skár-Dú is the chief place at present, by the name of "Baltistán, *or* Little Tibet, or Thibet, a little territory lying N.N.W. of Ladakh," and under this name it appears in the "Yarkand Mission" map, and Major-General J. T. Walker's last.

The Muhammadan writers of India, for example, say, that the Lár district of Kash-mír adjoins the Great Tibbat; and English writers say that "Iskardoh," or "Skardo" is the capital of "Little Tibet." Instead of this Báltí, not "Baltistán," according to the Mírzá, Muhammad Haidar, comprises Skár-Dú or Iskár-Dú, Shigár, Púrik, Laddaks, and other tracts, The Mírzá also describes Tibbat more correctly perhaps than any other writer, from personal observation, and many years' actual residence in the country adjoining it.

He says:—"It extends, from north-west to south-east, a distance of eight months' "journey, while its breadth is not over one month's journey, and not less than ten days.' "The north-west boundary of Tibbat adjoins Bilaur, and its northern boundary ter- "minates at Bilaur and Badakhshán"—the position of the former of which tracts has been already given at page 139,—"and on the south-east it extends to Jojú and Sálár, "which are dependencies of Kanjan Kúe of Khitá." (See also "Tabakát-i-Násirí," page 912). "The main mountain range of Mughúlistán,"* he continues, "sends out "branches in different directions. One portion passes north of Káshghar and then "turns south, and forms the west boundary of that country, after which it runs round "to the south of Káshghar. The country of Farghánah lies west of it, and this branch "range runs between the two countries; and at this point the range is called by the "name of Áláe. Badakhshán is situated west of Yár-kand, and the same great range "likewise lies between them; and that part of it which lies between them is called Pá- "Mír; and, in some places, this Pá-Mír [such a word as Bám-i-Dunyá, or anything "approaching to it, is not contained in Muhammad Haidar's History] is seven or eight "days' journey in extent [breadth?]"†

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* Which the Chinese style Thian-Shán.

† The divergencies of opinion respecting the physical aspect of the Pá-Mír and the meaning of that compound word, are almost as great as regarding "Bolor" referred to farther on.

As to the signification of the word, there can be no doubt that the latter half of it is the same as occurs in Tíraj-Mír and Kash-Mír, which may possibly refer to *mír*, a lake, or to *meru*—the sacred mountain, Meru—the residence of the gods. Possibly, it may signify *fá* (ف for *wá*—و; and ر is interchangeable with ز), opposite, or over against Meru. *See* Bú Ríhán on the mountains of Hind.

Major Montgomerie's Mírzá thinks the word "Pamir" is derived from the Turkish word Pa (belongs) and Mír (chief), implying that it belongs to the chief of Badakshan, which, to say the least of it, is childish, because there have been very many dynasties since Pá-Mír is first mentioned in history. He, however, says he never heard the term Bam-i-Dunya applied to it; and he also says that "Pamir" consists of "endless hillocks (and "sometimes nearly flat)—a sea of low, rounded hills (in winter the hollows would be filled up), one behind the "other, but nowhere rising to any great height above the more level ground."

The Munshí, Faiz-Bakhsh, relates that one version is, that it was originally Pái Amír, or *Pái Mír Hazrat Ali*, but he considered it, as well he might, a "religious hallucination." Another version, he says, is, that it was "Pái-Mehr (Foot of the Sun," owing to its situation to the east of Badakhshán," perhaps another hallucination. The Munshí adds that "On Pamír there is grass alone, and a thorny bush, the same as on Hindú- "Kush and Koh-i-Baba. . . . . In the Pamír steppes, the ground is mostly moist and covered with "saltpetre. There are no stones. . . . . The soil is generally with a mixture of sand. . . . . In the "end of March the snow begins to melt in the lower valleys. In April, grass begins to spring up. In June, "water becomes plentiful, and the streams swell to such an extent that traffic is checked. From July to October, "traffic is easy. In July and August, grass is abundant; it begins to decrease in September. In low places, "the grass grows very dense, and to a height of from two to three feet. . . . The air becomes extremely

The same range may be said to branch off from thence in the direction of south-west, towards Kábul, and is known to the different people of those parts as Tíraj-Mír, Kund, and Sarowar. *See* page 156.

"After having passed beyond that (the Pá-Mír)," the Mírzá continues, "then come some of the mountain skirts of Yár-ḳand which adjoin Bilaur,* such as Rásgám and Tágh Dum-Básh. After passing beyond these, the next territory reached is Tibbat, or the Tibbat [that is its most north-western point]. Badakhshán lies to the summer west of Yár-ḳand, as before stated, and Kash-mír to the winter west [by these terms the author apparently refers to the position of the sun's setting in the height of summer and winter respectively], and the very same range of mountains intervenes between them. That part lying between Yár-ḳand and Kash-mír belongs to, and is part of, the country or territory of Tibbat which they call Báltí; and, at this point, this elevated mountain tract is much broader than where known as Áláe and Pá-Mír, and is twenty days' journey in breadth. For example, the pass by which you ascend into it (from Yár-ḳand) is the 'Uḳbah or Pass of Sánjú, and that by which you descend from it into Kash-mír is the 'Uḳbah or Pass of Skár-Dú, or Iskár-Dú; and between these two passes is a distance of twenty days' journey. . . . From these details, therefore, it appears that Tibbat lies very high, because the rivers issuing from it fall downwards in every direction; and, in whatsoever direction a person desires to enter it, it is necessary in doing so to ascend by lofty passes, which have no descent afterwards, and when you reach the crest of them the ground is comparatively level; but with regard to some of the passes, there may be a little inclination downwards on the other side. For these reasons Tibbat is excessively cold, in such wise that, in most parts of it, with the exception of barley and turnips, nothing else is cultivated. The barley generally is such as is ripened in the space of forty days [from the time it is sown, or appears above ground?], for, if sown in winter, the seed would become rotten. Grass continues green for about two months; and, in some parts, the summer extends to forty days, but in such manner that, after midnight, the streams freeze. The keenness of the air is also so great that no tree, and no grass even, grows tall: all is bent and stunted.

"The inhabitants of Tibbat are divided into two classes, one known as the Bol-pá,

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"cold in the end of October, and grass dries up and presents the colour of copper; snow begins to fall on the "lofty peaks. . . . The lofty peaks of Pamír are covered constantly with snow."

Shaw says (Kashgar, p. 425): "Pamir is covered with grass, and abounds in wild animals."

Lieutenant-Colonel T. E. Gordon, of the Yarkand Mission, says in the "Report," "the Meaning of Pámír "appears to be wilderness—a place depopulated, abandoned, waste, yet capable of cultivation, . . . . if "deserted, it would be Pámír." But if not? Another member of the Mission says, "Pámír" is "Khokandi "Turki," if that is different from other Turkí. In another place, Colonel Gordon says "The Pámír *plateau* "may be described as a great, broad, rounded *ridge*, extending north and south, and crossed by thick mountain "chains, between which lie elevated valleys, open and *gently sloping* towards *the east*, but narrow and confined "with *a rapid fall towards the west*."

Another member of the Mission (Surgeon-Major Bellew) held widely different opinions apparently. He says (page 58), "this Pamír steppe is not known to the Kirghiz specifically as such, who are its *only* frequenters." Immediately after he says that "open spreads of pasture plateaux *here called pámír* are called in Khurasán "*Julaga* or *Jilga*. A jal-gáh, as I have described it in the account of the Suwát Dara'h, not "julaga" or "jilga," is derived from *jal* and *gáh*. Any good dictionary will show its derivation, and proper pronunciation. See also page 63 of these Notes. Another member of the mission (at page 472) says, respecting a *jilga*, that "extensive plains to which the name *jilga* is generally applied, originally, I think, merely meant a 'water-course.'" Subsequently, at page 59, the first-mentioned writer says, a Ḳirghíz told him, "we call *every* spread of pasture "*pámír*," after having previously said that "the Kirghiz, its only frequenters, did not know it specifically as "such."

Captain H. Trotter, R.E., another member of the Mission, says "Pámír is a series of broad undulating "grassy *valleys*, formed on the surface of an elevated plain, by lofty ridges more or less parallel to the equator. "The general slope of the plateau is from east to west. The *eastern* portion is *gently undulating*, and com-"paratively *flat*, while its western edge merges with spurs, which slope down *gradually to the west*" (Colonel Gordon says it has "a *rapid* fall towards the *west*"), "and are separated by bold and precipitous defiles. On "the east the Pámír steppes (plural here) are bounded by a transverse ridge which has been appropriately "termed the Pámír ridge by Pandit Manphul [*see* the Belútlagh, in note ‖, page 302]. This ridge runs in "a direction from S.S.W. to N.N.E., and is the watershed between Eastern and Western Turkistan." . . . "I am inclined to agree with Mr. Fedchenko in considering the *Pámír steppes*, within the limits by which I "have defined them, to be a portion of the *Thien Shán*."

Muḥammad Ḥaidar said they were so upward of three centuries and a half ago. *See* also M. Severtsof's journey in Ferghana and the Pamir in 1877–78, in the "Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society" for August 1880, pages 499–506.

Colonel Yule, C.B., in the introduction to the new edition of "Wood's Journey to the Oxus," page xxix., writes of the "The *Tsungling or* mountain of *Pamir*," and again at page xxxix., of the "*Comedæ* of Ptolemy," being "enveloped by the *Tsungling or* mountains of *Pamir*."

Moorcroft brings the Pá-Mír very far east indeed. He says (Vol. I., p. 365) that "on the north Ladakh is "bounded by the Pamer *or* Karakoram mountains."

* There is no such word as "Malur" in any copy of Mírzá Ḥaidar's Táríkh-i-Rashídí which I have read, neither does he ever use such a term as "Dardistán."

that is to say, the fixed population, who are dwellers in permanent dwellings, and the other Chan-bah or Chan-pah, which is to say nomads; and these latter pay obedience to the government of one or other of the territories of Tibbat. These latter are the people who act as carriers between the mountain States of Hind and Khitá, and convey goods on the backs of their sheep. Some of these Chan-bahs or Chan-pahs have as many as 10,000 sheep; and one of the tribes, known as the Dol-pah or Dol-bah, contain as many as 50,000 families, and there are many such."

Some of this tribe worked in the gold mines described by Muḥammad Ḥaidar, whose account I may hereafter translate.

In another place the same writer says, "In 925 H. (1519 A.D.), Sulṭán Sa'íd Khán "entered Badakhshán (from his capital, Káshghar), and again in 930 H. (1524 A.D.); "and, on this last occasion, despatched the writer, along with his son, Rashíd Sulṭán, "into Bilaur, which is a *kohistán*—mountain tract—lying between Badakhshán and "Kash-mír.* Fine plunder was obtained, and we returned safe and victorious, having "gained many successes. . . . Báltí is a territory between Tibbat and Bilaur, and, "during that winter, the Khán having plundered Báltí, in the spring came into "Tibbat." This latter expedition is mentioned in another place, and has nothing further to do with Bilaur: it merely proves what I have shown before, namely, that Báltí is quite distinct from Bilaur, the boundaries of which, and a more detailed account of the invasion and devastation of it, described by Muḥammad Ḥaidar, I have already given at page 139, which see.

It should be noticed that, although he distinctly mentions Suwát, he never once names Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár; and from his description of Bilaur it is apparent that some portion, at least, of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár was included in it, but I scarcely think more than the most northern parts of that State, as constituted when these surveys were made, namely, Mastúch, could have been included therein, but Dángrak, as described at page 161, undoubtedly was, and it formed part of the Ḳáshḳár State. It is Dángrak probably to which the Ḳirghíz apply the name of Bilaur.

If we look into the history of this period we shall find some remarkable coincidences. The Yúsufzí and Mandar Afgháns, and their confederate tribes, were pressing hard upon the Gibarí Sulṭán of Suwát. At the close of 925 H. (the end of 1519 A.D.), Bábar Bádsháh had set out on an expedition against these Afghán tribes, and a Gibarí prince was in his camp. Consequent upon Sulṭán Sa'íd Khán's invasion of Badakhshán in that same year, Bábar Bádsháh abandoned the expedition against the Afgháns of Suwát, and hurried back to Kábul to march against Sulṭán Sa'íd Khán of Káshghar, his own kinsman. The breach was, however, healed, and no hostilities broke out between them.

From 926 H. to 932 H. (1520 to 1525 A.D.) there is an hiatus in Bábar Bádsháh's autobiography, but, from other records, it appears that he had enough to do to hold his own against intrigue, and in chastising the Afgháns of the more western parts of his territory, without interfering with the Yúsufzís and Mandars; and after the latter year he was fully occupied in Hindústán. Sulṭán Sa'íd Khán sent his son, Rashíd Sulṭán, and Muḥammad Ḥaidar, against Bilaur in the beginning of 934 H. (the autumn of 1527 A.D.). These Afgháns shortly after compelled the Sulṭán of Suwát to abandon his territories, as I have before mentioned at page 181, and in note *, page 231, and to retire northwards into the adjoining Dara'h of Nihák, or Níáka'h, wherein he took up his residence, and built a strong fortress called Láhor, the ruins of which still exist. This was about the time of Bábar Bádsháh's death, early in 937 H. (December, 1530 A.D.). At the close of 938 H. (July, 1532 A.D.), Sulṭán Sa'íd Khán invaded Tibbat, and died in the last month of 939 H. The last of the Jahán-gírián dynasty who reigned in Suwát was Sulṭán Awes; and after him, his eldest son, Sulṭán Fírúz, ruled for many years over Nihák and parts farther north. He was succeeded by his son, Sulṭán Máh, and his son Zain 'Alí succeeded him, after which nothing more is recorded of them in the Yúsufzí annals from which this extract is taken. In Zain Khán's expedition against Ganshál, narrated at page 171, mention is made of the deputy of the ruler of Ḳáshḳár who was located near. Ganshál was very close to Nihák, which borders upon the Dara'hs of Mastúch and Dángrak, that is to say, close upon or even within the Bilauristán of Muḥammad Ḥaidar, who, it will be noticed, mentions Suwát and Kash-mír as its southern boundary, but never once mentions the Ḳáshḳár State in his history. Taking all these facts into consideration, it is evident that these Gibarí Sulṭáns extended their sway over the tracts immediately

* Neither "Cashmir" nor "Cashcar" represent "the old region of Belûr;" Bilaur was, as shown by the historian, totally different from either of those States.

northwards of and around Nihák. The times were also favourable, for the empire which Bábar Bádsháh had founded was convulsed soon after his decease; the Uzbaks and the descendants of Amír Tímúr were fighting among themselves, and Kash-mír was fast crumbling to decay; indeed, in 947 H (1540–41 A.D.), but some say in the following year, Muḥammad Ḥaidar again invaded it from the Panj-áb, and reduced it under his sway, though acknowledging Humáyún Bádsháh as his suzerain, and therein ended his career in 959 H. (1552 A.D.). It is not improbable, therefore, that the rulers of the Káshkár State when these surveys were made, were connected in some way with, if not directly descended from, the Jahán-gíríán Sulṭáns of Suwát.

As a vast deal has been written within the last few years *pro* and *con* respecting the existence of what European writers style "Bilor," "Bolor," "Belúr," "Billúr," "Belor," "Bilaor," "Bolar," "Balor," and the like—not one being correctly spelt—and some would do away with it, and blot its name out of the map of Asia altogether, it will be well, perhaps, to give here a few extracts respecting it from the writings of those who preceded the Mírzá, Muḥammad Ḥaidar, whose description has been given above, and whose account of a campaign in that very tract of country has been previously narrated.

Bilaur, Billaur, or Bilauristán, as it is also called, is first mentioned, I believe, by the Chinese pilgrim, Fah-Hian, who visited the parts treated on in these routes leading towards Yár-ḳand, in the year 399 A.D., about two hundred and twenty-three years before the Muḥammadan era, and when Bahrám-i-Gor, the Sásánián, ruled over Í-rán, and four years after Honorius and Arcadius divided the Roman empire between them, and Alaric, the Goth, invaded Italy. Fah-Hian, without doubt, reached the present Káshghar territory, traversed the Ḳará-Ḳuram Pass, and reached the territory of Kie-cha, which Beal says* (page 14) is "the Kie-pan-to or Khartchou of Hiouen-Thsang," and, subsequently, that the latter is "Han-pan-to, and in the midst of the Tsung-Ling mountains." This Kie-cha I believe to be Báltí of Muḥammad Ḥaidar, and not Laddákh, nor Tásh-Ḳurghán, as some have affirmed.† Proceeding from thence "westward for a month," Fah-Hian and his companions "cleared the Tsung-Ling mountains." The pilgrim refers to them as always covered with snow, summer and winter; and says that scarcely one person in ten survives the various difficulties and dangers of the road. These mountains, he continues, "shelter venomous dragons "also, which, if once provoked, spit out their poisons (against travellers)." This coincides with what 'Abd-Ullah, son of Khurdád-bih, says respecting these mountains, namely,—"There is a koh (range of mountains), the air of which, when one approaches "it, will take men's breath away, so that they cannot breathe, and their tongues "become torpid, and many people die therein. The people of Tibbat call this koh, "Koh-i-Zahr—the Poison Mountains; and when people set out from the city of "Káshghar they go by a straight (direct) route between two mountain ranges to the "east, and pass over it (the Koh-i-Zahr range)."

Fah-Hian then says, "the men of this district are also known as the men of the Snowy Mountains." Here the Ḳárlúgh or Ḳárlúḳ Turks‡ are evidently meant, the signification of that Turkish name being "the father of snow," or "pertaining to snow." *See* "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," note to page 877, and note 5, page 374, para. 2.

"After passing these mountains," the Buddhist pilgrim continues, "we arrived "in North India.§ On the confines of this region (which he has just passed through) "is a little kingdom called To-li." This may refer to Honz or Báltí, or to Yasin, as he does not say in which direction it lay, whether on the right hand or the left, and did not enter it, but, from what follows, Báltí appears to be referred to. Remusat

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* "Travels of Buddhist Pilgrims," London, 1869.

† We are told that "Major-General A. Cunningham was the first to throw light on the true application of "the name, when he told us that *Bolor* was the name used by the Dard races on the Indus for the State of "Balti, or Little Thibet." As far back as 1854, Major-General Cunningham, in his work on "Ladák" [Lad-dákh], said (page 34), "*Balti*, or *Balti-yul*, is called Palolo, or *Balor*, by the Dards, and *Nang-kod* by "the Tibetans. Balti is the most common name, and perhaps the oldest [older than Palolo—Pa-lo-lo—of the "Buddhist pilgrims ?], as it is preserved by Ptolemy in Byltæ." Mírzá Ḥaidar, however, distinctly states, as rendered in the preceding paragraph above, that Báltí is a territory *between* Tibbat and Bilaur, and not Bilaur itself. General Cunningham, however, made a pretty good shot, but did not hit the mark. The Mughal Prince also adds that "the north-west boundary of Tibbat *adjoins* Bilaur;" again, that "its northern boundary "*terminates at* Bilaur and Badakhshán;" and again, that "that part of Tibbat lying *nearest to* Bilaur, and "*between* Yár-ḳand and Kash-mír, is known as Báltí." In another place he also tells us that Rás-gám and Tágh Dum-Básh are not included in, but adjoin, Bilaur, and that Tibbat bounds it on the east. *See* note ‖, page 302.

‡ These Turks are not, and never were, known as "Kharlokh" or "Qurluk," simply because the name is written قارلوق and قارلوغ, in which *kh* does not occur.

§ This depends upon what he considered north India, and what word is used for it in the original.

considered that "Darada or Dardu" is referred to, but Dár-Dú was very small compared with Báltí. "Keeping south-*westerly*" (in a note Beal says, "south-*easterly* would be more likely," but why should Fah-Hian's statement be arbitrarily altered to suit the theory, the foregone conclusion, that he followed the course of the Indus, which I do not think he did?) "along the incline of the Tsung-Ling mountains, they "went on for fifteen days, and reached the Sin-to." This the translator considers to be the *Indus*, but previously he said the Sin-to was the Gilgiṭ river, which is certainly more correct, and quite agrees with Fah-Hian's south-*westerly* course. Crossing this river, he arrived in "the country of Ou-chang." Elsewhere he says, "Ou-chang is the name of a river." The country he refers to I believe to be what, in these Notes, is described as the Dara'h of Ḍángrak, and the Ou-chang river to be the river of Ḍángrak described at page 188, which, after its junction with the river flowing out of the Kanjut Dara'h, near Da-yaur, is known as the Gilgiṭ river. The rest of Fah-Hian's route in these immediate parts towards the river of Kábul I have endeavoured to point out and verify at page 181, which see.

The next Buddhists who visited these parts were Hwui Seng and Sung Yun, the latter of whom is said to have been a native of Tibbat, in the year 518 A.D., just four years before the commencement of the Muḥammadan era, when Kubád, son of Fírúz, the Sásánián, reigned over Í-rán-Zamín, and the year in which the elder Justin was raised to the Roman purple. In the translation of these travels by Beal we have the following, at page 183:—"After entering the Tsung-Ling (or Onion mountains), "step by step we crept up for four days, and then reached the highest point of the "range. . . . The kingdom of Han-pan-to [on the previous page the translator "says that Pan-to is probably Han-pan-to, and that Khartchou and Han-pan-to are "the same] stretches as far as the crest of those mountains. To the west of the "Tsung-Ling mountains all the rivers flow to the westward [here the Oxus and its "tributaries, and the Palpí-Sang, or river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár, are referred to.] . . . "To the eastward of the capital of this country [Han-pan-to, Pan-to, or Khartchou] "there is a rapid river (or a river, Mang-tsin,* or a wide-ford river) flowing to the "N.E. towards Sha-leh (Sand-curb)." Here the Zar-Afshán, described by Muḥammad Haidar, is plainly indicated—*see* note §§, page 309. "At last, in the middle decade of "the 9th month, we entered the *kingdom* of Poh-ho (*Bolor?*).† . . . . The high "lands of the Tsung-Ling mountains do not produce trees or shrubs. . . . . The "mountains here are as lofty and the gorges as deep as ever. . . . . *To the south "of this country* (Poh-ho) *are the great snowy mountains, which, in the morning and "evening vapours, rise up like gem spires* [*bilaur*, or crystal, spires?] *opposite one.*" Here, evidently, Bilaur, for the word means crystal, is referred to (which was *south* of Poh-ho), and also, or rather including, Tíraj-Mír of Sháh Riẓá, Bádsháh, which forms a portion of it, and respecting which Sháh Riẓá quoted the lines given at page 156:—

> "Zú-l-Ḳarnain went towards the Koh-i-Ḳáf.
> He saw it was a mountain (range) *like an emerald* clear." Etc.

It is also referred to and described at pages 157 and 187.

The author of these surveys, also says, at page 188, with reference to a portion of this great snowy range—and his words may well be repeated here—"you begin to "ascend the mighty range, and, moving upwards in the direction of north, for a "distance of four kuroh, reach a ridge of the mountains, where you come to a "halt. The crest of the range, which towers to the heavens, and which from the "abundance of ice and snow appears like unto *bilaur*, or crystal, lies on the left hand, "and the river of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár on the right."

The narrative of the Buddhist pilgrims, or agents rather, goes on to say, "In the "middle decade of the 11th month we entered the country of Shie Mi (Cashmere).‡ "The country is just beyond the Tsung-Ling mountains. . . . . On the first "decade of the 12th month we entered Ouchang (Oudyâna). On the north, this "country borders on the Tsung-Ling mountains."

The next Buddhist pilgrim was Hiouen-Thsang, who visited these parts between the seventh and twenty-second year of the Muḥammadan era, 629—644 A.D., between the reign of the infant Ardá-Sher, son of Sherwaiah, the Akásirah, who nominally

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* The Yángí-Shahr of Yár-ḳand is styled Mangshín—Mang-tsín?—to this day.

† At page 187 Beal says Po-lu-lai is *Bolor*. *See* the Dara'hs mentioned in the Forty-fourth Route, page 188.

‡ It is very evident that, if these Buddhist agents came through the Káshghar State into the kingdom of Poh-ho, and that is Bilaur, and subsequently entered Suwát, which Oudyâna is said to be, Shie Mi cannot possibly refer to Kash-mír, but rather to some small territory immediately north-west of the Dara'h of Suwát, the Báshḳár Dara'h probably.

exercised authority for a year and a half, in 628–29 A.D., and that of Yazdajird-i-Shahr-yár, Hiouen-Thsang having returned about the final extinction of the Í-rání empire, by the murder of Yazdajird-i-Shahr-yár, by a peasant of Marw, in 21 H.—642 A.D. He appears to have taken a more westerly route than his predecessors, by way of Shásh, also called Cháj (afterwards known as Tásh-ḳand, *i.e.*, Stone-Town), and Khujand, to the Oxus, and to have entered the State of Tukháristán, or the territory ruled by the Hayáṭilah. (*See* "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," note 8, page 423.) He refers to the Pá-Mír under the name of Pho-mi-lo, and to Po-lu-la, supposed to be Bilaur, which he says is situated to the *south* of Pho-mi-lo; and, if the latter is the Pá-Mír, which it appears to be, his description of the situation of Bilaur is pretty correct, but, from his statements, Báltí is not referred to, neither was it included in his Po-lu-la.

The earliest mention of Bilaur by a Muḥammadan author which I can find at present is by 'Abd-Ullah-i-Khurdád-bih,* already mentioned with respect to the Koh-i-Zahr. He wrote previous to the year 300 H. (912 A.D.), in which he died. Quoting Abú Zaid, the Ḥakím, he says, "Abú Zaid says that of the boundaries of Chín, the "first is Khutan, the second Hindústán, the third Bilaur" (بلور†, the vowels are short, not long), "and the fourth Yájúj Májúj." 'Abd-Ullah must have been a contemporary of Abú Zaid, for the latter was still living when the former died.

Abú Ríḥán, or Bú Ríḥán, surnamed Al-Bírúní, who wrote towards the close of the year 400 H. (1010 A.D.), in his account of the geography of Hind, says, respecting the mountains of that region (as I take it from Rashíd-ud-Dín's Jámi'-ut-Tawáríkh, and the Fanákatí), "Another koh (range of mountains), is Kalárchál, and it is like a "dome of *bilaur* (or crystal). It is like the koh of Damáwand, which is never "free from snow. . . . . There are other kohs (mountains) of *bilaur*, and on "account of their loftiness they are called Shamílán" [in one copy, "Ḥamílán," which, from the first letter, must be incorrect, the Arabic ح—ḥ—not occurring in other than 'Arabic words. Another copy has, "And the mountains of *bilaur* (are) in "the direction of Turkistán, named or known as Shamílán"]. "After a journey of "twelve days" [in one copy "two days"] "the territory of Turkistán is reached, which "they call Mahá-rú-mán, and the ruler thereof is called Bhut Sháh.‡ The towns are "Gilgit,§ or Gilgít, Asúrah (Astúr), and Salíás [also written Sílás, and Shalíás, for "Chílás], and other places. The people speak the Turkí language, and the inhabitants "of Kash-mír suffer greatly from their attacks and depredations. . . . . The "Áb-i-Sind (Abáe-Sín, or Indus) issues from the mountains of Ámal [in another "copy, Amak], out of the borders of the Turk, and the mountains of *bilaur* and "[*sic* here] Shamílán. After twelve days' [*sic* here also] journey you reach the "(country of the?) Ḳahabáwarí [also written بهتاورى but evidently meant for "Bhutáwariyah, as it is a mere repetition of a previously quoted sentence], from "whose depredations and irruptions the people of Kash-mír suffer."‖

Minháj-ud-Dín, 'Uṣmán, the son of Saráj-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, the author of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí, mentions Bilaur two or three times in his account of the Shansabání Tájzík rulers of Bámián and Tukháristán, the first of whom began to reign about 550 H. (1155 A.D.). In the first place, when referring to the territory

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* *See* also "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," note to page 922.

† The word is not spelt بلور with l either in Persian or Turkish,—but the *l* is sometimes doubled—*billaur*.

A writer on Central Asia, in the "Quarterly Review" for October, 1866, page 480, says, "*The name of "Bolor or Belur was unknown to the old Mahommedan geographers*, and is very rarely used even by modern "Arabic or Persian writers." The opposite is the fact, however, as herein proved, for both persons mentioned are Muḥammadans and old geographers.

‡ The Kash-míris of the present day style all Dárds by the general name of Bhut.

§ Major Biddulph, in his book "Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh," tells us that Gilgit is a very modern name. He says (page 20), "The ancient name of it was *Sargin*," and that, "later, the name of Gilgit was given to it," and that "the Sikh and Dogra conquerors" have changed it to Gilgit. Here we have a proof of its being called Gilgit upwards of eight centuries and a half ago. His opinion that "Mahommedanism appeared in "Gilgit about the end of the 13th century," is equally erroneous, for Bábar Bádsháh, and the Yúsufzí chroniclers, tell us that Islám was unknown in these parts; and, even later, the Mirzá, Muḥammad Ḥaidar, tells us it was a Káfiristán in his day.

‖ Al-Bírúní is rendered differently in "Elliot," Vol. I., page 46, in the following manner:—

"Then there are the mountains of Billúr in the direction of Turkistán, which are denominated Shamílán. "In two days' journey you arrive *at* [*sic*] Turkistán, where the Bhutawariyas dwell. Their king is called "Bhút Sháh, and their countries (bilád) are Gilgit, Asúra, Salás," &c. In a footnote between brackets it is added that "the Billúr-tágh, or crystal mountains," run north *through* Badakhshán, which is a great error. In his "Biographical Index" this is very differently translated, and more correctly I think. *See* remarks on Bilaur, at page 302.

A little farther on (page 64) it is said that "the Sind river rises in the mountains of Ámak, on the borders "of the Turkish country. Passing the mountains of Bilúr [*sic* here], *and* Shamílán, *it* reaches in two days' "journey the country of the Bhútawárí Turks." *See* also note 6 to this paragraph in Elliot.

ruled over by these Sulṭáns, he says (page 421), "That tract of country has also been "famed and celebrated, to the uttermost parts of the countries of the world, for its "mines of gold, silver, rubies, and crystal (*bilaur*), bejádah (*jade*),* and other "precious things." Again, at page 423, he says: "Malik Fakhr-ud-Dín, Mas'úd, having ascended the throne, the adjacent "hill territories, [namely] the mountain "tract of Shaḳnán, Ṭukháristán, as far as Dar-gún, and Bilaur, and the tracts towards "Turkistán, to the boundaries of Wakhsh and Badakhshán, the whole came under "his jurisdiction." To the above a note is appended in which I mention the discrepancy which exists respecting the name of Dar-gún, and that one of the best copies of the text has Dar-koṭ, Dar-kút, or Dar-got, *k* and *g* in Persian, unless specially marked, being intended to represent both.

It is not improbable that Darkut, mentioned at page 188 of these Notes, is the place referred to by Minháj-ud-Dín, which is the name of a darah situated to the north of the route from Chitrál to Warshigum and Gilgiṭ and Saigur—in the very tract of the pilgrims, Hwui Seng and Sung Yun—the chief place in which gives name to the dara'h, and no other than the scene of Hayward's murder. See note‖, page 188, and †, page 189. This dara'h would itself be included in Bilaur according to Muḥammad Ḥaidar's definition of its boundaries; and in the note 1, page 423, of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí, to the words "Dar-gún and Bilaur," the former of which I now believe to be meant for Darkut, I mention that "the oldest copy of the text has Dar-gún of "Bilaur." In another place, page 431, the author of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí says, that the dominions of the Sulṭán, Bahá-ud-Dín, Sám, extended "in the east, as far as "the frontier of Kash-mír; in the west, as far as the boundary of Tirmid and Balkh; "north, as far as the bounds of Káshghar; and south, as far as Ghúr and "Gharjistán."

Bilaur is contained in the Zíj-i-Íl-Khání, or Astronomical Tables of the Khwájah, Naṣír-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, the Ṭúsí, and is said to be situated in lat. 37° and long. 108.° This would just bring it between Báltí, the Dara'h of Mastúch, and the Sárigh Kol, which agrees pretty closely with Muḥammad Ḥaidar's explanation. The Ṭúsí's Tables were compiled in the year after the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí was completed, namely in 659 H. (1261 A.D.); and a deal about the Ṭúsí, and his doings, will be found in that History respecting the capture of Baghdád by the Mughals, and the erection of the Observatory near Marághah.

The dominions of the Sulṭáns of Bámián and Ṭukháristán, according to the Jahán-Árá, and other works, are also said to have extended north to the territory of Káshghar; south to Ghúr and Gharjistán; east to Kash-mír (as it was then constituted); and west as far as Tirmiz or Tirmid.

The next mention of Bilaur is contained in the Aṣár-ul-Bilád, of Zakaríyá, son of Muḥammad, a native of Ḳazwín, who wrote a few years after Minháj-ud-Dín, but it is very brief. "Bilaur is a nook (*lit.*, a corner) in one *mauza'* in which snow falls "without intermission for three months in the year, and the sun's orb does not "appear." Where it lies is not mentioned, but it is further stated that, "There is an "idol temple therein, in which is an idol in the form of a female, and by its "means diseases of long standing are cured. The sick person is brought to this idol, "and his or her two hands are placed on the two breasts of the idol, on which two "drops issue from them—one from each breast. These are mixed with water and "given to the sick person to drink, and a cure is effected."

Bilaur is also mentioned in the annals of Kash-mír. The Sulṭán, Shiháb-ud-Dín, son of 'Alá-ud-Dín, succeeded his father in the sovereignty of Kash-mír in 761 H. (1360 A.D.), but some say in 758 H., and others, in 760 H. After he became firmly established on the throne, he prepared to undertake foreign conquests, or rather, inroads into other countries. First he subdued Pakhla'í, the Gakhars, and Siwád-i-Gibar. He then appears to have turned his arms northwards, reducing Dár-Dú and Gilgiṭ (in the same direction that the present Kash-mír ruler has been pushing his encroachments), and to have entered Badakhshán. "After this he entered the "*kohistán* of Bilaur"—Muḥammad Ḥaidar describes it as a *kohistán*—"and advanced

* Jade has, for centuries, been deemed by the Turks, Tattárs, Mughals, and Khiṭá-ís, a sure protection against lightning, which, in Mughalistán, and adjoining parts, from the beginning of spring to the end of summer, is said to be fearful. The jade stone is supposed to divert lightning from persons who wear it about them, and also from the place in which it is contained. Another of the precious qualities it is said to possess is, that a cup or vessel made from it flies to pieces if poison is put into it; and liquor imbibed from a vessel of jade is said to allay irregular palpitations of the heart. It is also known as the "*yadah tásh*," or rain stone. See my "Translation of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," note to page 941, and note 2, page 1109.

It is the *nephrite* which was so much esteemed in Europe in the middle ages, and kept about the person because it was considered a cure or remedy for diseases of the kidneys, hence the name, particularly the gravel or stone in the bladder. It was probably first brought into Europe when Bátú Khán invaded it.

" into Tibbat, at that time subject to the ruler of Káshghar."* He defeated that ruler (the governor, or some subordinate commander), and subsequently, by way of Tibbat, entered the territory of the Rájah of Nagar-Koṭ, and reduced it under his sway. Shiháb-ud-Dín died in 780 H. (1378–79 A.D.)†

The time in question was favourable for an invasion of the dominions of Chaghatáe Khán's descendants. Since the decease of the Taramshírín Khán, mentioned at page 113, a period of thirty years, eight Kháns had succeeded, and all was in disorder. In 761 H. Ṭughluḳ Tímúr Khán,‡ the Bádsháh of Mughalistán, of another branch of the Chaghatáe family, invaded Máwará-un-Nahr, and Amír Tímúr, the Barlás Mughal, into whose possession the appanage of Chaghatáe was about to pass, was then coming into prominent notice.

The Afghán chief and poet, Khush-ḥál Khán, the Ḳhaṭak, who lived between 1613 and 1691, A.D., in a poem on Suwát,§ written in the Pus'hto or Afghán language, says:—

> " On the north it is bounded by the Bilauristán mountains;
> To the east lies Kash-mír; to the west Kábul and Badakhshán." Etc.

This description, as far as it goes, agrees with Muḥammad Ḥaidar's, and these Bilauristán mountains, of course, are the same as are mentioned by the old travellers under the name of Belut-tagh, meant for Bilaur-Tágh—the original name with a Turkí word, Tágh, for Koh or mountain range, affixed, and the *r* changed into *t* by the Turk people probably—only the old travellers refer to the northern parts of Bilaur nearest the territory of Káshghar, while Khush-ḥál Khán alludes to its southern part lying nearest to Suwát, for Bilaur is a maze of mountain country, containing within its area, probably, a greater number of giant mountain peaks than any similar area in the world.‖ Abú-l-Faẓl calls the mountains bounding Suwát and Pakhla'í on the north and north-west, " the mountains of Kaṭor." *See* page 279.

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* As Káshghar, at this period, was ruled by Mughals, it is not to be wondered at that they left their impression in the parts subject to them, and, consequently, it is not surprising that "in Hunza there is a " tradition preserved of the occurrence, at some remote period, of a Mongol [Mughal ?] invasion;" but "an " Aryan race," whose mother tongue is " Chagatae Turki," is, certainly, very wonderful. Chaghatáe Turki is, I expect, much like Júji Turkí, or Uktáe-Turkí, Túlí Turkí, or Chingiz Khán Turkí. *See* Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí, page 1144, note 7, and Biddulph's " Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh."

† Shiháb-ud-Dín was buried in the *maḥállah* of Baldí-mar, on the banks of the Bihat or Jhilam, at the Langar founded by him, and called after his name.

‡ He was not one of the Chaghatáe family hitherto ruling over Káshghar, but another branch, descended from Dowá Khán, son of Buráḳ Khán, a great-grandson of Chaghatáe Khán.

§ A portion of this poem has been already given in the account of the Dara'h of Suwát, pages 198 and 204, etc.

‖ Wilford says, in the " Asiatic Researches," Vol. VIII., page 330, that " Apararená or the west, is the " Litodá lake, from which issues the Apara-Gan'dicá or Western Gan'dicá, called the Chacshu in the Puránás, " Oxus by the Greeks, and Cocshu by the natives. This lake, which is the source of the Oxus, is noticed in " some maps: by the natives it is called *cul*, or the lake, and by Persian authors Divsarán. Deva-sara, in " Sanskrit, signifies the lake of the gods, or the divine lake. According to them it is near the mountains of " Andemas, from the Sanskrit And'ha Tamasa, both words implying darkness, but being joined together, they " imply it in a superlative degree; and it is the name of one of the divisions of hell. On the summit is the " *Belur*, or dark country of the maps."

Elphinstone, in his " Account of Caubul," has a good deal about " Belur Tag " and " *Beloot Taugh*." At page 143 (second edition), he says, " Our maps call the range which runs from Mooz Taugh to Hindoo Coosh, " Belur Tag, which is evidently a corruption of the Turkish words *Beloot Taugh*, or Cloudy Mountains. As I " know of no general name applied by the people of Toorkistan to this range, I shall use the term Beloot Taugh " for it, on the few occasions I shall have for mentioning it.

" Beloot Taugh forms the boundary between the political divisions of Independent Toorkistan and Chinese " Toorkistan." Here the writer is greatly in error. " I know of no branches sent out by Beloot Taugh " towards the east. To the west it sends out several branches. . . . The most southerly of them bounds " Budukhshaun on the north." This is a still greater error. " The Oxus rises in a glacier near Pooshtee " Khur, a lofty peak of Beloot Taugh, in the most northerly part of Budukhshaun." Here he confuses the Palpí-Sang or river of Chitrál, or Ḳáshḳár, with the Oxus. I have noticed how the error of " Pooshtee Ḳhur " has arisen at page 160, for no such place exists. Further on he says that " Bokhaura lies between the Oxus, " the desert, and the mountainous countries under Beloot Taugh. . . . . All the country west of Beloot " Taugh, and north of the Oxus, is called Toorkistan, a term which may be extended to the east of Beloot " Taugh. . . . . The range of Solimaun commences nearly to the south of the point where Beloot Taugh " is joined to Hindoo Coosh. . . . . The next river is that of Kaushkhaur, which rises in Pooshtee " Khun [it was Khur before], the peak in Beeloot Taugh, which contains the source of the Oxus. The " Kaushkhaur river issues from the opposite side of the peak, and is divided from the Oxus by the chain of " Beloot Taugh, which runs along its right bank as far as Hindoo Coosh." In the Appendix, in his notice of " Budukhshaun," the same author says, " Budukhshaun, though an extensive country, seems to be but one " great valley running up from the province of Bulkh to Beloot Taugh, between the highlands connected with " the Pamere and the range of Hindoo Coosh. The nearest parts of Hindoo Coosh and Beloot Taugh are " inhabited by Caufirs, whose territory consequently bounds Budukhshaun on the south and east." Here his information is pretty correct, but it is spoiled by the following:—" The part of Beloot Taugh within Budukh- " shaun produces iron," etc. Again: " We found that the nearest Kaushkaur [he means Ḳáshḳár] was an " extensive, but mountainous and ill-inhabited country, lying to the *west* [he certainly means east from what " follows] of Budukhshaun, from which it was divided by Beloot Taugh; having Little Tibet on the east, the

These mountains are described in Astley's Collection of Voyages and Travels, under

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"Pamere on the north, and the ridge of Hindoo Coosh on the south. . . . . That to the west is called "Chitraul, and has been sometimes invaded from Budukhshaun, though defended by Beloot Taugh and the "river of Kaushkaur."

Although there are many errors in Elphinstone's account, still he is correct in many of his remarks.

Moorcroft says (Vol. I., p. 271), "On ascending the Belut Tag mountains towards Badakhshan, the first "place of note is Panja, the capital of Wakham [Wákhán ?], a district partly subject to Badakhshan, partly to "Yarkand. It is situated on the Panj river, the main branch of the Oxus, which rises by two heads, one in "the Pamer mountains, and one from the direction of Mastuch."

The Munshí, Faiz-Bakhsh, in his "Journey from Pesháwar to Kashgar" in 1870, also refers to "*Bolar*," as he styles it. He says:—"the Pamír steppes connect several chains of mountains, viz., the Hindú Kush, in "the south-west; the Keun Luen, in the east; the Kara Koram, *in the Bolar* [!]; the Thián Shan chain, in "the north." *See* page 295. The main mountain range of Mughúlistán of the Mírzá, Muḥammad Ḥaidar, is, of course, the Thián-Shán of the Chinese, of which the Pá-Mír and Áláe, and those ranges running south of Yár-ḳand towards Tibbat, and farther south-east towards the ocean, are but branches, as he describes them.

Faiz-Bakhsh continues:—"The Turkistán geographers call *Bolar* by the name of Bolar Tagh, and state "that the Oxus rises in those hills [the "Turkistán geographers" here appear to be Elphinstone, the remarks "being strikingly similar]. In the Turkish language, Ták or Tágh, *gh* and *k* being exchangeable, means a "mountain; Bilúr [*sic*, *Bolar* before] means crystal. The name may, perhaps, have been given owing to the "perpetual snow on the lofty peaks presenting the appearance of crystal. Another tradition gives the name "as *Bulut* Tágh, which means mountain of clouds, and on the summits of these mountains clouds are always "present. By constant use the name may have been changed into Bilúr Tágh by the Turks [what a jumble! "here we have *Bolar*, and *Bolar Tágh*, *Bilúr*, *Bulut Tágh*, and *Bilúr Tagh*, in about the same number of "lines, and all referring to Bilaur]. On the whole, it appears certain that the Turkistán territory is surrounded "on three sides by the same chain of mountains." Here he is not far wrong. He continues:—"The author "of 'Táríkh-i-Rashidi Gházán Khán,' namely, Khowaja [*sic*] Rashíd-ud-din Wazir, and Mirza Haidar Kash-"ghari, the author of 'Táríkh-i-Rashidi,' and Khowaja Ata-ul-Mulk Juvaini, the author of 'Táríkh-i-Jahán "Kushá,' state unanimously that the western portion of the Kashghar territory is designated the Dasht-i-Alae, "which is the table-land of Bilúr Ták [no such statement as this will be found in either of the works men-"tioned, but what Muḥammad Ḥaidar says is exactly as I have rendered it. Here we have 'Bilúr Ták' "tainted with both 'mistake and fiction'], similar with the Pamir Steppes to the west of Yarkand. It is "explained that the chain on three sides, described above, is one and the same [no: Muḥammad Ḥaidar says "they are branches]. The portion between Káshghar and Farghána is called Alai and Bilúr Ták ['and Bilúr "Ták' is not contained in the Táríkh-i-Rashídí, but for what it does contain see page 295]; that between "Badakhshán and Yárkand is designated Pamír, or Bám-i-Dunya (roof of the world), and the portion between "*Akha* Sanju [this is how 'Uḳbah—a Pass—is spelt, perhaps?] and Iskardú is designated Balti, which "belongs to Little Tibet." Wherever else Faiz-Bakhsh may have obtained the term "Bám-i-Dunya," it is certainly not contained in either of the Táríkhs quoted, but it is Muḥammad Ḥaidar who quotes the Jámi'-ut-Tawáríkh and the Jahán-Kushá; and in quoting him Faiz-Bakhsh quoted those works as though he had seen them, which I do not think he has: they are rather rare works, and not to be found everywhere. Muḥammad Ḥaidar also quotes the "Jám-i-Gítí-Númae." Muḥammad Ḥaidar, moreover, does not say that the portion of the range lying between Káshghar and Farghánah is called "Bilúr Ták."

The names of *Bolor* and *Bolar Tagh* are repeatedly mentioned in the "Yarkand Mission Report." We have *Bolortagh*, and "Múztágh *or Ice Mountain of Bolor*" (page 24), "Báltistán, *or Bolor* [which it certainly is not], and "Pámír, *or Bolortágh*." So, from this, Múztágh is Bolor, and Báltistán is Bolor, and Pámír is also Bolor, but Muḥammad Ḥaidar says that "Bálti *terminates at* Bilaur."

The late Mr. R. B. Shaw, on the contrary, assures us that the Kirghíz apply the name of "Bolor" to Chitrál, and not to Báltí; and that the "Thian Shan *or* Mooztâgh mountains" are the same. Subsequently ("Stray Arians in Tibet," Journal Bengal As. Soc. for 1878, page 35) he tells us that "Dardistán proper" is the "ancient *Bolor*."

In the "Report" we again have,—"Sirikul or Sárígh Kúl, an entirely mountainous district, wedged in at "the point of juncture of the Bolortágh range with the Hindú-Kush, where it joins the great Himalaya "chain. . . . To the northward and westward it is *separated from* Pámír by the Tagharma mountain and "its emanations, and to the southward and eastward from the independent little States of Yasín and Kunjut "by the Múztágh or Glacier mountain [above we were told that Múztágh means 'Ice Mountain of Bolor'], "and its lofty western peaks called Taghning, or Taghdumbash, or Mountain Head [This is what another "member of the Mission, Colonel T. E. Gordon, calls '*Tághdúnbásh* Pamir'], where meet, as in the point of "section of a cross, the four great mountain systems of the Asiatic continent, viz., the Himalaya and Hindú "Kush, separating Tartary from India [what is Tartary after this, and what is Turkistán?], and the Suleman, "and *Bolor* ranges, dividing those two great countries into their respective distinct geographical regions; "the table-lands of Khurassán [what is Khurassan? Is all between the plains of India and the Rúd-i-Sind "wa Hind, otherwise the Hírmand, 'Khurassán'?], and the plains of India on the one hand, and the valley of "the Oxus and the basin of the Tarim on the other." From this it will be noticed that the "Bolor ranges" are exceedingly extensive.

In another place (page 24) the same writer (Bellew) says, that "the *western* boundary of Káshghar is "formed by the eastern slope of the Alai and Pamír plateaux," which is undoubtedly correct, according to Muḥammad Ḥaidar's statement, but then follows, "and *the eastern watershed of the Bolor mountains, or "Bolortágh*." From this, "the eastern slope of the Alai and Pamír plateaux" must be parallel to the "Bolor "mountains," or a continuation of them, but whether north of the former, or south, we are not informed, and we find that Baltistán is Bolor, so is Pámír, and so is Múztágh.

In the same writer's work, however, entitled "Kashmir and Kashghar," at page 1, we are told that "Turk-"land is separated from the corresponding basin of the Oxus—the Khanate of Bukhara—by the *Bolor* "mountains *and* Pamir steppes, which, extending north and south, connect the two mountain barriers." The "Tianshan and Kuenlun" he refers to. At page 251, however, we again have "the Bolor *or* Pamir "steppes."

On the other hand, another member of the Mission, Captain H. Trotter, R.E., says, "East of the Pámír "*range* there is an extensive plateau, which stretches from the Muztágh range [which is Bellew's 'Ice "'mountain of Bolor'] of the Himalaya mountains up to the south Khokand range."

Bellew continues: "This Pámír steppe *I have designated* Bolortágh." Have steppe and tágh then the

the name of the "Belûr mountains," separating the dominions of the Great Mughal* from Grand Tartary. "They are called in the Mongol (Turk) language, Belûr Tagh, "or the *dark mountains*. In them rises the river Amû, there called Harat; on the "north side of which Badakhshan stands, about one hundred miles from its source."

In the map from the Jesuits' surveys, and Kyrillow's map of Russia, the Belûr Tagh, or Dark Mountains, are laid down as lying between the sources of the Oxus and the Káshghar State: in fact, the position of the Pá-Mír, but a little too far north, as Polo had described them long before.

In the version of Polo's travels in the same collection, the Venetian writer says:— "Beyond Balaxian (Badakhshán) is a river, whereon stand many castles and villages. "..... Three stages farther is the province of Vokan (Wákbán), three days' "journey in length and breadth. . . . . Hence, proceeding E.N.E., you ascend "for three days and come to" (the MSS. vary—or, "you arrive at," etc.) "the "highest mountain (range?) in the world, where, between two great hills (ranges "of mountains?), is a large lake, whence runs a fine river through a plain. Near it "are charming pastures, and wild sheep, with horns some six spans long, of which "they make divers sorts of vessels. This plain (steppe—table-land), called *Pamer*, "is twelve stages long, but quite uninhabited, and so cold that no birds are seen. "From hence the road lies E.N.E. forty days' farther through the mountains, hills, "and valleys; in which are many rivers (he means, of course, minor rivers), but no

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same signification? See the extracts I have given from the old travellers, and from Elphinstone: Bolor Tágh appears in the Jesuits' maps nearly two centuries before the Yarkand Mission was appointed. Again, at page 166 of the "Report," we are informed that, "according to Mírzá Haidar, Kashgar is bounded west by Shásh "and the high mountains of Bolor, which form a chain from *north to south, when they join* the range "of Mogholistan." This, after what has before been mentioned, is astounding, but is not to be found in the copies of the Mírzá, Muḥammad Ḥaidar's work, which I have perused, nor do I think such a statement will be found in any copy of it. *See* the extract at page 295. Nearly all the old maps, it is true, have the "Belúr Tágh," so indicated, intending to represent, I imagine,* the northern limits of Bilaur, or Bilauristán.

At page 167 of the Report it is stated that Ababakr's general, Mír Wali, "in the early career of his master, "had subjugated for him the *country* of Bolor to the borders of Cayrtagin or Caratakin [he refers here, pro- "bably, to Ḳá-ír-Tigín of Muḥammed Ḥaidar], Badakhshán, Tibet, and Kashmír." In the following page we are told "Ababakr subjugated Bolor," and that its west limit is Durwazi Wakhán of Badakhshán, and Sarigh Chopan of the Kashgharís. Baltistán must be an extensive territory if it extends west as far as "Cayrtagin" and "Durwazi Wakhán," because at page 24 of the "Report" we are told, as before noticed, that Baltistán is *Bolor*. Abú-Bikr never obtained a footing in Kash-mír, but, "as far as the frontier of Kash-mír;" and Muḥammad Ḥaidar was the first Mughal on record who penetrated into it from the north, although it was more than once invaded by the Mughals from the south, after the downfall of the Khwárazmí empire.

Lieutenant-Colonel T. E. Gordon writes ("Report," page 231): "We made repeated inquiries from "Kirghiz and Wakhis, and Fatteh Ali Shah, regarding 'Bólór,' as a name for any mountain, country, or "place, but all professed perfect ignorance of it." Had inquiry been made for the Kohistán of Bilaur, the Ḳirghíz might have proved not quite so ignorant, but, notwithstanding this statement, I find the same writer referring to "Bilaur Bas, 25 miles below the lake of Great Pamir, or Wood's lake."

In another place, Captain H. Trotter likewise refers to "Bilaur Bas," and also remarks that "The old "Chinese geographers, who did indeed link together the 'Bolor' (*sic*) and the 'Karakoram,' under the common "name of 'Tsung Ling' or 'Onion Mountains,' were not far wrong in their ideas."

In the Introduction to the new edition of Wood's "Oxus," before referred to, Colonel Yule says (page lv.), "with regard to Bolor, I will only state here the conclusion that there is no real evidence for the existence of "a state, town, or river, called Bolor, on the western side of Pamir, and my opinion that the name has become "so tainted, first by mistake, and next by fiction, that it would be well rigidly to exclude it from geography "for the future." These remarks may apply to a Bolor *west* of the Pá-Mír, but the error has been in mistaking Bolor for Bilaur; and to exclude the name from geography *east* and *south* of the Pá-Mír is scarcely necessary.

In a note he adds that "M. Severtzoff's suggestion, that the Chinese name of Tsungling should be adopted "by geographers for the mountain mass in question, is well worthy of attention."

Major J. Biddulph, in his book "Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh" (page 147), says, "The Bolor of Marco "Polo was probably Sirikol, which, no doubt, formed part of the Baltistan kingdom." Mírzá Ḥaidar, however, shows that "Sirikol" did not form any part of "Baltistan."

In another place (page 146), he says, "There can be, I think, little doubt that it is to Iskardo we must look "for the centre of the *ancient kingdom of Bolor*, as suggested by General Cunningham. In Gilgit, Hunza, "Nager, and all the valleys to the westward, the name Iskardo is almost unknown, and the place is called "'Palor,' 'Balors,' or 'Balornts.'" I do not gather, however, from the hasty glance given to Major Biddulph's book, since the first part of these remarks was written, that he has visited either "Hunza" or "Nager," and "all the valleys to the westward." Here, it will be observed, we have the *ancient kingdom of Bolor*, but the mention of that "kingdom" I have never yet met with in any work. It is the old fiction over again.

I notice also, that Major Biddulph appears to apply the name of "Hindoo Koosh," not only to the Hindú Koh range, sometimes called, after one of its passes, Hindú Kush (with short *u*), but also to the mountains bounding the Káshghar State on the south-west and south. If so it is a mistake. Moorcroft and Trebeck erroneously style the same mountains "Pamer." *See* Vol. I., page 365.

I have brought these various statements together here to show the conflicting state of the case for and against the existence of Bilaur or Bilauristán, when at the same time, the matter lies in a nutshell, and its position, features, and boundaries, had been already pointed out by the Mírzá, Muḥammad Haidar, upwards of three centuries and a half ago.

* *See* page 309.

" habitations, or any herb. *The country* is called *Beloro.* The tops of the mountains, " indeed, are inhabited by a wild idolatrous people" (the Spín Ḳáfirís, doubtless, are here referred to).

Polo's description, as above given, is tolerably correct, save as to the direction, which is a little too far to the north, and the distance between the Pá-Mír lake and the country of "Beloro," but his probable meaning is, that from the Pá-Mír it extends about forty stages farther eastward. This seems the more probable, because he says Kaskar (Káshghar) is but four days' journey in extent. It is very strange, however, that he does not give the name of the " fine river " and " large lake."

In the Jesuits' maps, the mountains called " Belûr Tágh " are laid down between Badakhshán and Yár-ḳand, but are also made to extend a little too far north.

Klaproth's description of Bilaur and parts adjacent, extracted from Chinese accounts, is quite correct, and confirms what the Mírzá, Muḥammad Ḥaidar, said centuries before, that Báltí is totally distinct from Bilaur, which lies east of Badakhshán, and south-west of Yár-ḳand, and, a part of it, north of Báltí. The submission of the ruler of Ḳáshḳár to the Chinese Government I have referred to elsewhere.*

Klaproth, translating from the Chinese Imperial Geography, says ("Magasin Asiatique," Vol I., page 96) :—

" This country [Bolor, as he spells it] is situated to the south-west of Yarkiang and to the east of Badakhchán. The route by which its tribute reaches Pekin is the same as for that of other Muhammadan countries. Under the Han (dynasty) Bolor was made part of Ou-tchha; under the Goei it was the kingdom of A Keou khiang.

" In 1749, its prince, Chakhou Chamed [may be Chakou Chah Amed],† submitted to

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* *See* page 187.

† This *might* be read Sháh Khush-Ámad. *See* pages 154 and 188, where the fact of Ḳáshḳár being subject to China is mentioned.

Major Biddulph, in his book, " Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh," gives Tables of the Katooré of Chitral," and the " Kushwakté of Yassin." He says (page 150) that towards the end of the sixteenth, or beginning of the seventeenth century (I will, for example, say from 1695—1705 A.D.), the then " *Reis,*" as he spells Ra'ís, " of " the same family as the rulers of Gilgit before the introduction of Mahommedanism," adopted " a certain Baba " Eyoub, said to have been of a noble Khorasan family;" and, according to the same Tables, the great great grandson of this Bábá Aiyúb, named " Mahommed Beg," which is a curiously Turkish name for a Tájzík, had five sons, two of whom were twins, and named respectively, " Shah Khush Amad " and " Shah Khushwakt," and a third was called " Shah Katoor."

Then we are told that " Shah Khush Amad was wanting in ability," and was therefore " set aside in favour " of Katoor, from whom the present Katoor family are descended." Consequently, this " Shah Khush Amad " cannot be the same as Klaproth's Chakhou Chamed, who submitted to the Chinese in 1749, and who appears, from Klaproth's extract, to have been still alive in 1763 and 1769, for the former, having been set aside, could not have reigned. If we allow an average of but twenty years to each generation of this Bábá Aiyúb's descendants from 1705 the following will be the result. I give the names as they appear in Major Biddulph's book :—

1st, Baba Eyoub, 1695—1705.
2nd, Shah Midhat, 1705—1725.
3rd, Shah Madad, 1725—1745.
4th, Shah Sangali, 1745—1765.
5th, Mahammed Beg, 1765—1785.
6th, Khush Amad (and Reza, his brother), 1785—1805.
7th, Shah Afzal I. (his brother's son was father of Khan Bahadoor), 1805—1830.
8th, Shah Katoor [Sháh-i-Kaṭor, father of Tajammul Sháh], 1830—1850.
9th, Shah Afzal II., 1850—1870.

This last-mentioned chief was the father of the Amán-ul-Mulk, the present ruler of Chitrál, and died in 1858. The first " Shah Afzal, son of Katoor, the founder of the Katooré dynasty, and brother of Khush Amad," had four sons, one of whom is named in this table, " Khan Bahadoor." The name of Khán Bahádur, Bádsháh, Chief of Shaghut, is mentioned at page 158 of these " Notes," but he was the chief of that territory in 1789–90, whereas, allowing twenty years for each generation, his time would be from 1830 to 1850. Khush Amad's father likewise had a son, named " Reza," and according to this Table, " Reza " would be Khán Bahádur's grandfather's brother. " Reza " is, doubtless, meant for Riẓá; and the Mír, Sháh Riẓá, Bádsháh of Drúsh, the personal friend and informant of the author of these surveys, was contemporary with Khán Bahádur, Bádsháh; and the latter, if not very young in 1789–90, could not have been much, if at all, past middle age from what is said about him at page 154, consequently, it is scarcely possible that Khán Bahádur could have been the contemporary of his great grandfather's brother, otherwise the years 1785 to 1805 would agree very well for Sháh Riẓá.

If we allow fifteen, or even ten, years between each generation, the periods will scarcely agree better :—

1st, Baba Eyoub, 1695—1705.
2nd, Shah Mihdat, 1705—1720, or 1705—1715.
3rd, Shah Madad, 1720—1735, or 1715—1725.
4th, Shah Sangali, 1735—1750, or 1725—1735.
5th, Muhammad Beg, 1750—1765, or 1735—1745.
6th, Kush Amad, and Reza, his brother, 1765—1780, or 1745—1755.
7th, Shah Afzal I. (father of Khan Bahadoor), 1780—1795, or 1755—1765.
8th, Shah Katoor II., 1795—1810, or 1765—1775.
9th, Shah Afzal II., 1810—1825, or 1775—1785.

the Chinese, and his territory was included within the limits of the empire. The year following, he despatched Chah Bek as an ambassador to the Emperor, who received him with kindness, bade him to a feast, and delivered to him a diploma for his master.

"In 1763, another ambassador took the tribute, consisting of swords and battle-axes. The year after that, this country (Bolor) was invaded by Sultan-chah of Badakhchan; then the Prince of Bolor sought aid from the Chinese General commanding at Yarkiang. He called upon Sultan-chah to evacuate Bolor, and to cease from hostilities. The King of Badakhchan conformed to this command, and Chakhou Chamed wrote a letter of thanks. The two adversaries sent ambassadors, and the tribute, to the Emperor, consisting of poignards, of most excellent quality, along with them.

"In 1769, a new tribute of *yu* stone (jade) and poignards arrived from Bolor, and since that time it has always been remitted at the prescribed period."

On the following page he (Klaproth) says, that Báltí "is south of Bolor;" but Báltí, called "Baltistan" in our maps, never included "Sirikol," neither is "Sirikol" likely to have been "the Bolor of Marco Polo."

I mentioned the mountains of Bilauristán in my account of the Káfiristán as far back as 1859, in my notice of the five principal rivers flowing through the Káfirí territory, in the following terms:—"The largest of the five principal rivers above "alluded to, the most easterly, and separating the upper part of Káfiristán from "Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár, rises on the southern slope of the Bulút Tágh or Cloudy Moun-"tains (in the Turkí language), but known to the Afgháns, and other tribes inhabit-"ing these regions, by the Persian (Tájzík) name of Bilauristán or the 'Region of "Crystal,' from the quantities of that substance found there, at the Táláb-i-Níl, or "'Blue Lake,' lying farther to the south than that of the Sir-i-kol (Sar-i-Kol)* "visited by Wood, which is considered by him to be the source of the Oxus." Page 5.

In my "Account of Ḳáshḳár," published in 1864, I again mentioned Bilauristán:—"the mountainous region to the west of the Yár-ḳand river," bounding Ḳáshḳár on the north-east, and "known to the people of these regions as Bilauristán, or the

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The latter died in 1858. Neither of the above periods would suit for the Sháh Rizá, Bádsháh, of these "Notes," but 1795 to 1810, allowing fifteen years for each generation, would suit Khán Bahádur, Bádsháh, but not his great grandfather's brother, Sháh Rizá.

Turning to the Table of the "Khushwakté" dynasty of "Yassin," the same discrepancies occur. Allowing twenty years between each generation, the following is the result:—

1st, Shah Khushwakt, brother of Khush Amad, 1785—1805.
2nd, Asmatoolah, his son, 1805—1825.
3rd, Khyroolah, his son, 1825—1845.
4th, Suliman Shah, son of Shah Badshah, son of Shah Alum, son of Khushwakt, the next generation, 1845—1865.

The last-mentioned person, however, was killed, or died, in 1829; and Gauhar (not Gohr) Amán Sháh, surnamed Chál, son and successor of Malik Amán—"Moolk, or Mulk, Aman" is meaningless applied to a man, and "Gaur Rahmân," as Mr. F. Drew writes it, is equally so—was ruler of Mastúch and Yasin, or Upper Ḳáshḳár—such a term as Upper Chitrál is unknown—when I wrote my account of those States, and died in 1860; and Ghulám Maḥáy-ud-Dín, the Pahlawán Bahádur, son of Gauhar Amán, is the present ruler.

It will be noticed that, in the above list, the name "Khyroolah," meant for Khair-Ullah, occurs. It also occurs in these "Notes," for Sháh Khair-Ullah, Bádsháh, mentioned at pages 154, 161, and other places, was the supreme ruler of the Ḳáshḳár State when these surveys were made, but the period above mentioned will not suit for him, he being the ruler in 1789-90. If we, as in the case of the other dynasty, compute fifteen or ten years between each generation, the first period will suit much better for my Sháh Khair-Ullah, Bádsháh. The following are the results:—

1st, Shah Khushwakt, 1765—1780, or 1745—1755.
2nd, Asmatoolah, 1780—1795, or 1755—1765.
3rd, Khyroolah, 1795—1810, or 1765—1775.
4th, Suliman Shah, 1810—1825, or 1775—1785.

If the "Khyroolah" mentioned above is the same as my Sháh Khair-Ullah, Bádsháh, who was ruling when these surveys were made, and contemporary with the Mír, Sháh Rizá, Bádsháh of Drúsh, the latter would also be his great grandfather's brother. Can such be possible? I trow not. Unfortunately, the author of these surveys does not mention the names of the fathers of these chiefs to guide us, and Major Biddulph gives not a single date respecting them, with the exception of "towards the end of the sixteenth or beginning of the "seventeenth century," while some other writers say that the "Khushwakti dynasty" is not much older than the present century.

For the above reasons, there must be some errors in Major Biddulph's Tables, but with the facts recorded by the author of these surveys respecting the three Bádsháhs named in these "Notes" to guide him, he will now be able to correct them.

* *Kol* in Persian, signifies a lake, a pond, &c.; and, in Turkí, *ḳol* signifies a dara'h or valley between two ranges of mountains. Sir-i-kol is not the name of the lake itself, and is the vitiated form of Sárígh Ḳol, the *ḳol* or lake in the Sárígh Ḳol or Yellow Valley. The Sanskrit for lake is *sara*.

"'Region of Crystal,' from the quantity of that substance with which it abounds." Page 2.

It is satisfactory to find, after all that has been written to prove that such a tract does not exist, that the tide has now set the other way, and that this well known Bilaur, or Bilauristán, after all, does exist, and in nearly the same position as pointed out by old travellers and geographers, whose explanations appear to have been misunderstood. In mentioning the "Belors," the writers did not intend to show, apparently, or to have it supposed, that there was any particular tribe of people so called. They merely referred to the people dwelling in that particular tract which was harried by Muḥammad Ḥaidar and Rashíd Sulṭán, in the same loose way as people write of "Wakhis," "Badakhshís," "Shignanis," "Khokandis," and the like, when at the same time they may be Turks, Mughals, or Tájzíks, and is not half so absurd as styling, "for convenience sake," all the races between Kash-mír and Hindú-Koh "Dards," and the whole of that vast tract "Dardistan," while Dár-Dú is but a small territory. In the same way, the main river running through the region referred to, and styled "the Belor river," would not mean that the river was actually called "Belor," but that it was the river flowing through "Belor," in the same way as the river *of* Kábul is styled by European writers "the Kábul river." If Bilaur contained a single place worthy of being called a town, and all else were villages and small hamlets, such place would, in all likelihood, be called, if it had no specific name, "the "town *of* Bilaur," that is, the town lying in the country or territory known as Bilaur. This occurs over and over again, and the error has been constantly made of taking the meaning in a sense different from that which the native author meant. For example, we constantly read of "the city of Kharism." There was no city so called: the reference is to the chief city in the kingdom of Khwárazm, and that was called Úrganj by the Turks, Jurjáníah by the 'Arabs, and Gurgánj by the 'Ajamís. In the same way, Bernier writes of "the city *of* Kashmire," for there is no city so called, and never was, except in the sense I have mentioned.

From the different descriptions given by the Mírzá, Muḥammad Ḥaidar, and other Musalmán historians and geographers, here recorded, and the statements of the old European travellers, Bilaur or Bilauristán consists of that mountainous tract of country lying between the Pá-Mír (described at page 188), on the north, and the range bounding the Dara'h of Suwát, on the south; and from the territory of Báltí, on the east, to the mighty range pierced by the Do-Ráhah, Apá-luk, and other *Kotals*, on the west. On this last-mentioned side, however, according to Muḥammad Ḥaidar, Bilaur embraced the western half of the Káfiristán as at present known to us, as far west as the Dara'hs of Panj-her and Nijr-Áo, forming the eastern boundary of the Kábul province in that direction, and south as far as the northern parts of the dependent Dara'hs of Lamghán, described at pages 101 to 103, namely, the Dara'hs of Alingár, 'Alí Shang, Wálá-Sá'ú, and Budr-Áo.

In other words, Bilaur or Bilauristán extended on the west from the crest of the mountain range running down south from the Do-Ráhah *Kotal* towards Pashat of Kúnar on the river of Ḳáshḳár or Chitrál. Its southern boundary was the range separating Chitrál from Bájawr, and which is crossed by the Hindú-Ráj Ghás'haey or Pass, and the Láhorí *Kotal*, described at pages 126 and 143. This range runs upward, in the direction of north-east, towards the Tal Pass, with the Báshḳár Dara'h on the south, after which the mountains bend sharply towards the south-east for about twenty miles, and then, as sharply, towards the north-east again for about the same distance. After this they run nearly due east, as far as Búnjzey, on the Abáe-Sín or Indus, when they throw out branches to the right and left, one of which, the northern one, extends as far east as Saigur (the Shigár of Muḥammad Ḥaidar) and the Dara'h of Balotar to the north of it, described at page 191, at which point Dángrak terminates, after which it becomes blended with, or lost among, great snowy mountains which extend farther east, and form the boundary between Báltí and Yár-ḳand, and stretch away, still farther to the east, to within a few miles of the Ḳará-Ḳuram Pass.

The northern boundary of Bilaur was formed by the mountain range of Hindú-Koh, Tíraj-Mír, Sarowar, or Kund, as it is variously styled by different races, and described at page 156. It runs up from the Do-Ráhah *Kotal* in the direction of north-east, and the crest of it marks the boundary between Badakhshán, on one side, and the Káfiristán and the Ḳáshḳár State, on the other, to within a few miles south of the junction of the two main branches of the upper Oxus at Panj or Panja'h. It then runs nearly due east, in the direction of the Palpí-Sang Pass, which comes out upon the elevated tract described at page 188, known as the Pá-Mír, which bounds Bilaur or Bilauristán on its extreme

northern point, as far to the east as the parallel of 74° of east longitude, when the mountains bend to the east-south-east, and separate the Dara'h of Kanjut, which is included in Ḍángrak, from Rás-gám and Tágh Dum-Básh of Yár-ḳand, and merge in the great snowy mountains before referred to as bounding Báltí on the north.

All within the boundaries here given constitutes the Bilaur or Bilauristán of Muḥammad Ḥaidar, a maze of stupendous mountains, and containing within its area, probably, a greater number of giant mountains and lofty peaks than any similar area in the world; but Bilaur proper, if I may be allowed to use the term, and what the other older Muḥammadan writers and the old travellers appear to have referred more particularly, was the northern half of the tracts contained within the bounds here described, including the Dara'hs of Naghar, Shaghut, the two Kuhobs, Bushḳar (not to be confounded with Báshḳár), Mastúch, and Ḍángrak and its dependent dara'hs, in one of which Yasin is situated, as described at page 189. What the old travellers styled the river of Bilaur is the Ḍángrak river and its tributaries, as I have described it. The author of these surveys only applies the name of Abáe-Sín to the great river, which we call the Indus, after the junction of the river of Ḍángrak with it above Búnjzey.*

By the Suwát boundary must be understood the boundary of the territory ruled by the Gibarí Sulṭáns, or, as they are also styled, the Jahán-gírían Sulṭáns, before they were forced to evacuate Suwát by the Yúsufzí and Mandar Afgháns.

After this long digression I return to the subject of Tibbat.

"It is stated that, during the reign of Sháh-i-Jahán, Bádsháh of Dihlí, hostilities broke out between the Úzbaks of Yár-ḳand and the Táttár Ḥákims, or rulers, in consequence of which the routes leading into the Badakhsháns† were closed. On this occasion Sháh-i-Jahán, Bádsháh, by means of a gift of 60,000 *khar-wárs* of grain, each *khar-wár* being two and a half *pukhtah manns*,‡ brought the ruler of the territory of Laddákh to acknowledge allegiance to him, and opened the route in that direction. The ruler of (the Little ?) Tibbat likewise placed his forehead on the threshold of obedience to the same Bádsháh, and adopted, and made current, within his territory, the coin and linear measures of the Dihlí kingdom, in return for which an annual grant, by way of a *jágír*, was assigned to the Rájah, of 60,000 *khar-wárs* of grain on the Sar-kár, or province of Kash-mír. Subsequently, in the time of Rájah Sukhh-Jíwan, by command of Aḥmad Sháh, Sadozí, Durrání, Bádsháh of Kábul, who had obtained the cession of Kash-mír, and other provinces, from the Mughal ruler of Dihlí, in 1164 H. (1751 A.D.), this grant was abolished."

The historians of Sháh-i-Jahán, Bádsháh's reign do not mention this affair, although it is very probable. They, however, relate that an expedition was undertaken against the ruler of the Lesser Tibbat in 1047 H. (1637-38 A.D.), which territory is called قرانهيت—Ḳaránhet,§ and that both Kár-Dú,‖ as they call the chief place in that territory, which is also called Skár-Dú—and, by Hindústánís and others,¶ who cannot pronounce a word beginning with a consonant without the aid of an initial vowel, Iskár-Dú—and the stronghold of Shigár,** founded by 'Alí Ráe, the Tibbatí, were gained possession of. Its ruler, Abdál, by name, was compelled to fly to Káshghar; and his brother's son, Muḥammad Murád, was made ruler in his stead.

The rulers of the Tibbats had been in the habit, long previous to this, of sending presents to the rulers of the Dihlí empire. When Akbar Bádsháh was in Kash-mír in 996 H. (1588-89 A.D.), but, according to the statements of some writers, in 997 H. (1589-90 A.D.), he despatched envoys to each of these rulers, "as they had been in the "habit of sending valuable presents for the Bádsháh's acceptance, and accounted themselves among the friends of that monarch." Mír Beg was sent to the presence of 'Alí Ráe, the ruler of the Lesser or Little Tibbat, and Mullá Ṭálib, the Iṣfahání, to

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* *See* page 191.

† As in the Great Tibbats previously mentioned, and in "the Lamgháns," at page 104, the plural form is used here also.

‡ About 200 lbs.

§ *Sic* in MSS., but I fancy it is meant for قرا تبت—Ḳará or Black—barren, dreary, or inhospitable—Tibbat. *See* note §, next page.

‖ The same termination, it will be observed, as in Dár-Dú.

¶ Not Musalmáns only, as some writers pretend.

** Muḥammad Ḥaidar says, in his History, that this was the first place taken by Sulṭán Sa'íd Khán, in the expedition undertaken in 938 H. (1531-32) A.D.). "Shigár was then the seat of government of all Báltí, "which is the northern part of Tibbat, and terminates at Bilaur. One of the *mauza*'—villages, places, etc.—"of Báltí is Sorú, the strongest and most impregnable in the whole country." *See* page 139 for the description of the situation and boundaries of Bilaur, and page 295.

the ruler of the Great Tibbat, whose name, unfortunately, is not given. Akbar Bádsháh, on the same occasion, whilst at Shiháb-ud-Dín-púr, received a visit from Ḳuraish Sulṭán, ruler of Káshghar, a descendant of "the Chingiz Khán" or "the Great Khán," the Mughal.

On another occasion, Akbar Bádsháh despatched his agents to the rulers of the Tibbats; for when he went to Kash-mír in 1005 H. (1596–97 A.D.), Aiyúb Beg, and others, "who had been despatched to the Hákims or rulers of the Tibbats, arrived, "bearing offerings of great value. They informed him that the principal Hákims, "thus showing that there were several petty rulers, were agreeable to acknowledge "allegiance to the Bádsháh, read the khuṭbah for him, and to stamp his name and "titles on their coins."

I now resume the account of the route from Laddákh to Yár-ḳand.

"Setting out from Laddákh, you proceed one long *manzil* or stage to Suyú,* the name of a desolate halting place, situated at the foot of a mighty mountain range, which they also call by the name of Suyú.† From thence the next *manzil* brings you to Áḳ‡-Gám, which is the name of a small village; and, by the way, you have to cross the mountain range of Suyú.

"From Áḳ-Gám or Áḳ-village, ten *manzils* bring you to Ḳará-Ḳuram,§ which is the name of a great mountain range, out of which a river flows, which first runs towards the south-west, and then inclines to the south-east. Subsequently, turning south again, it passes Áḳ-Gám, and afterwards bending sharply towards the left hand, in the direction of north-west, inclining west (W.N.W.), flows onwards, and, passing Kár-Dú or Skár-Dú, receives the name of Abáe-Sín.‖ At this place (Áḳ-Gám) the said river is called the Shá-yugh or Shá-yuḳ, *gh* and *ḳ* in Turkish words being interchangeable. The route lies along the bed of this river, and vast mountains tower upwards, both on the right hand and on the left. This great cleft in the mountains, from Áḳ-Gám to the Ḳará-Ḳuram, is likewise known as Shá-yugh or Shá-yuḳ, and, consequently, this river should be called, correctly, not the river Shá-yugh or Shá-yuḳ, but the river of the Shá-yugh or Shá-yuḳ.¶

"Leaving the pass over the Ḳará-Ḳuram range of mountains, you proceed four *manzils* and reach a desolate and uninhabited halting place, called Kahaplú-Aghzah,** and on the way thither you meet with a vast deal of snow, and much water, grass, and herbage. As the smell emanating from these grasses produces faintness and stupefaction, travellers take care to provide themselves with onions when they travel by this route. When a person becomes affected from the smell, and feels faintness coming over him, his companions give him an onion to eat, and also one to smell at, and this is said to be an effectual antidote.††

"From Kahaplú-Aghzah you have to proceed another five *manzils* to Chirágh Sháh, another now desolate halting place, so called after some Sayyid;‡‡ and, by the way, meet with much water, and many grassy tracts. There are springs of water here in all directions; and the water from them having united, and having been joined by other small tributaries, flows towards the north, towards Yár-ḳand, and receives the name of Zar-Afshán—The Disperser or Scatterer of Gold.§§ The people of these parts state

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* The Sasser of Major-General J. T. Walker, and Suser of the "Yarkand Mission Report," and Shaw.

† The Kailás range, the fabled residence of Kúwera, the God of riches, and the favourite haunt of Siwa, the "Destroyer."

‡ The Turkish for white, also written Ágh, *gh* and *ḳ* being interchangeable.

§ Ḳará-Ḳuram and Ḳara'h-Ḳuram, as it is also written, signifies black (*i. e.*, bad, barren, hurtful, rough, etc.) gravel, shale, or the like. The tract of country in which was the principal *urdú* of the Áwang Khán of the Karáyat tribe of the Durálgín division of the Mughal race, and where the Chingiz Khán subsequently pitched his great *urdú* and made his principal *yúrat*, was also called Ḳará or Ḳara'h-Ḳuram, from the nature of the ground. *See* my "Translation of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," pages 875 and 942.

‖ *See* the Baloter Dara'h, page 190.

¶ Moorcroft and Trebeck say (Vol. I., p. 262): "The Shayuk is the principal river that joins the Indus "on the north. Rising at the foot of the Ḳarakoram mountains, it flows several days' journey to the south, "till within two days' journey to the north-east of the village of Ahkam. There it receives the Duryukh, a "river that collects the waters from the eastern portions of the northern valley, and it then turns at almost "a right angle to the west. From Hundur, the capital of the district of Nobra, it flows in a direction north-"west on to Ladakh," etc.

** Perhaps signifying the place of many spurs, many mouths, or places of exit, or of ascents and descents.

†† For this reason, the custom being as "old as the hills," this range has been called the Tsung-Ling, or Onion Mountains, by the Chinese for ages past. *See also* page 145 and note ‡.

‡‡ This route avoids the Sánjú Pass, and is the "Chiragh Saldi" of Shaw, and the "Yarkand Mission Report." There is a tomb there probably of some Sayyid, or it is the site of one.

§§ The Mírzá, Muḥammad Ḥaidar, says the water of the Yár-ḳand river is the purest in the world. Respecting the course of that river he says: "It rises in the mountains of Tibbat, which are full of ice and "snow, and flows from south to north for a ditsance of one month's journey. It runs with great velocity in

that the whole of the drainage or surface water issuing from the Ḳará-Ḳuram range, which flows south towards Laddákh, receives the name of Shá-yugh or Shá-yuḳ, while all that flows in the opposite direction towards Yár-ḳand is called the Zar-Afshán.

"The Mír, Sháh Riẓá, Bádsháh, of Drúsh, told the author of these surveys that the people dwelling in Badakhshán, and in Ḳírghíz, or Ḳírḳíz, as the name is also written, and travellers of Yár-ḳand, considered that the waters of the Kohistán to the north of Chitrál or Ḳáshḳár enter Badakhshán, run towards the west through that country, *and unite with the Jíhún;* and that some portion of the waters flowing from the mountains of the most western part of Tibbat, lying to the southward of Yár-ḳand, and farther east towards the Ḳará-Ḳuram Pass, flows towards the north, towards Yár-ḳand, and receives the name of Zar-Afshán. Also, that whatever waters issue from the Kohistán of Little Tibbat and that direction, to the south of Ḳáshḳár and Ḳírghíz [which, by this last remark, the Mír, Sháh Riẓá, Bádsháh, shows he means for the name of a tract of country, and not the name of a tribe only; and in this sense Muḥammad Ḥaidar also sometimes uses it], go to form the great river known as the Abáe-Sín, which, one kuroh north of Aṭak-Banáras, unites with the Landaey Sín, Níl-Áb, or river of Kábul."

"The next *manzil* from Chirágh Sháh is over the Kúdú Dabán* or Kúdú Kotal, the name of the great pass over a mountain range of such vast altitude as cannot be explained.† At the crest of this range the territory of Tibbat-i-Kalán, or Great Tibbat, terminates in this direction.

"From the first Ulwás or desolate halting place, on the way from Laddákh to the Kúdú Dabán or Pass, the roughness of the road, its other difficulties, and the number of mountain ranges to be crossed, almost defy description. The snow is deep at all times during the short period that the route remains open, and to reach each halting place some range of greater or lesser altitude has to be crossed. The whole of the tract passed through, with the single exception of the Áḳ-Gám, is uninhabited, hence the mere names of the halting places, when they bore any, have not been given.

"The next *manzil* is to Áḳ-Ḳuram,‡ the name of a desolate halting place, but on the way thither you pass by numerous grassy spots. The country, indeed, is comparatively level, and like meadow land, in many places; and here and there on all parts of it nomad people, chiefly of the Ḳírghíz or Ḳírḳíz tribe,§ pitch their felt tents and graze their flocks and cattle.

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"its bed of stones and sand; and, when it enters the Sárígh Ḳol (Yellow Dara'h or Valley), which is a "territory dependent on Káshghar, it becomes exceedingly violent, and dashes along, over the rocks and "stones in its bed, towards the east, until it comes out into the plain, and in this plain or open country it flows "over a stony bed, still with great velocity, until it reaches opposite to Yár-ḳand, where the bed becomes less "stony, and it loses much of its rapidity, and becomes tranquil. One of the astonishing things respecting this "river is, that, in the beginning of spring, it gets so low, that, without exaggeration, it is doubtful whether it "is to be found at all in some places, and it is possible to cross by placing the feet from one stone (or rock) to "the other. In the summer season (when the sun is in Leō) it increases to that degree that it overflows its "banks, and spreads out for nearly a *farsakh* (league) in breadth, and in one kuroh of that, which is the middle "of it (or mid-channel), the depth will be nowhere less than ten *gaz*. In this river the Sang-i-Yashb or "Yashm (jade) is found."

Lieutenant-Colonel T. E. Gordon, of the Yarkand Mission (page 224 of the "Report"), is of opinion that "the Yarkand river may yet be regarded as rising in the Kunjut range instead of the Kárakoram [*sic*], as "hitherto believed," but the Mírzá, Muḥammad Ḥaidar, knew what he was writing, and his authority in this, and other geographical subjects, is too good to be doubted for mere speculation, while, at the same time, the author of these surveys confirms the Mírzá's statements. To judge from Major-General Walker's map, the upper course of it has not been actually explored by Europeans, as it is entered therein in dotted lines.

Shaw entered Yár-ḳand in December. He says, on approaching Yár-ḳand, "We crossed a considerable "river, which I was told is navigated by boats in the summer months when the river is full. Now it is "divided into five streams, all of them fordable." Page 173.

* Dabán or Dawán, *b* and *w* being interchangeable, in Turkish, signifies a hill or mountain pass, of considerable elevation, in distinction from Árt, which means a defile or pass between two ranges of mountains or over low hills. This pass is the "Yungee Dewan" of Shaw, and the "Yangi Pass" of Major-General Walker.

† About 16,000 feet, and in some places 19,000.

‡ Áḳ-Ḳuram signifies white shale, gravel, or the like.

§ Ḳírghíz, Ḳírḳíz, Ḳirghiz, or Ḳirḳiz, and, sometimes, Ḳarghíz, etc., with short *a*, as the word is variously written, is the name of a distinct tribe of Turks, a division of the Úír-át, who, in the time of the Chingiz Khán, who sent his son, Jújí, against them (*see* "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 969), dwelt along the banks of the Kam-Kamjíút. The Mughal Úzbak writer, the author of the Baḥr-ul-Asrár, says "their original country on "one side adjoins Mughúlistán, and on the other the Salingah, on one side of which the different tribes of the "Tánjíút Mughúls dwell, and on the other side the Náemán tribe of Turks." In that same part, he says, are likewise located "the Mughúl tribes of Ḳorkín, Burḳút, or Burghút, and Túm-át."

According to the Mirzá, Muḥammad Ḥaidar, Ḳírghíz or Ḳírḳiz is the name applied to a tract of country, as well as to the tribe, the tract, probably, inhabited by them when he wrote. (*See* also "Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," note at pages 913 and 950.) He, however, says, in one place in his History, that they are a tribe of Mughúls, but this is a mistake, certainly, but he adds that the tribes of those parts had become much mixed up. This mistake is proved from what he says elsewhere, namely, that "the *Mughúls* were unable to dwell in Mughúl-

"From Ák-Kuram you proceed to Ák-Masjid—"The White Masjid"—which is likewise a desolate halting place, but the next *manzil*, a distance of twelve kuroh, brings you to the village of Kúgyár or Kúgiyár, at which place there is a guard-house where the transit dues are levied from traders and others on the part of the Bádsháh of Khitá. Another three stages, which are rather long ones, and you reach Yár-kand, *yár*, in the Turkish language, signifying a high bank, and *kand*, a town or village—The Town on the High Bank*—which is a city of considerable size, and under the sway of Zain Khán, the Hákim,† who is subject to the Bádsháh of Khitá. It is surrounded by extensive suburbs, consisting of gardens, orchards, and farms, which

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"istán on account of the *Kírghíz*." In his account of the Mughúl rulers he says, "At this time, which is "the year 951 H. (1544 A.D.), no person of that people having now been left who knew the traditions of the "Mughúl sovereigns, and they having become deprived and stripped of their dominions by the rise of others "to power, the author has had to undertake to record them; for had he not had the boldness to attempt it, he "believes that the records of the Mughúl Bádsháhs would have disappeared from the pages of time." These facts may account for any slight error made by such a generally most correct, careful, and well-informed writer. He adds, that all the Mughúls had become Musalmáns, but that the Kírghíz still remain infidels, and yet he gives some of them Musalmán names. *See* also "Tabakát-i-Násirí," note at page 889.

The ideas of modern travellers and writers appear to be very hazy respecting the various tribes of Turks, Táttárs, and Mughals, which they mix up in a terrible manner. Shaw ("Yarkand and Kashgar," page 22), writes of "pure Tartars like the Kirghiz," and says, in a foot-note, "The Kirghiz I believe are *all* Tartars." At page 25, he writes of "Toorks" *and* "Kirghiz," and believes "the latter to be all Tartars;" and then again, "The Kirghiz are of *many different tribes*, Kazak, Kipchak, Kara-Kalpak, etc., besides the true Kirghiz, who "are again subdivided into their various hordes." Again, at page 26, we have "Tartar Oozbeks;" and two pages farther on, "The Oozbeks are the most civilized of the Tartar *or* Toork tribes." At page 30 he says, "the Kipchaks form a link between the nomad and non-nomad Toorks," and on the next page we have actually "a tribe of pastoral Törks," whatever they may be.

The "Yarkand Mission Report," page 83, includes both "*Kirghiz* and *Kazák*" under the name of "*Jatah Mughol*." Then again we are told that "the Yaldúz Kalmák are Turgut and Koshot;" and immediately after, that the "Kalmák are a distinct people from the Turk tribes of Káshghar," and that they "belong to the great "*Monghol [sic] Tártár* race from the north." From this we must conclude that the writer, Mr. Bellew, makes a great difference between the "Moghol" and the "Monghol-Tártár race." What utter confusion!

To show the extent of this confusion we have merely to mention that Mr. Bellew ("Report," page 59) questioned a "Kirghiz," who said, but the force of his answer does not appear to have been appreciated, "*I* "*belong to the Naymán tribe;*" and that there were "a thousand houses [he meant khargahs, or felt tents] "between the Chádir Kúl and Sárigh Kúl, *all of whom are Naymáns.*"

Now these "Naymáns" are no other than a portion of the famous Náemán tribe of Turks, in no way connected with the Kírghíz or Kírkíz; and Koshluk, a detailed account of whom will be found in the "Translation "of the Tabakát-i-Násirí," pages 930, 957, 980, and 982, the son-in-law of the last Gúr Khán of the Karà-Khitá-í dynasty was its last chief and sovereign, who was killed by the Badakhshís in the Dara'h called Sárígh Chopán, referred to at page 140. The author of the Tabakát-i-Násirí, in his account of this event, says, he was slain "on the boundaries of Jáb and Kíkrab, which is Ghuzzistán, and the hill tracts of Samarkand."

Munshí Faiz-Bakhsh also gives an account of the "Kirghiz tribe" (*see* "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society" for 1872), and mentions the names of the 32 sections into which, he says, they are divided. Among these are the well known names of Kip-chák [Kifchák: the tribes known by this name are Turks. *See* "Tabakát-i-Násirí," page 877], Kataghan [the Kat-ghín tribe are Nairún Mughals, descended from Búkúl Kat-ghín, Álán Kuwá's eldest son], Niman [Náemán Turks], Turkmán [the well-known race now striving against the ever encroaching Rús], and Durman [Dúrmán, who are also Nairún Mughals].

Náemáns may still be found, likewise, in what we incorrectly call the "Hazara country," as well as in the Káshghar State, and on the borders of Yár-kand and Tibbat. The Kazáks, or Kazzáks, are of the Úzbak division of the Mughal nation, and separated from them in the time of Abú-l-Khair Khán. Kázák, or Kazzák, is merely a nick-name. Those Úzbaks who thus separated from the main portion, being without means and appliances, and in a destitute and disorganized condition, and without a country, were nicknamed *kazák* or *kazzák*, which European writers have vitiated into Cossack. Oriental writers use the Turkish word, even in Central and Southern India, and apply it to signify a marauder, pillager, and a light armed, irregular horseman—the Pindárí of the Marhattahs, and Báshí-Bazúk of the Turks—who hang about the flanks and rear of armies, but will not come to close quarters, nor will they fight unless obliged, and only then with overwhelming odds in their favour. The real meaning of the term appears to be "disorganized," "tumultuous," "straggling," etc.

Among the Kazáks or Kazzáks of the present day we find Arghún Mughals, Náemán Turks, Kungkúr-át Mughals, Kipchák or Kifchák Turks, and many others. The word is written قَزَاق and قَزَّاق but not قَازَاق This same admixture occurs among the so-called Kírghíz of the present day, in which are to be found Turks, Táttárs, and Mughals, and some are even styled Kírghíz Kazáks.

The Mírzá, Muhammad Haidar, states that the Úzbak Kazáks, unable to remain in the Dasht-i-Kibchák, on account of the superiority of the Manghkíts (also written Mangkúts by others), came into Mughúlistán to the number of over 20,000. This happened subsequently to the year 928 H. (1522 A.D.).

A person conversant with the descent of the Turks, and their different ramifications, if among them, would be able, with a little trouble, to obtain all the information required, but to those who jumble together Turk, Táttár, and Mughal, the task would be a hopeless one. *See* the "Translation of the Tabakát-i-Násirí," on the descent of these people, note 2, page 869, and also page 899, and "Geographical Magazine" for May, 1878, page 113.

* The Turkish word *yár*, as in the name of Yár-kand, and Yár-kiáng, etc., signifies a bank, split, fissure, ravine, etc., and probably refers to its numerous channels or the numerous channels made by the Zar-Afshán. Kiá, Kián, or Kiáng, means slanting, sloping, slope, dip, escarpment, and the like.

*Kand* signifies a town, city, inhabited place. The Zar-Afshán, or Yár-kiáng, the meaning of which has been given, cuts up the plain around the city into numerous fissures and channels when it is at its height.

† This was at the time these surveys were made, about ninety years since.

extend for a considerable distance all round. At a distance of four kuroh from city you reach the banks of the Zar-Afshán, which here is a large river, and is crossed by a bridge. It flows under the walls of the city."

Here the route, as given by the author of these surveys, ends.

Yár-ḳand, in ancient times, was a large city,* but had greatly decayed, and was becoming desolate, when the cruel tyrant, the Mírzá, Abú-Bikr, the predecessor of Sulṭán Sa'íd Khán, made it his capital about 880 H. (1475–76 A.D.). Soon after there were some twelve thousand gardens in and around the city, which was surrounded by a wall thirty cubits high. Further information respecting the history and geography of Yár-ḳand, and the Káshghar territory generally, will be found in the notes to my "Translation of the Tabaḳát-i-Náṣirí," page 922, etc.

"The distance from Káshghar to Yár-ḳand is three *manzils* of about seventeen kuroh each. As the country all along the line of route is highly cultivated, and exceedingly populous, the different *manzils* or stages are not restricted to certain places as between Káshghar and Kho-ḳand. The Yár-ḳand river, also called the Yár-Ḳián or Ḳiáng, and Zar-Afshán, or Gold Scatterer, flows past the city on the south."

"Yár-ḳand, which is the largest city of Turkistán,† has two citadels within its walls; one in which the Muḥammadan governor dwells, and the other, on the southern side, where the Chinese chief, who commands the army quartered there, resides.

"This force, which is intended to overawe the Yár-ḳandís, amounts to about 40,000 men, with several guns. This is the largest force the Chinese have in this direction of their empire, and the best and most efficient, the troops being picked men. They are relieved yearly. Of this force 10,000 men are quartered within the city, and the remainder in the vicinity.

"The police arrangements are similar to those of Káshghar, with this exception, that an equal number of Chinese soldiers are associated with the police in their duties; and one 'celestial' accompanies each of the *cháng-nawázán* (the *cháng* is a piece of wood, with two of which each soldier of the police force is provided, and which he strikes together in a peculiar manner at the termination of each watch of three hours, and calls out the hour of the day or night), as the watchmen, or strikers of the *cháng*, are called, in his rounds.

"Russian *kárwáns* come here, and bring all sorts of European manufactures, hardware, however, predominating. They take back with them teas, silk, and other articles of Chinese produce and manufacture, but they are not allowed to proceed farther east."

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The four preceding paragraphs, extracted from information I obtained some thirty years ago, I have inserted here merely to show what Yár-ḳand was, according to native report, at that time, which was long before we had any intercourse whatever with those parts.‡ Since that time vast changes have taken place. The Chinese were

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* According to the Mírzá, Muḥammad Ḥaidar, who is an excellent authority, it was not the ancient city that Abú-Bikr made his capital, for that was in ruins long before; and he says it was unknown whether the old city bore the name of Yár-ḳand at all. The Yár-ḳand which Abú-Bikr made his capital was a mere *ḳaṣbah*—small town—at the time, but after that it began to increase and to flourish. He razed the walls and other ruins of the old city by means of his gangs of ḳázaḳs or criminals (not Ḳazáḳs, *vul.* Cossacks) in search of hidden treasures, and is said to have thereby obtained vast wealth, as he did in a like manner at Khutan.

† Neither Yár-ḳand nor Káshghar are in Mughalistán, which is a totally distinct region.

‡ Some time in the year 1851 or 1852, when I was stationed at Púnah, in the Dakhan, the Right Honourable B. Disraeli, M.P. (the Earl of Beaconsfield, K.G.), at the prayer of the sisters of Lieutenant Wyburd, of the Indian Navy—who was said to have escaped from slavery at Bukhárá, and had reached Kho-ḳand, where he was at that time imprisoned—endeavoured, by a motion in the House of Commons, to rouse the British Government to effect his release.

It appeared that, a short time before, a native agent from the reigning chief of the territory of Kho-ḳand had arrived at Pes'háwar, with information that a European, calling himself "Wypart," was confined in the city of Kho-ḳand, under suspicion of his being a Russian spy—the Russians were then preparing to take measures to "ameliorate" the State in question, and the Khán was hostile to them—but that the prisoner protested he was an Englishman, who had escaped from slavery at Bukhárá. The Khán's object in sending an agent was, probably, with the desire of entering into friendly intercourse with us, as the Atálik-i-Ghází, the late Ya'ḳúb Beg of Ḳáshghar, sent in after years; but the agent in question intimated that the Khán would release the man if any officer were sent to identify him as a British subject.

Lieutenant Wyburd, of the Indian Navy, had been despatched from Persia, some years before, to Bukhárá, in order to endeavour to discover the fate of the unfortunate Stoddard and Conolly, and he had never returned. It was reported that he had been seized at Bukhárá, and sold into slavery.

On becoming aware of these matters, I tendered my services, through the Bombay Government, to the Supreme Government of India, and offered to proceed to Kho-ḳand, by way of Kash-mír and Laddákh, but it

expelled, and a Musalmán State, which, it was hoped, would have proved a barrier to Russian encroachments in that direction, was established. Its stability, however, rested on the life of one remarkable, energetic, and talented man, and when he died its stability vanished, and the Chinese have again established themselves in the Káshghar territory.

### *The Left-hand Route to Laddákh.*

The route from Láhor to Jammú is so well known that it is scarcely necessary to give it here, but that from Jammú to Laddákh is as follows:—

"Leaving Jammú, you proceed two kuroh in the direction of north-east to the Sar-Dí Sara, *sará* being the Sanskrit name for a *kol-i-áb* or great lake. From thence you go on seven kuroh, in much the same direction as before, to the Mán Sara, which is the name of another lake. The country between this place and Jammú is very mountainous, although situated in the *garm-sír*, or warm climate, but, in proceeding from Mán Sara to Bandar-hál, or Bandar-hár, the next *manzil*, a distance of twelve kuroh, is a great mountain range covered with perpetual snow, and you enter a much more elevated tract of country. Another long stage from the last halting place brings you to Bhadarwáh, which is a town of considerable size. At this point two roads branch off to the right and left. The latter leads to Kishtwár, and the right-hand road, the direction of which is towards the north-east as before, is that now to be explained.

"From Bhadarwáh you cross a small river which flows below that place, and proceed to Púnts, the name of a small village situated at the foot of a great mountain range, which is known by the name of Púntsí Ḍahár, and is clothed with perpetual snow. To reach the crest of the range is a journey of two days, but a man unencumbered with baggage or a load can reach it in one, and in another descend on the farther side.

"After crossing over this great mountain range, another long *manzil* brings you to Páḍal, or Páḍar,* also known as Chhatr-Ghar,† which is the name of a fort, and also of a great mountain range, covered with perpetual snow. It takes two days to reach the crest of this likewise, and two more to descend the other, or northern, face of it. At the foot of it, on this (the northern) side, is a village called Síní, the place of residence of the Lánbah‡ of the Bhoṭ tribe. The mountaineers of this part, and the ruler of Tibbat, venerate this Lánbah as a god. This tract of country is likewise called Páḍal, or Páḍar,§ and its chief place and seat of authority is the before-mentioned Chhatr-Ghar.

"The mighty range crossed in reaching Síní is known by the name of the Bánjal Ḍahár, and the route lies through the Páḍal, or Páḍar, valley. In another two stages from Síní you reach Be-Tuk, a place where there are a few dwellings, and in two stages more you reach Zás-Kár, also written Záns-Kár, the *n* being nasal, which is the name of a small village.‖ This part is under the rule of a separate Rájah, but he is related to the Rájah of Laddákh, and is styled Rájah of Zás-Kár.

"From Zás-Kár, you proceed one long *manzil* to Záti-Lah, also known as Zángi-Lah, which is the name of a large village, or rather small town,¶ in the Zás-Kár territory, belonging to the above-mentioned Rájah. Eight *manzils* more bring you to

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was not considered advisable to depute a European officer, and a native agent, the Khwájah, Ahmad, the Nakhshbandí, was sent instead. I need scarcely add that he failed. At the period in question I met, quite by accident, a Jew who had accompanied Dr. Joseph Wolff on his journey to Bukhárá, who would have accompanied me, and two respectable natives of Kho-ḳand, who had just returned from the pilgrimage to Makkah and Madínah, and were on their way home, agreed to attach themselves to me, and be answerable for my safety. I was rather sanguine of success, but I might have failed as the Khwájah did. I should not, however, have rested satisfied with merely despatching natives here and there, and confining myself to inquiries in bázárs, as he appears to have done.

Some of the information I had gleaned at the period in question I embodied in a short paper which appeared in the "Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal" for 1857, and from it the above extracts have been taken.

* The Padar of Vigne. As before mentioned, *r* and *l* are interchangeable.

† Now known also as Guláb-Ghar.

‡ What European writers call "Lama."

§ The "Padam" of our maps, evidently.

‖ The Mírzá, Muḥammad Ḥaidar, in 939 H. (1532–33 A.D.), also penetrated into Tibbat-i-Zang-us-Sákár, as he writes it. Khúrbá, or Khorbá, where he was, was in the middle of it, and Sút was five days' journey distant.

¶ This place is not actually called Zangí-Lah, but is the village at the foot of the Zangí Pass, because, in the Tibbatí language, *Lah* means "a pass."

Mar-káh, another considerable village, belonging to the same State. In going thither from Zángi-Lah, you have to pass through a very difficult mountain tract, in which much snow lies. Travellers are under the necessity of transferring their goods and effects to the backs of the mountaineers of this part, and of assuming felt garments, and well wrapping themselves up, as when they proceed northwards towards Yár-ḳand by the Ḳará-Ḳuram route, as already described, and of themselves mounting on the backs of Tibbatí horses. On the way you reach the banks of several considerable rivers, the whole of which are spanned by wooden bridges.

"Setting out from Mar-káh, one long *manzil* brings you to the large village of Kurú, belonging to the Rájah of Laddákh. The next *manzil* is to Jang-Chan, and on the way thither you meet with no lofty mountain range. In another *manzil*, which is a long one, you reach Laddákh. From thence to Yár-ḳand the road has been already described."

In my brief account of Káshghar, Yár-ḳand, and Kho-ḳán or Kho-ḳand, previously alluded to, I mentioned three routes leading from Hindústán to Yár-ḳand, in the following words:—

"There are two routes from Kash-mír to Yár-ḳand and Kho-ḳán. The most direct one is by way of Skár-Dú or Iskár-Dú, and along the banks of the Shigún (Shigár)* river, and over the Mús-Tágh or Mús-Táḳ† range of mountains by the Húnzí Pass. The other, a more roundabout road, is by way of Leh or Laddákh, through the valley of the Sháí-yuḳ (or Shá-yugh), as the northern branch of the Indus is named, and over the Ḳara'h-Ḳuram‡ mountains. There is another route from Leh to the Ḳarah-Kuram range, farther to the west, by way of Núbrah,§ but it is only used when the Sháí-yuḳ is too deep to be crossed.‖ The route by Skár-Dú or Iskár-Dú is shorter than the other—the Ḳarah-Ḳuram—by ten stages, but it is only open from the middle of April to the end of October, whilst the Leh route is practicable, though difficult, for the greater part of the year."

When Sulṭán Sa'íd Khán's health broke down, during the expedition into Western Tibbat, previously mentioned, he was induced to return to Yár-ḳand. Leaving, therefore, the Mírzá, Muḥammad Ḥaidar, in command of the forces, and along with him, his son, Sikandar Sulṭán, to prosecute the holy war, he had left Már-yol, and set out for the northern part of Báltí lying nearest to Yár-ḳand, where the disease known as *dam-gírí*, previously referred to, did not attack people. He had got safely through the Sáḳirí¶ Pass, although extremely weak, but, after passing the Múz Árt**—Ice Defile Pass—but a short distance, he died of *dam-gírí*, which disease only affects others than

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* *See* page 295, and note †. This is the same place as Saigur of Route Forty-four, page 190.

† Or, more correctly, Múz-Tágh or Múz-Táḳ, but *s* is often used for *z*, as *gh* is for *ḳ*.

This is the route referred to by Bernier. He says, writing from Kash-mír:—

"In regard to the kingdom known here by the name of Kacheguer (Káshghar), which is probably the same as our maps call 'Kascar,' I shall relate all the information I have collected from merchants, natives of that country, who, when they heard that Aureng-Zêbe intended to visit Kashmire, brought into this kingdom, for sale, a great number of young slaves, girls and boys.

"They say that Kacheguer lies to the east of Kashmire, inclining somewhat to the northward; and the shortest route, from one kingdom to the other, is through Great Thibet [the usual error], but, that passage being now shut, they were under the necessity of taking the road of Little Thibet. The first town they passed, in returning, was Gourtche [the *Kartsi* of our maps], the last town dependent upon Kashmire, and four days' journey from the city of Kashmire. From Gourtche, they were eight days in reaching Eskerdou [Skár-Dú], the capital of Little Thibet; and in two days more they came to the small town of Cheker [*Shigár*, of the Muḥammadan Histories of India, and the *Saigur* of these Routes. *See* pages 190 and 295], also within the territory of Little Thibet, and situated on a river celebrated for its medicinal waters. In fifteen days, they came to a large forest, on the confines of Little Thibet, and in fifteen days more they arrived at Kacheguer, a small town which was formerly the royal residence, though now the King of Kacheguer resided at Jourcend, a little more to the north [the writer has here, it will be noticed, reversed them: Yár-ḳand lies south of Káshghar], and ten days' journey from Kacheguer. . . . . The road from Kashmire to Kacheguer, they said, is extremely bad, and, among other difficult paths, there is a place where, in every season, you must go a quarter of a league over ice."

‡ Ḳará-Ḳuram or Ḳara'h-Kuram: both are correct.

§ By what Shaw calls the "Suser" Pass.

‖ Men and animals are at times carried away in crossing when the river is full. Shaw had a narrow escape in crossing it. *See* his work, "Yarkand and Kashgar," page 434.

¶ This might be, and is, I believe, sometimes written Sáriḳí, the *r* being placed before *ḳ*, but in Muḥammad Ḥaidar's work it is as above.

** Such being the case, as related by Muḥammad Ḥaidar, it is very evident that Sulṭán Sa'íd Khán did not die at "Daulut [*sic.* Daulat ?] Beg Uldi," on the stage south of the Ḳara'h-Ḳuram Pass, as stated by Mr. Bellew, in his book entitled "Kashmir and Kashghar," page 163. The Khán was returning to Yár-ḳand from Báltí, and his nobles were hurrying onwards in order to get him beyond the tracts wherein the *dam-gírí* affected people, and took him eight ordinary stages in the space of four days, when death overtook him.

the inhabitants and animals of these regions, and is caused by the rarefaction of the air and intense cold, on the 16th of Zí-Ḥijjah, 939 H. (July 1533 A.D.).

It was immediately after this that the Mírzá, Muḥammad Ḥaidar, who, for fear of the treatment he might experience at the hands of Rashíd Sulṭán, Sa'íd Khán's son and successor in Káshghar, could not venture to return to it, undertook the perilous journey from Tibbat to Badakhshán. As yet, he says, no one had ever heard of a route from Tibbat into Badakhshán that did not lie through the Káshghar territory, which he wished specially to avoid. He appears not to have known that by coming to Skár-Dú he might have taken the route by Gilgiṭ and the To-e *Kotal* and through Ḳáshḳár;* or, if he knew of it, having but twenty-seven persons with him when he set out, including Sikandar Sulṭán, he was not in a position to enter a strange country comparatively populous, and in which he might have been attacked.

Muḥammad Ḥaidar now set out from that part of Tibbat in which he then was, in order to attempt to reach Badakhshán by that unexplored route. When he reached the village of Ḳará-Ḳuram, at the time of the setting of the sun, the river there, which is of considerable size, froze up completely, in such wise that water was not to be obtained after two hours' labour in endeavouring to reach it.

When the party reached the point where the unexplored route into Badakhshán branched off, Sikandar Sulṭán asked permission to leave him to return to Káshghar, and take the chance of what might there befall him. Muḥammad Ḥaidar's party was then reduced to twenty-two persons, besides himself, and the whole were in a most destitute condition, and almost starving. He says one of the men, who had lately deserted and fled to Yár-ḳand, had related to him on one occasion that he had heard from the people of the Kohistán of Yár-ḳand, that from a place called Tághánák† a road, which led this way and that way, came out on the Pá-Mír of Badakhshán.

He appears to have skirted the northern side of the Múz-Tágh range, for, having gone onwards, guided solely by conjecture, for three days after Sikandar Sulṭán left him, from the point where the Yár-ḳand route branched off, at breakfast-time the next morning they reached a place where there were some inhabitants. These came forth to receive him and his small party, and treated them with the greatest hospitality, and relieved their misery as well as they were able. Muḥammad Ḥaidar made inquiries of them respecting the road, and their destination. They told him that the Dara'h he was then in was called Rás-gám, and that from thence to the Pá-Mír was five days' journey. The people were so delighted, they said, to see the descendant of their sovereigns of four centuries among them, that they turned out in a body from the places he passed on his way, and would have accompanied him on the road. They conducted him to the Pá-Mír, which was reached in seven days, and he subsequently entered Kháwán, on the frontier of Badakhshán. He appears to have entered Wákhán, and reached the frontier of Badakhshán by the valley drained by the southern branch of the Panj, or Upper Oxus.

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* *See* the route, page 189.

† Writing of Gyaphthan, about twenty miles south of the Ḳará-Ḳuram Pass, Mr. Bellew says, in his "Kashmir and Kashghar," page 163, and referring to the Mírzá, Muḥammad Ḥaidar's journey, he "parted "from his companion, the Prince Iskandar of Yarkand, and set out on his adventurous journey by *unknown* "*paths* to Wakhan, and it was on the mountains just beyond this—probably at the *head waters of the Shayok*— "that he *shot* the monstrous wild yak, on which his party subsisted during the *three days* of their perilous "journey to the inhabited valley of *Ráshgum*, as he so graphically describes, a valley which, under the name "of Warshgúm," &c., &c.

Here the writer has fallen into great error. The party which set out from Tibbat took much more than three days to reach Tághánák, where the roads into Badakhshán (not Wákhán) and Yár-ḳand branched off, and Sikandar Sulṭán and some others separated from Muḥammad Ḥaidar and his party. "The paths" as far as Báltí extended, and the parts adjacent were not "unknown," because he had been in those parts before, but it was from Tághánák that the route was unknown. In the next place, Rás-kám, or Rás-gám, as it is also written, is a dara'h lying north of the great mountain range—part of the Bilaur range—and Warshigum (not Warshgúm, *see* pages 189 and 190 of these Notes) is a dara'h dependent on the Dara'h of Ḍángrak, on the other or south side of the same range, and is separated from Rás-kám by the Dara'h of Kanjut and the Tágh Dum-Básh Pá-Mír. The Warshigum valley leads southward to Yasin, by what is called the "Darkote Pass" in our maps, more than one hundred miles west of Rás-kám, and some two hundred and fifty miles from the mountains just beyond "Gyaphthan" and "the head waters of the Shayok."

When Muḥammad Ḥaidar's party set out from Tághánák, where he parted from Sikandar Sulṭán, several horses broke down consequent on their being without shoes, but that same day Muḥammad Ḥaidar *killed* a wild ḳuṭás or yák. He had some of the raw hide drawn over the hoofs of the broken-down horses, and he says that they took along with them as much of its flesh as their horses could carry, enough to last them for four or five days, and even then that they may have only taken a quarter of it, the animal was so big. He killed a still larger one on the following day.

The ḳuṭás is the ghajz-gáo of the Ṭabaḳát-i-Náṣirí. The Amír, Náṣir-ud-Dín, Sabuk-Tigín, the Turk, the father of Sulṭán Maḥmúd of Ghaznín, was nicknamed "Ḳará-Buj-kúm," which, the author says, signifies, in the Turkí language, "the Siyah Ghajz-gáo," or "Black Táttár Bull," or Black Wild Yák. *See* my "Translation," page 68, and "Elliot's India," Vol. VIII., pages xi. and xii.

There is another route into Badakhshán, from Yángí-Hiṣár to Ḳará-Janák, which is the name of a small village (*mauza'*) distant about six farsakhs or leagues, and in front of it flows the Áb-i-Shináz, or river of the Shináz. Dara'h, situated in the mountains to the west. The road from Káshghar into Badakhshán lies through this Dara'h, and the stream issuing from it also flows past the Langar* of Ḳúsh Gumbaz from the westward. This appears to be the route taken by Major Montgomerie's Mírzá, when he proceeded to Yár-ḳand from Badakhshán, and a little to the north of Palpí Sang, described in Route Forty-three, at page 187, which see.

Having described the various routes through the little known tracts extending from Kábul to Laddákh, and on to Yár-ḳand, and given a brief description of the territories passed through, I now turn south, in order to complete my account of the routes between Pes'háwar and Aṭak down to the Kaurah Pass, in the Dera'h-ját, from which I first set out. To this I shall devote another Section.

31st December, 1880.

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* Langar, the same word as in Langar-Koṭ, has been described at page 247.

No. 61 F.

SURVEYOR GENERAL'S FIELD OFFICE,

*Mussooree, the 2nd May 1882.*

*From*

LIEUT.-GENERAL J. T. WALKER, C.B., R.E.,

SURVEYOR GENERAL OF INDIA.

*To*

THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,

REVENUE AND AGRICULTURAL DEPARTMENT.

SIR,

I have recently received from the Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department a copy of Major Raverty's "Notes on Afghánistán and part of Bilúchistán", which were printed last year by order of the Secretary of State for India in Council.

My attention has been drawn to various statements in these Notes which tend greatly to disparage the value and throw doubts on the accuracy of the explorationary surveys which were made by 'the Mullah', a native agent of this Department, in the regions to the north and west of the Frontier of Peshawar. I find that these statements are mostly erroneous. In justice therefore to the Mullah—who has proved himself to be the most painstaking and reliable of any of the Mussulman explorers that have been employed by this Department—and also with a view to prevent the formation of erroneous conceptions regarding the geography of the regions in question, it is clearly necessary that they should be refuted.

In a footnote to page 238 Major Raverty states,

"There is another matter I must mention in the interest of geographical science, and "that is, that it is necessary to receive "the Mullah's" explorations with some caution; and "it is clear that a great deal must be taken on trust, for the following reasons. On a former "occasion he is said to have "*surveyed* the whole route from Sar Lás-pur to the Tal Pass, and "down the Panjkora river;" and in his map accompanying the account of his "explorations" "and "surveys," the Tal Pass is in lat. 35° 30′ N., and long. 72° 20′ E., while in his "Swát" "map, just issued, the Tal Pass is in lat. 35° 48½′ (a difference of 18½ geographical miles), and "long. 72° 15½′ (a difference of 4½ miles). In the *former map* his "Lámutí" is 2 miles "south of the Tal Pass; in his last map it is 24 miles. "Dír" was *then* 31 miles from the "Tal Pass, *now* it is 44. In the *former* map, from "Seo" to "Lámutí" is 60 miles, in the "*last* map it is but 54; from "Tal" to "Chitrar" *was* then 36 miles, *now* it is but 19; from "the "Lahori Pass" to "Tal" *was* 25½ miles, *now* it is 37; from "Lámutí" to "Chitral" *was* "27 miles, *now* it is 38. In this manner, between his two journeys, the tract of country lying "between the Indus and the river of Chitrál or Kásh Kár, not greater in extent than two "degrees of longitude and one of latitude, has shrunk, in some instances, as much as 23 or "24 miles. It can scarcely be considered, therefore, that his present work "fits in very "nicely" with his former explorations, and both must be received with some degree of cau-"tion. When I come to the route leading from the Dara'h of Suwát into Buner, and across "the Indus into the Hazárah, I shall have to notice some other discrepancies."

The facts are as follows:—All the details from the Tal Pass down the Panjkora River which the two maps have in common are identical; both maps were reduced from the original plot of the survey on the scale of 4 miles to 1 inch; but the first was reduced to the scale of 12 miles and the second to that of 8 miles to the inch. The several discrepancies which Major Raverty points out as regards the position of the Tal Pass and the distances of various places from that pass have no existence and are purely imaginary; they arise from his having taken his measurements from the *village* of Tal on the first map and from the Tal Pass on the second. The village is 22 miles to the south of the pass and 2 miles to the north of Lamuti. The village and various other details of the Panjkora valley given in the first map, which was prepared to illustrate the Mullah's surveys in 1876, are omitted from the second map, which was prepared simply for the purpose of illustrating his surveys in 1878, and therefore gives very little of his previous work.

In footnotes to pages 266 and 268 Major Raverty states,

"This place is not called "Shung." In the map published in the "Journal of the "Bengal Asiatic Society," in 1878, to illustrate the "Mullah's" surveys and explorations "from the "fort of Abazái," by Dír, through "Yassin," "Gilghit," and down the Indus by "this very route, he had a place entered in it called "Sháng," on its west bank, at the mouth "of a stream which he therein calls the "Ghorban N." which is made to issue from the "mountains bounding Suwát on the east, and which, for the first half of its course, flows a "little to the south of east, and for the last half about due east, and then enters the Indus "immediately north of "Sháng." "Chakesar," in that map, lies 11 miles to the S.S.E. of "Sháng, between which two places a dotted line represents a road; and there is another "from "Chakesar" to "Gunágar," about the same distance S.E. In his last map, that "accompanying his "Swát" surveys, published with the Surveyor General's Report for 1878-"79, all is changed. "The Ghurband N." *now* runs in a totally different direction—N. instead "of E.S.E.; "Sháng" and "Gunágar" are not entered in it, and "Chakesar," which, on his "former journey, was 11 miles from the nearest point of the Indus banks, has now moved to "within 3½ miles of it. In the former map Tahá-Kot was 15 miles from "Chakesar"; "now it is but 9. Many other astounding changes, which appear to have taken place since his "first surveys, will be found in the map of his last, so many indeed as to make one somewhat "doubtful of their accuracy."

* * * *

"In his first map, the "Mullah" has a river running south-east from the east side of "the mountain range bounding the Dara'h of Suwád on the east, which unites with the "Indus immediately below what he styles "Kúz Kábalgrám," and this he calls the "Makhozai N." This is pretty correct. Immediately above this river, farther north, he has "two other rivers, coming from the same mountain range, and running in a similar direction "towards the Indus. The southern one he calls the "Puran N." and the northern one, the "Ghorban N." which enters the Indus at a place called "Sháng." Thus, including the latter, "he has *three rivers* above or north of the Barandú of Buner, all tributaries of the Indus."

"In the map accompanying his "Swát explorations," all is changed. The "Makho-"zai N.," the "Puran N.," and the "Ghorban N.," have disappeared; and what was the "" Ghorban N.," joining the Indus immediately above a place called "Shang" (which he "mistook for the name of a place instead of the Sháng Dara'h, just mentioned in the Sixty-"second Route), and in his first map situated 17 miles *north* of his "Kúz Kábalgrám," is "now, in his latest map, the "Itai Dara," and its river unites with the Indus two miles *south* "of "Kábalgrám," at the point where the "Makhozai N.," formerly did, according to his "first map."

"According to the latter map, the Suwát river, immediately west of Manglawar (his "Manglor"), was 31 miles from the Indus: now it is just 21 miles."

"What he first called the "Makhozai N." was the river of the Sháng Dara'h, described "in my Sixty-second Route; and the river which appears in his new "Itai Dara" is the "same stream which runs through the Sháng Dara'h, because he has both Saníhala'h and "Chágam in it, under the names of "Sanela" and "Chagam," as given in my account "of it."

"But why such utter variance between the two maps, which must be apparent to the "most superficial observer, for, in both, dotted lines are given showing his route, and places "said to have been actually visited by him? Such terrible discrepancies incline one to be "very sceptical as to a great deal of his "explorations"; for who shall say what a third "exploration might produce?"

The facts are these. In his survey of 1876 the Mullah traversed the course of the River Indus, and did not enter several of the lateral valleys, as Ghorban, lying to the west of the Indus; thus his map merely indicates the fact of the existence of those valleys; but it does so by broken lines, the usual symbol for uncertainty of delineation. He did not visit Chakesar, but he ascertained its position approximately, from native information, and it is given in the map of 1876 with a ? opposite it. In his survey of 1878 he traversed a line several miles to the west of the Indus, crossing all the lateral valleys in question, and he actually visited Chakesar. Thus he obtained much new and definite survey work which necessarily superseded the previous conjectural geography obtained from native information. The village of Shang and various other villages on the Indus which are shown in the first map were purposely not shown in the second, because they were not wanted to illustrate the work of 1878.

From his remarking that the Swát River immediately west of Manglaur is 31 miles from the Indus in the Mullah's first map and only 21 in the second, it appears that Major Raverty is not conscious of the fact that no attempt is made to delineate the Swát River with accuracy in the first map, in which it is simply indicated throughout by the usual broken lines symbolic of uncertainty. It could not rightly have been indicated by firm lines until after the Mullah's survey of 1878. Possibly Major Raverty may not have perceived the difference between the dotted lines . . . . . showing the Mullah's route, and the broken lines — — — — — showing what was not on his route; and in this case he might think that there were "terrible discrepancies"; but surely only the most superficial observer could conclude that the maps were so utterly at variance.

Some changes had to be made in 1878 in combining the Mullah's recent work in the valleys to the west of the Indus with his previous work on the Indus; the nature of the survey rendered it impossible that the two should absolutely coincide otherwise than by chance; thus it became necessary to fit them together in such a manner as to give due weight to each; but the alterations of actual survey work were very trivial as compared with those which Major Raverty thinks he has established.

Major Raverty is nearly correct in saying that the distance from Seo on the Indus to Lamuti on the Panjkora, both points visited by the Mullah, has been reduced from 60 to 54 (more exactly from $58\frac{1}{2}$ to $53\frac{3}{4}$) miles; but the length of the lines traversed by the Mullah was 220 miles in proceeding from Seo *viâ* Yassin to Lamuti in 1876, and 120 miles in proceeding from Lamuti to Seo *viâ* the Palesar Pass in 1878, and in each instance several high mountain ranges and off-shoots had to be crossed; thus the discrepancy in closing is by no means of a magnitude to throw discredit on the work. The road from Kabul to Peshawar is generally far more open and easy to survey than any of the routes traversed by the Mullah; yet the professional surveys made during the last Afghan war show that the less exact surveys which were made, mostly by British Officers, during the first war were erroneous to the extent of six miles, making the distance between the two cities 145 instead of 139 miles.

The Mullah's survey of 1878 is reviewed in Section XXIX of the General Report of the Operations of the Survey of India for 1878-79, where it is said to "fit fairly—quite as well, in fact, as is to be expected of any route-survey "depending on compass bearings and paced distances—into the skeleton frame-

"work furnished by the peaks of the hill ranges which had been previously "fixed in the course of the operations of the Great Trigonometrical Survey."

In a footnote to page 197 Major Raverty states,

"The Mullah" has mistaken the Landakaey Pass for the Shámelí Pass, which he calls "Shamilai Pass," and in his map it appears as situated *three miles* west of *Tárnah*, his "Thana," whereas it is just that distance west of Manglawr in Upper Suwát, *nearly twenty-* "*two miles in a straight line north-east from Tárnah.* It is evident that "the Mullah's" "account has got into confusion here, and his map too, in consequence. My man went up "the valley by the left bank of the river, and over the Landakaey Pass, * * * a few "miles north-east of Tárnah."

There are at the present moment in my Office two men, a Pathan and a Saiyad, who testify to the existence of a low pass a few miles to the west of Thana. The Pathan has forgotten its name. The Saiyad—a man of great intelligence and well educated, who frequently visited the late Akhúnd of Swát, and has been employed on explorations for the last four years—states positively that it is called the Shamilai Pass, and crosses a well known hill from which grass is usually brought for the Akhúnd's horses. The Mullah on leaving Thana crossed over to the right—here the north—bank of the Swát River, proceeded along that bank for a considerable distance, recrossed the river near Chahar Bagh, and then turned due south to Manglaur; thus he avoided both the Landakaey Pass to the east of Thana and the Shameli Pass to the west of Manglaur. There is no evidence to show that he mistook the pass he actually crossed for either of the two passes which he did not cross. The mistakes and confusion here are obviously due to Major Raverty's assumptions that Shamilai must be a corruption of Shameli, and that there can be only one Shameli.

At page 161 Major Raverty quotes the Mir Shah Riza as stating that the Darra of Mastuch (Mastuj) is about forty kuroh in length "from the town of Mastuch to the Kotal of Sar-i-Laspur"; and he remarks in a footnote that

"According to "the Mullah", it is but nineteen miles; but the Mír Sháh Rizá, "Bádsháh of Drúsh, who paced it all on foot, is not a bad authority with respect to *his own* "country."

Now the Sar-i-Laspur Kotal is situated on the range that forms the eastern boundary of the Darra of Mastuj, which darra reaches up to the Tal Pass. The position of Mastuj is fairly well known; that of the Tal Pass is still better known, for the pass is situated in the vicinity of three peaks which have been fixed by the Great Trigonometrical Survey. Thus the Mullah's traverses from Sar-i-Laspur—to Mastuj to the north and to the Tal Pass to the south—are well checked. He carried a third traverse, from a known point near the junction of the Yassin and Ghizar Rivers to Sar-i-Laspur, which is an additional check on the position of Sar-i-Laspur. His work satisfies these checks well, and may be relied on as correct within a legitimate percentage of error.

To compare his distance from Mastuj to Sar-i-Laspur Kotal with the Mir Shah Riza's, it is first necessary to ascertain the relation between the mile and the Mir's "kuroh". The length of the kuroh is stated (page 154) to be 1000 double paces, counting by the action of one foot only; this is equivalent to 2000 single paces. Our explorers are practised to step 2000 paces in the mile on ordinary ground; but of course the pace is generally shorter on difficult ground. The forty kuroh of the Mir may be roughly taken to represent a distance of 38 miles against the Mullah's 19 miles. The Mir would place Mastuj about $\frac{1}{2}$ a degree in latitude above Sar-i-Laspur against $\frac{1}{4}°$ by the Mullah.

Now I find that all northings are greatly exaggerated in Major Raverty's map of Swát which is published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1862, and to which he frequently alludes in his Notes. That map places a mountain—called Sar-dzáey—near the head of the Swát valley, at a distance of about 163 miles to the north of the parallel of Peshawar; this is equivalent to placing it in latitude $36\frac{1}{2}°$, or above both Mastuj and Yassin, which is impossible. If however for a moment we accept the evidence of Major Raverty's map as to the position of the mountain at the head of the Swát valley, add $\frac{1}{4}°$ as the minimum amount by which Sar-i-Laspur must be beyond that mountain, and then $\frac{1}{2}°$ as the Mir Shah Riza's placing of Mastuj above Sar-i-Laspur, we find that Mastuj would fall on the parallel of $37\frac{1}{4}°$; it would thus be placed to the north, not only of the Hindu Kush Range, but also of the Panjah River, the principal source of the Oxus, as laid down many years ago by Wood, whose maps have been fully corroborated by all subsequent surveyors.

The obvious inference is that both the Mir Shah Riza, and Major Raverty's other informants have considerably exaggerated either the units or the number of the "kurohs" by which they express distances; most probably their units differ *inter se*, and are otherwise very variable, being not half as great in some parts of the country as in other parts. Their indications of direction are of still less value, being rarely more approximate than to the nearest cardinal point, and often far wide of the mark. Their itineraries doubtless contain much valuable information on a variety of subjects, and their spellings of place-names may be unimpeachable; but their bearings and distances must be received with great caution, and cannot for a moment be set against the actual survey of a trained explorer—taking bearings all round the horizon and pacing all distances—whose work has been well checked, and also fitted into a frame-work of trigonometrically fixed points.

The work of the Mullah is far from being a complete survey, and it has never been put forward in that light; but so far as it goes it is very valuable. It furnishes a frame-work on which to fit collateral materials obtained from other quarters, as those now contributed by Major Raverty. I may safely say of those materials—and without any thought of depreciating them—that they cannot possibly be combined together and employed in constructing a reliable map, otherwise than by being fitted into frame-works such as are furnished by the Mullah's surveys.

I submit that in the interests of Geographical Science it is desirable that this vindication of the Mullah's surveys may be circulated as widely as Major Raverty's Notes have been. I trust therefore that the Government of India will be pleased to move the Secretary of State in Council accordingly.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

Col J. T. Walker LIEUT.-GENERAL, R.E.,

*Surveyor General of India.*

Trigl. Office, Dehra Dún 3-5-82—150.

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